

VN-1-M

# THE FREE OBSERVER

THE FIRST  
AND ONLY

MONTHLY MAGAZINE

IN ENGLISH  
IN VIETNAM**MAY 66**

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- Religions and politics
- Abuse of democracy
- Pro-Communist Assembly ?
- V. N. Giap's appraisal of Americans
- Pressmen, press and pressure
- The Foreign Press (A critique)
- Catholic Militant organizations
- 40 V.N. political parties
- 1954 Geneva Conference
- 1st U. S. Diplomatic Missions to V. N.
- Vietnamese Poetry
- VN Appaling prospects



***The Free*  
OBSERVER**  
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## FROM THE EDITOR

### Dear Reader :

Religion has played a bigger role in the political life of the country, since the November 1, 1963 Revolution.

At least four Governments had been overthrown in less than three years. The principal cause comes from the fact that when a government has the support of one religion, it cannot enjoy the support of the other.

The involvement in politics of religions creates serious problems for both the Nation and religions themselves:

The Nation losses its stability, a prerequisite for winning the war.

Religions lose a little of their nobility, their grandeur, their sublimity, their saintliness, which are actually their « raisons d'être ».

It is our belief that most of our religious leaders fully realize that. There are, however, reasons which thrust them into politics:

There are cases whereby religions are just used as a shield for political plans. And when a religion is an efficient shield for political ambitions, the other religions feel obliged to react. The result is a perpetual unrest whose victims are the people and the Nation.

If religions still like politics, and if they are really anti-Communist as they allege, let us hope they join the Government and the Armed Forces to rid us of the Communists, or failing this at least they leave them free to do their work.

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# E D I T O R I A L

Democracy is a very beautiful word. Millions of people in the world have died for it, including hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese who have also sacrificed their lives.

In Vietnam, the war has spawned a War Cabinet. War Cabinet smacks of militarism, dictatorship. This has created for the War Cabinet the stigma of despotism.

In the meantime, there was a very hard struggle for democracy in the past months, in Saigon and the Central provinces.

Struggle for democracy is naturally a legal struggle. In this instance, its success has been favored by the very fact that the War Cabinet has its complex.

The struggle for democracy has gone too far and has for that reason, readily degenerated into a multi-fold struggle :

- An anti-American move ;
- A claim for « complete sovereignty » ;
- A demand for the end of the war ;
- A demand for immediate elections ;
- An attempt to overthrow the Government ;
- Terrorizing of the press.

All these have had a chance to operate because they have been carried out under the protective rationale of « a struggle for democracy ».

It so happens that Vo Nguyen Giap, the No. 1 guerrilla strategist of the Viet Cong, sets the following basic political rule for his men :

« The popular war techniques consist of inciting the people into rebellion through legal struggle to create favorable conditions for the seizure of power by armed units ».

Democratic aspirations are legal. But abuses of the legal basis of democratic aspirations for rebellion are illegal, are anti-democratic, are the Communists' techniques of popular war'.

We strongly believe that when the Vietnamese people can fully realize the connection between uncontrolled « struggle for democracy » and the quotation above, they will never let democracy, which they love so much, be the very device used to destroy them.

THE FREE OBSERVER

# A Pro-Communist Assembly for Viet-Nam?

Vietnam will have a Constitutional Assembly within two to four months (from May 15).

There was great concern from several groups, parties, religions and individuals about the possible infiltration of pro-Communist and even Communist elements in that Assembly.

Some people even express the fear that the pro-Communist elements might gain a majority in the Assembly,

You may ask :

Is this possible ?

If so, why ?

What would be the consequences of such happening ?

To the first question, we say: YES.

And the « whys » are as follows :

1/ The preparation period for both the drafting of an election law and the organization of elections is too short.

There will not be enough time for the law-makers to think of all the aspects of the problem which is subjected to continuous changes and numerous emergencies. There will be as many ways for the enemy to enter the elections, as there are imperfections and weaknesses in the law.

Proper investigation of a man or a candidate takes usually three or four months, sometimes more, because of the security situation in several areas. Hasty or inconclusive investigation will permit an enemy to be among the candidates.

2/ There will be built-in weaknesses in the law, since it is being built more under pressure than as a natural development of democracy. These flaws will favor Communist exploiters.

Q : After the law is promulgated, how much time will be left for the organization of the elections ?

by MAI - NGOC

A : We estimate one or two months.

Q : How well can they be organized under these circumstances ?

A : In two or three months, we shall be in the center of the rainy season which is the traditional season for offensive for the Viêt Cộng. All manpower will be for the war first, we wonder how much energy will be left for the election, its organization and its protection from sabotage and abuses.

When organization is loose, because of lack of the time and control, the door is open for free entry to everybody, primarily the Communists.

Unless there are most careful precautions, it would be very possible that the forthcoming elections could produce a pro-Communist Assembly through terror, their tactics.

## CONSEQUENCES

A pro-Communist Assembly will have the main job of drafting a Constitution for the Nation. Naturally, the job requires several months.

In the meantime, the Assembly, claiming its « rights » as a representative body with the « consent » of the people, will make some decisions.

The decisions which a pro-Communist Assembly might take may be anticipated as follows :

— Proclamation of the « neutrality » of Vietnam.

— Peaceful settlement of the Vietnam conflict.

— Suggestion of a ceasefire with the North.

— Demand for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Vietnam.

— Vietnam's « complete sovereignty » etc...

In such a case, there will be no way to oppose what the pro-Communist Assembly would call the « aspirations of the people » voiced by the people's representatives.

The only chance to save the country from such calamity would be the immediate destruction by force of such an Assembly, even before it takes shape. The country will fall into anarchy and be worse off than had there been no Assembly.

We pray that this will not befall Vietnam. But we also sound a warning by quoting « La Fontaine » :

« Rien ne sert de courir,

« Il faut partir à point. »

(There is no need to run (hurry); the point is to start at the right time.)

## EVIDENCES

### KY'S WARNING

On May 7, Premier Nguyen Cao Ky told a news conference that if the civilian government that will eventually emerge from general elections is neutralist or Communist « I and my friends will fight it ; we have enough means to fight. »

Ky added, however, « I am sure that the majority of Vietnamese are anti-Communist. I am sure that no such government will be elected. »

Asked about the possibility of increased Viet Cong agitation in urban centers before the elections, Ky replied cryptically: « You never know. All is possible here. »

He said there also was a possibility that restive young officers in the army « may get tired of the trouble in the rear. »

« They have been fighting all their lives. They resent political trouble in the rear. Who knows what their reactions may be ? » Ky said.

# *A Pro-Communist Assembly*

Ky spoke before a crowd of American and foreign newsmen after the ceremony marking the turn over of the American-built Tra Hoc Air Base in Can Tho province to the Vietnamese Air Force.

## DAI VIET'S FEAR

SAIGON, May 6 (AP)— Ha Thuc Ky, Secretary-General of a faction of the Dai Viet Party, said that the elections promised by the military government could only be held in cities and towns under present conditions.

«The peasants and farmers could not vote,» Ky said in an interview. These would not be true elections.

«The Viet Cong» are cunning and

might even stop fighting in some areas to make them secure then infiltrate for the voting.»

He suggested at least six months for organizing elections.

As now planned by the government, Ky said, the elections « will only be a show to satisfy the foreigners. It will not be representative of the people ».

Ky, 47, a forestry engineer who served briefly as Interior Minister in 1964, also predicted that the voting promised by the military junta in the fall would produce a Buddhists-controlled National Assembly.

« The Buddhists want to oust the Americans and leave this country to neutralism », he asserted.

## VC MONSOON BUILD-UP

WASHINGTON, May 6 (UPI) — Communists are building up forces in South Vietnam in a huge effort to show that Hanoi has no intention of accepting offers of peace negotiations, officials said.

The explosion is expected at any time as the monsoons arrive, ending a lull in ground fighting during which the VC and North-Vietnamese expanded their forces despite slashing air attack. Their total manpower in the South is estimated at 250,000.

Evidence now at hand from US military officials on the scene indicates that Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara was conservative in his esti-

(Continued on page 25)

28  
Cung ru co bao veo rang nhat t. 13  
linh dau cong tac dai thiet hop phan ho  
long thich

Nó. Kinh Dịch: Bonsay mi onto Cát-xu. Lấy lá rìg  
giáu cùi láo nồi với chí đàm tài cát  
Đa mực chén - hoa lát - Đàn cát mực  
Chết lá rìg 3 mực Đàn

Đến sau các vúi định tên canh bộ  
Song Sát lõi tên dài hàng chục miles, có  
Sau đây

Trong vùng giải phóng phái vùng  
bờ biển đổi qua thay đổi vùng, ngày  
còn thi đấu sống bờ biển sau một thời  
kỳ uất ức thi đấu thi đấu bao lâu.

21  
Trong Mạng Địch  
phía Cấp Tác Rồng Lợp Phép - Bác Bán Thủ  
Cái Lò Kèo Gò của Thích Cán Chân và Thích  
Chí Chân. Cung cấp ngay cái gác quanh Chùa  
Đây Cho họ hổn hển Chết tron gác Cung  
Làm bẩn nhán lợn và hổn hển lợn Cho họ  
Còn hồn lợn Lợn Quỷ và Tay Sui Bép Kế  
Đây Chết tron gác, mai táu khỏi nhán lợn  
& lách tát cái nhúng oil elid Chết và tát phô giò  
Tôm của Chén Karet nung thi nồi ong kén tray  
ong gác đống bùn nát kiếng kén hổn hoplep

# A pro-Communiste Assembly

(From page 6)

mates of enemy ability to infiltrate troops into the South.

On March 3, McNamara told Congress it was estimated that North Viet Nam «has the capability to generate and infiltrate up to 4,500 combat troops monthly.

He said the VC could «press into service» an additional 3,500 South Vietnamese monthly.

Information from Saigon indicates that more than 20,000 men were moved southward in the first four months of 1966. The rate of troop movement from North Viet Nam toward South Viet Nam was 5,500 a month for part of this time and may have reached 6,600 in April.

## ASSEMBLY AREA BEYOND SVN BORDER

Some of these troops may still be in assembly areas just beyond South Viet Nam's borders, away from the main centers within the country which have been under heavy air attack.

The main force of North Vietnamese regulars and hard core Viet Cong in the South is reported to num-

ber 90,000, with an additional 160,000 in small guerrilla bands, administrative, political and supply units.

There are 120 combat battalions with a probability of 19 more, available to the Communists.

The enemy has maintained an expanded force in the face of losses estimated at from 12,000 to 15,000 men a month by death, capture and desertions.

## AREAS' CONTROL

Vietnamese and American strategists divide Vietnam into three areas:

WHITE AREA: area in which the national government exercises complete control and tries to ferret out clandestine agents. Population: about 4,000,000.

PINK AREA: area in which rival forces are in a struggle for dominance... During the day, the insurgents occasionally assemble to form groups for a special operation. During the night, they are more active. Population: about 8,000,000.

RED AREA: area in which the insurgents operate with impunity, have their own shadow government. Population: about 2,000,000.

The above situation plus the situa-

tion whereby there is serious division in the ranks of the nationalists with scores of political parties, groups, front, blocs, denominations,... render the election outcome doubtful.

## V.C. HAND

A document captured from the Viet Cong in Central Vietnam early May partly said:

« We (VC) must stage legal struggles right in the enemy's areas to overthrow new lackeys Thiệu-Ký and prepare for the election of... (a politico-military figure) to the chairmanship of the forthcoming Assembly».

The same document outlines the following rules for actions:

— Incite the people to «claim for peace, the end of inhuman war and the recovery of happiness.»

— Exploit the struggle for an elected Assembly to create favorable conditions for the armed struggle, to achieve the neutralization, independence and reunification of the country.

— Coordinate and cooperate with legal patriotic forces in the enemy's areas for unified actions to realize common goals.

## We'll Show These Imperialists The Limits Of Their Power



# Press, Pressmen and Pressure

by PHU-SI

Two Saigon editors were murdered in recent months.

Tu-Chung, of the *Chinh Luân* daily was shot to death four months ago in front of his house, in broad daylight, when he returned from his office.

Chu-Tu, of the *Sông* daily, was critically wounded three weeks ago in the face and the back by three rounds of ammunition, in broad daylight, as he left his house for the office.

The newspapers whose editors were shot, both very anti-Communist, enjoy the largest circulation in the country.

The two men were also most outstanding journalists of Vietnam.

The criminal procedures were the same : fix the target in their cars, hit and run.

There are however some differences in the background of the two cases.

Tu-Chung received repeated warning from the VC threatening him with death if he did not stop his critics against the *Viêt Cōng*. And it was almost clear that the V.C. killed him, because he told the V.C. that he had an ideal to serve : journalism as a free profession and the Country as a free nation.

Chu-Tu did not receive any warning from the *Viêt Cōng*, in spite of the fact that he may have been blacklisted. His case was complicated further by an unfortunate event : the burning of his paper's office by the Buddhist demonstrators about 10 days before he was shot.

Also, unlike Tu-Chung, the shot did not kill him. He is still alive and is recovering from his critical wounds.

His case has generated particularly sharp and prolonged reactions, and there remain two important unanswered questions :

— Three weeks have passed since the unfortunate day and still there has been no firm confirmation on the identity of the criminals : the *Viêt Cōng* or someone else ?

— The press was again threatened, and who will be the next victim ?

Because of the ransack of the *Sông* office by Buddhist demonstrators, there was speculation that some Buddhists may have condemned Chu-Tu to death. But there was no evidence substantiating this, and Buddhist leaders have energetically denied the accusation.

The Police authorities who conducted the investigation of the case simply declared that Chu Tu has too many enemies, one being as dangerous to his life as any other.

While the *Viêt Cōng* remain silent, Chu-Tu, in his own report of the murder attempt published by *Sông*, has affirmed that his attackers were not the *Viêt Cōng*.

We must consent to accept, at least for the present time, that this case will remain in vagueness. The press itself, in spite of its protests against violations of press freedom, seems to have accepted the rule of violence.

The Vietnamese press is actually under pressure from all sides :

1/ Because of the *Viêt Cōng*, pressmen have been authorized to carry arms for the defense of their pens ;

2/ The Government still maintains its 10-criterion censorship rule, which is reluctantly accepted, because of the war situation ;

3/ Because of successive « coups » and political instability, the press has become wiser, resulting in a self-restraint ;

4/ Because of politico-religious disturbances, newspapermen worry for their offices, their careers and their lives as well.

## WHAT HAPPENED TO CHU TU ?

Chu Van Binh, better known as Chu Tu, 50, was just leaving his residence for the *Sông* office, seated in the rear of his car, when the assassins struck.

Inside the car at the time were his son, his uncle and the driver, but none of these was hit. He was rushed to the hospital where he is pronounced in serious condition.

On recovering his senses after two hours in deep coma, the wounded editor scribbled : « I don't know if I will remain alive but I am proud I have fulfilled the duties of a fighter of the press ».

Eyewitnesses described the gunmen as being young. They were riding tandem on a motorbike. No arrests have been made in connection with the shooting.

Known for his strong stand against Communism, Chu-Tu has also been writing a series of articles denouncing recent Buddhist agitation against the Government.

Chu-Tu, an outspoken columnist is also the author of several novels. One of his best sellers « *Yêu* » (Love) was translated into English and serialized in an English language newspaper in Saigon two years ago.

Shot on April 16, he has now a strong chance to survive after two weeks of medical treatment.

He will surely return to his job, with the same dedication to his journalist profession.

On his face, he will bear a scar which will symbolize the ugliness of terror. He is a hero for all free journalists to remember.

# Militant Catholic Organizations

by TRONG-NHAN

The recent Buddhist movement started on March 12, following the relief of General Nguyen Chanh Thi from his I Corps Command. Naturally, when the Buddhists move, the Catholics move too. This has been the rule, since the November 1, 1963 Revolution.

During the past three weeks, there were Catholic demonstrations in and around Saigon and in the provinces as well.

We noted many appellations of Catholic groups such as Catholic Greater Union Bloc, Greater Union Forces, Catholic Citizens Bloc.

The following brief study of militant Catholic organizations will present a general picture of their organizational structure.

## 2-PHASE ORGANIZATION

The Catholics began to organise themselves « militantly » a few months after the Nov. 1, 1963 Revolution.

### FIRST PHASE : 1964 - 1965

Lay militant Catholic groups included theoretically five following organizations :

1	2	3	4	5
Luc-Luong Dai Doan Ket	Trung-Uong Cong-Giao Dai Doan Ket	Cong Dong Giao Dan	Mat Tran Cong Giao Dan	Mat Trân Quốc Gia Liên Hiêt
Greater Union Forces — Operating as a political PARTY	Catholic Greater Union, Central Office — Organized and operating as a BLOC	Catholic citizens Community — Operating in line with the rights of CITIZENS	Catholic Citizens Front — Organized and operating as a BLOC	National United Front — Operating as a political PARTY
An non-sectarian organization uniting all Vietnamese citizens, regard- less of religions	An organization for Catholic citizens compri- sing : — NVN refugees — Catholics in NVN — Catholics of the Highlands — A number of Catholics in Central V.N. Some Catholic Southerners	<u>Activities</u> — Study Catholic doctrine — Train Catholic citizens — Participate in political activities for common interests — Organize various Catho- lic groups and units	An organization for Catholic citizens compri- sing : — Southerners — Vietnamese of Cambodian descent — A number of Catholics of Central Viet- nam — Some NVN refugees	An organization uniting all Vietnamese, regardless of religions

(Continued on page 26

# V.N. GIAP appraises Americans In The V.N. War

EDITOR'S NOTE : A Vietnamese maxim states :

Biet minh biet nguoi,  
Tram tran danh tram tran thang.  
(Knowing yourself and the enemy  
you will win in one hundred battles)

The following page by Vo Nguyen Giap, Commander of the North Vietnam Armed Forces and inventor of the guerrilla warfare techniques he implements now in South Vietnam, shows that the enemy has sought to « know » us to win this war.

Through what the enemy knows about us, we can also know a great deal about him, and play the same game.

It is in that sense that a few of Giap's remarks have been translated here for our common interests.

According to Giap, the most serious weakness of the Americans lies in the field of politics. And Giap always exploits that weakness to the maximum by painting the Americans in Vietnam as a new type of colonialists.

The strengthening of the American forces in Vietnam does not mean yet for Giap, a military confrontation between the United States and North Vietnam ; it is only a means to counter-balance their political weakness in Vietnam by means of the three following military developments :

1) A general increase in force to the point that no comparison of military forces (between the US and the VC) may be possible.

2) Complete control of a number of

important strategic points to serve as well built-in basis for clearing operations, or attacks against (VC) secret zones.

3) A reinforcement in air power to create a definite air superiority to use against our (VC) forces in areas they (US) control.

However, Giap said, the American forces in Vietnam cannot fully develop because of the following five basic weaknesses which they (US) cannot correct :

— The more the U.S. troops increase the more they will play down the role of the ARVN troops; this will result in a sharper friction between the Americans and the people, and the people will realize more easily the imperialistic intention of the Americans.

2/ Communist forces have attained their maturity, and the areas they control are large enough; from the strategic point of view, so that American forces will be unable to have the initiative in the conduct of the war. Their forces are dispersed and pinned down in a rather defensive position.

3/ American troops cannot fully develop their fighting power for the following reasons :

— Lack of the fighting spirit, lack of a valid cause.

— the organization and training of the American troops are not suitable to a popular war (war by the whole people or guerrilla)

— inadequate climate and unfamiliar terrain :

— The more the U.S. troops increase the worse will be the division in the ranks of local authorities. Those who have a national spirit will be discouraged and their ranks broken.

5) The war of the Americans in VN will be more and more condemned by peace-loving peoples in the world. The stronger the US attack North Vietnam, the fiercer will be the reaction they will meet from socialist countries and communist-inclined nations in the world.

Besides these five American weaknesses, Giap also relies on two following basic factors related to the special situation in South Vietnam :

(Continued on page 24)

# 40 Political Parties and Groups

**EDITOR'S NOTE :** The political vacuum in Vietnam at the present time was emphasized last month by the Liaison Office of the Archdiocese of Saigon as one « urgent problem » of the Nation.

The following editorial of the Xay Dung daily seems to elaborate the above assertion.

« Xay Dung » (To build, to construct) is the only Catholic daily in Vietnam, whose publisher is Father Tran Quang Lam, a refugee from North Vietnam.

There is also one Catholic weekly, the « Thang Tien » (Straight Forward) run by Father Phan Van Tham, a Southerner.

The restoration of political activities parties i.e. the resuscitation of political activities among the people, requires not only effort on the part of the Government but principally endeavours and dedication by the political parties themselves.

In other words, only the political parties themselves can restore their activities. A numbers of basic factors would determine their success in this undertaking :

1/ Open activities, clear party policy, clear program of activities.

The platform of a political party is to guide the country toward its consolidation and its development; It should not include merely statements of some vague principles to deceive and exploit the

people for personal interests or the party's interests.

2/ The party should base its foundations on the people. The situation whereby there exist only leaders without party members can survive no longer. Cases whereby a group of men, calling themselves « leaders », recruit a number of followers, install headquarters in a few cities, then when something happens, launch demonstrations with mercenary masses, will no longer be acceptable.

The prestige of a party depends on how deep it puts its roots into the people. The deeper the party penetrates into the mass, the more efficiently it can serve the people when it has a chance to exercise power, and the better it represents the

people in case it gains in elections.

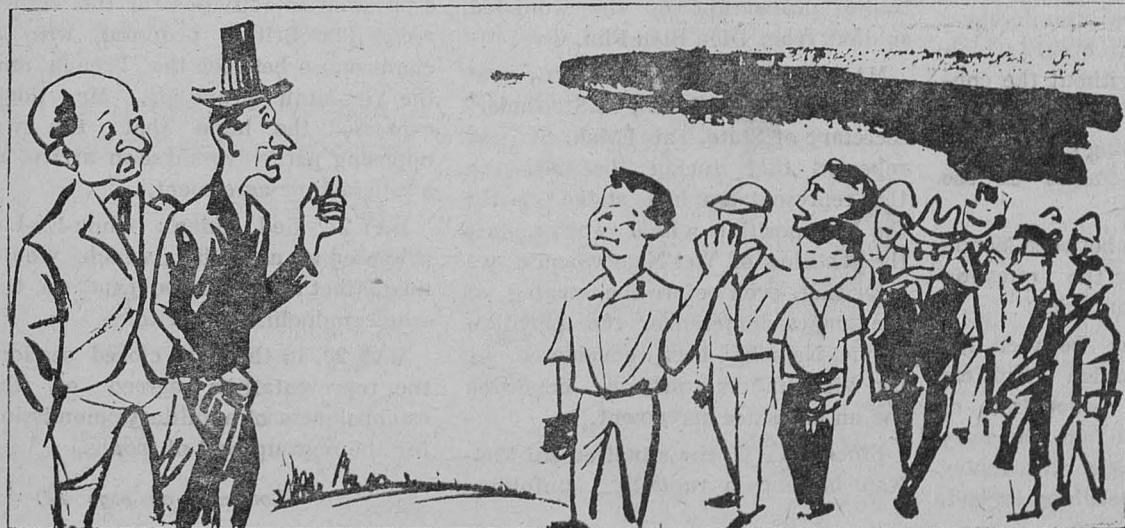
3/ Serious existing political parties should clean their ranks by eliminating undesirable elements, train their cadres, and reorganize their structure before they start a program of activities for their development and growth.

Several parties have suffered in their reputation because of irresponsible acts of some of their members.

4/ All activities should be legal, reasonable, inspired only by national interests and the respect of the people's rights, other parties' views, and individuals' opinions. In all circumstances, the parties' activities should proceed along the « Kings' path » (Ed. the path of honor and integrity).

Political parties are not formed to dispute between themselves. There are altogether forty parties and groups at the present time. If they are only there to challenge one another, then parties' activities will only cause more disorder for the Nation.

Political parties should therefore plan for their union. Only the parties' union can produce a union of the people. In the present situation of the country national unity is the only solution to save the nation from its dangers.



## MINORITY AND MAJORITY . —

The US has two parties, VN has at least forty.

Who has the « majority » ?

# THE 1954 GENEVA CONFERENCE

EDITOR'S NOTE : *The 9-year war between the French and the Viet-Minh terminated with the 1954 Geneva Conference.*

*If the present war with the Viet Cong is to be ended, Geneva will be again the site of another conference on Vietnam, since the war cannot last for ever.*

*What had happened during the 1954 Conference may be of some interest for both the authorities concerned with the present war and all those who live in this country or who sympathize with this country's people.*

*We reprint the following pages, believing that history is the greatest master even for the wisest people.*



This conference was not abortive like the Berlin conference. It was not prolonged as the latter was either.

This conference came to be held as a result of the peace offensive of the Soviets after the death of Stalin while the United States, Great Britain and France were having great troubles with their internal and external affairs.

At first, France intended to negotiate directly with Communist China and the U.S.S.R. but the Communists requested that not only Communist China be invited to participate in the conference but also that the Viet Minh be permitted to participate in the discussions. At the same time it was decided that the parties involved — Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos—should also be present at the conference. Therefore, the Geneva Conference became a nine-nation conference. Following are the main events which occurred within and without the conference during its 86 days of work :

APRIL 26, 1954, opening of the conference in the former Palace of the League of Nations.

APRIL 27, discussion between Messrs Bidault and Molotov on the question of the participating countries.

APRIL 28, discussions between the French and Soviet Foreign Ministers on the question of evacuation of wounded soldiers while in far-away Diên-Biên-Phu, the battle was raging and the fight was approaching its end.

MAY 7, fall of Diên-Biên-Phu.

MAY 8, opening of the first formal meeting on Indochina. Before representatives of Great Britain, France, the U.S., the U.S.S.R., Communist China, Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos, French Foreign Minister George Bidault presented a six-point armistice proposal.

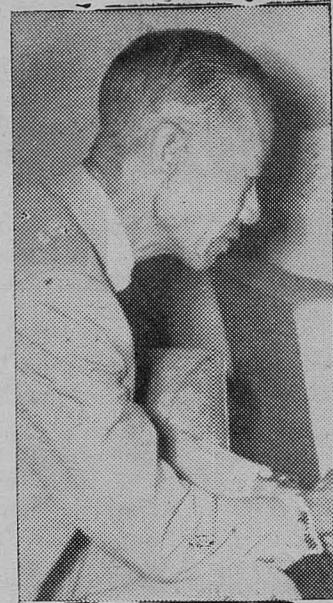
MAY 10, the Vietnamese Communist Foreign Minister presented an eight-point counter-proposal.

MAY 12, Vietnamese Nationalist Foreign Minister Nguyễn-Quốc-Dinh presented a proposal of the Nationalist government aiming at restoring peace in Viet-Nam.

MAY 15, Mr. Molotov asked Mr. Bidault to negotiate directly with the Viet-Minh representative on the question of evacuation of the wounded soldiers from Diên Biên Phu.

MAY 16, Bao Dai met with General Walter Bedell Smith, U.S. Undersecretary of State, at Evian. It was reported that during the talks, the U.S. representative had stated clearly the U.S. position which was against the partition of Viet-Nam whence we infer that, even before the opening of the Geneva conference, the partition of Viet-Nam had been considered by the Viet-Minh as a primary condition for an armistice agreement.

Since MAY 17, the situation in Viet-Nam became a rapidly unfolding



FOREIGN MINISTER  
TRAN VAN DO

drama and the French and Viet-Minh representatives decided to meet in close sessions without the participation of the other countries invited to the conference and in the absence of press correspondents. It is very likely that after these close sessions, the French and the Viet-Minh had agreed on many points and, on May 15, the Viet-Minh became much less intransigent on the question of evacuation of the wounded soldiers which was being discussed by Colonel De Brisson and Colonel Ha-Van-Lau.

MAY 25, British Foreign Minister Sir Anthony Eden expressed his ideas on a program of activities for the conferees. The British proposal was a compromise between the French and the Viet-Minh proposals, Mr Eden expressed the hope that the two opposing parties would soon arrive at a satisfactory agreement.

MAY 27, Red China's Chou-En-Lai proposed an armistice which would take effect at the same time on the whole Indochinese territory.

MAY 29, in the 8th closed session, the representatives agreed on the establishment of a military commission for the regroupment of troops.

(Continued on page 22)

John White, the 1st American Visitor to VN, was not an official representative of the American government; he was a merchant navigator in quest of commercial outlets in The Far East.

Not until 1832, in the reign of Emperor Minh-Mang, did the first American diplomatic mission arrive, headed by Edmund Roberts. The Annals of Vietnam, which are the nation's official records covering its history from 1802 to 1883, contain an account of his visit.

confided to him, and to treat him with kindness and confidence, placing entire reliance on what he shall say to you in our behalf, especially when he shall repeat the assurances of our perfect amity and goodwill towards your Majesty.

I pray God to have you always, Great and Good Friend, under his safe and holy keeping.

In testimony whereof I have caused the Seal of the United States to be

tance of his mission upon the local officials, his request for an audience included a great many titles, with the names of places in America, added to his name. He was told, however, by the Vietnamese liaison officer that his titles could not, in any case, be longer than those of the Tuan-Phu, Governor of province.

This diplomatic mission is referred to in substantial detail in the ANNALS of Vietnam, DAI-NAM THUC LUC CHINH BIEN (literally, IMPERIAL

# 1ST U.S. DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS TO V. N.

He was an American navigator from New England, who had been on several voyages to the Far East. According to a study made by Everett Scotten entitled « Sire, Their Nation Is Very Cunning » in the AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL (Vol. XII, Jan., 1939), Roberts was commissioned by President Andrew Jackson to visit Vietnam, Siam, and Arabia in order to negotiate treaties with these countries. He carried signed letters from President Jackson addressed to the heads of state and also carried official credentials dated January 26, 1832, issued by Secretary of State Livingston. The letter which Roberts was to present to the Vietnamese head of state read as follows :

**Andrew Jackson, President of the United States of America,**  
**To Great and Good Friend,**

This will be delivered to your Majesty by Edmund Roberts, a respectable citizen of the United States, who has been appointed Special Agent on the part of this Government to transact important business with your Majesty to protect him in the exercise of the duties which are thus

hereunto affixed. Given under my hand, at the city of Washington, the thirty-first day of January A.D. 1832 ; and of the Independence of the United States of America, the fifty-sixth.

**ANDREW JACKSON**

*By The President*

*Edw. Livingston, Secretary of State.*

On March 8, 1832, Edmund Roberts, with his assistant, Captain George Thompson, embarked from Boston on the PEACOCK, a ship of the United States Navy, Robert's mission took him to a number of places — Cape Verde, Rio de Janeiro, Montevideo, Sumatra, Java, Manila, Hong-Kong — before he finally sighted the coast of South Vietnam. He landed at Vung-Lam in the bay of Xuan-Dai, province of Phu-Yen, in Central Vietnam toward the end of 1832.

As soon as he arrived, Roberts tried to get into touch with the Vietnamese authorities. In order to impress the impor-

RECORDS OFFICIALLY REGISTERED OF GREAT VIETNAM). The mission is variously described as coming from Nha-di-ly (the Vietnamese phonetic transcription of French ETATS-UNIS for « United States ») from Ma-Ly-Can (a phonetic transcription of « America » from Hoa-ky (Country of the Starspangled Banner), and from Tan Anh-cat-loi (New England).

Upon receiving the report from Phu-Yen of Roberts' arrival, the Emperor Minh-Mang sent to Phu-Yen a delegation composed of Nguyen-tri-Phuong, a scholar, and Ly-van-Phuc, a military statistician. These two were to join the local officials of Phu-Yen and go on board the PEACOCK with them to give a banquet in honor of the Americans. Thus the first diplomatic banquet bringing Vietnamese and American officials together was held in the China Sea 134 years ago. On the menu were swallow-nest soup, venison, bamboo shoots, and, of course, the « nuoc mam », a sauce made of fermented fish, which was not too much appreciated by the Americans. During the banquet the Vietnamese asked the Americans what their intentions were in coming to Vietnam and were assured

by the Americans that their mission was a peaceable one whose aim was to establish commercial relations between their countries.

The ANNALS of Vietnam have this to say about the Americans and their mission :

« In the 11th month of the 13th year of the reign of Emperor Minh-Mang :

« The Country, Nha-di-ly, is located beyond the Western seas. It also has other names : Hoa-ky ; Ma-ly-can ; or Tan Anh-cat-loi.

« The Chief of State of the country has entrusted two of his subjects, Nghie-duc-mon La-bach (Edmund Roberts) and Duc-giai Tam-gia (George Thompson) with credentials for the purpose of establishing commercial exchanges. Their ship is anchored at Vung Lam, province of Phu Yen. The Emperor has sent his Under secretary Nguyen-tri-Phuong, and a civil servant Ly van Phuc to go with the provincial mandarins of Phu Yen on board the ship in order to give a banquet and find out the plans of the newcomers. They say they wish only to establish commercial relations.

« Their manners are courteous and they seem to be welldisposed ; however, the translation of their letters has revealed some irregularities.

« The Empérator has written : «Needless to present credentials, but authorize the official in charge of the Diplomatic Service to send a memorandum. If their country wishes to establish commercial relations, we do not see any objection to it provided they respect our laws. In the future, if they come again, their boat must be anchored in the bay of Tra-Son, but they are prohibited from setting up trading stations in defiance of the regulations in force.

« Notify them by memorandum and see to their departure ».

## — 1st US Diplomatic Missions...

Evidently the « irregularities » in Roberts' letters referred to in this quotation from the ANNALS was the omission of the name of the head of state (i.e., the Emperor Minh-Mang) from the letters and also the omission of the name of the country, Dai-Nam (Vietnam). These « irregularities » could not, of course, have been foreseen by President Jackson or his Secretary of State.

As commanded by the Emperor, the Vietnamese officials soon saw to the departure of the Americans. The PEACOCK left Vung-Lâm, heading for Siam where she arrived on the 18th of February, 1833, and anchored at the mouth of the Menan.

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Four years later, early in the summer of 1836, Edmund Roberts returned as chief of a second American mission to Vietnam. He carried with him written instructions from the American government, dated March 20, 1835, to negotiate commercial treaties with Japan. His assistant this time was Dr. W.S.W. Ruschenberger, a surgeon in the United States Navy who, in 1838, published in Philadelphia an account of his travels entitled *A Voyage Round the World Including an Embassy to Muscate and Siam in 1835, 1836, 1837*.

Again on the PEACOCK, with E.P. Kennedy in command, Roberts had left the United States on April 23, 1835 bound for Siam, he had headed for South Vietnam where he arrived on April 20, 1836.

In the ANNALS of Vietnam, this second visit is also recorded in detail :

« In the fourth month of the 17th year of the reign of Emperor Minh-

Mang : concerning the ships from America.

« The authorities of Quang-Nam Province reported the arrival of ships from America, which had anchored in the bay of Tra-Son, province of Quang-Nam. The Americans stated that they were bearers of an official letter accrediting them and requested an audience.

« The Emperor asked the Vice-president of the Ministry of Finance, Dao-tri-Phu, this question : « Considering their courteous and peaceable attitude, would it not be advisable to accede to their request ? »

« Dao-tri-Phu's answer was : « Since they are foreigners, we do not know their real intentions yet ; it would be advisable to authorize them to come to the capital and stay at the Diplomatic Service called Thuong-Bac to enable us to know them better. Mandarins will be designated to welcome them formally and at the same time to try to discover their real intentions ».

« The Vice-president of the Cabinet, Hoang-Quynh, made the following recommendations, however : « Their country is cunning and crafty, and we should not comply with their request. If we commit ourselves without due considerations, we shall have much trouble in the future contact with the West : it was a good policy ».

« But the Emperor stated : « They have come from over 40,000 leagues beyond the seas, thus proving their admiration for our virtue and the prestige of our Court. How can we

(Continued on page 24)

## ORIGINS: THE POPULAR SONG

Schiller, speaking of his poetic creation, says somewhere: «With me, poetic perception is first of all without a clearly defined object; that object is formed later. A certain musical mood precedes it and brings forth in me the poetic idea», (quoted by F. Nietzsche in The Origin of Tragedy).

It is not known whether all poetry begins in music, but Vietnamese poetry is a musical fact, for it takes rise in popular songs which are said to be, according to Nietzsche, «the musical mirror of the world, the primitive melody seeking for itself a parallel dream image and expressing that image in the poem». (Nietzsche, The Origin of Tragedy).

Moreover, our language is essentially musical. It is composed of few words and many tones. There are 6 tones, we might say a scale of 6 notes: the grave tone, the falling tone, the even tone, the interrogative tone, the rising tone and the sharp tone. Each word, as it changes its tone, changes its meaning.

Thus the word «la» can mean according to the tone: to shout (la), strange (la), to be (là), insipid (la), tired (la), and leaf (la).

From this primitive music was born the poetical idea or rather dream which flourishes in our old legends. So our own culture began with our poetry and our poetry began with our language itself.

Popular songs were perhaps never composed. Essentially, they burst out spontaneously and instinctively from the mouths of the people, in a kind of musical excitement.

Let us hear how a French orientalist, Georges Cordier, depicts the role of the song in the life of the Vietnamese peasant:

«In all seasons, at all times, this whole people, men and women, old and young, go about reciting verses. The song rises with sun, and lasts far into the night. At the time, especially when the din of daily work is hushed, its sweetness moves us more».

Let us listen to a young peasant's declaration of love:

«Yesterday drawing water hard by the pagoda,  
I left my tunic on the lotus flower.  
If you have taken it, my friend, give it back  
to me;  
Unless you wish to keep it as a pledge!  
My tunic is all unstitched at the edges  
I haven't a wife yet,  
And my old mother has not yet mended it.  
My tunic has been unstitched for so long,  
Would you be kind enough to mend it for me?»

Or again, this declaration by a young fisherman :

«As the billow slowly wears away the rock  
awash,  
So thoughts of love, do what we will, keep  
coming back.  
For one bark on the river, how many cares!  
How many cares wind and storm give us!  
I love you, you with a dimple in your cheeks  
Like the hole in a sapeke, you who live on  
a floating bark,»



## VIETNAMESE POETRY

Knowing nothing of paint and powder,  
The bark in autumn meets an adverse wind  
Will that adverse wind not sadden my heart?  
United, we might sail down torrents and cross  
rapids,  
And one hundred years will see us still loving  
and faithful!  
When Spring is reborn, the river glides on,  
The bark drifts, the moon is reflected in the  
water,  
What more do you wish, my friend?

And here is the girl's wise response:

«I am like a piece of peach-coloured silk,  
Waving in the middle of the market,  
Not knowing into whose hand it will fall.»

Century after century, generation after generation, popular songs never ceased to flow. If one were to list them, one could have before one's eyes the life of the people in its entirety since its origin, its laws and customs, its joys and sufferings, its myths and taboos, its shame and its pride, what it has scorned, what it has held in veneration.

Vietnam, as one historian has so delightfully remarked, had, during its nine centuries of independence, «an absolute monarchy tempered by songs».

### ANCIENT POETRY

That monarchy was of course modeled on the Chinese monarchy, Vietnam having been under Chinese domination for nearly a thousand year. Yet this long subjection had one advantage: we encountered a civilization, and with it, Chinese poetry.

The encounter took place not without clashes, and, just as under French domination in the 20th century, there was a breach between a minority of intellectuals, who had access to the culture of the dominating country, and the mass of the people, who kept their own culture. Learned poetry was born.

It was of course at first completely Chinese and ipso facto uninteresting. Then in the 10th century the Vietnamese people rose en masse and finally regained their independence.

Three hundred years later, a brilliant scholar, Hán-Thuýên, adapted Chinese characters to our language and by filling up the gaps in our vocabulary with Chinese words, he truly created a national language, original and homogeneous, which lasted practically unchanged until the meeting with the West.

The assimilation of the Chinese culture was then completed; the gap between the intellectuals and the people was gradually filled up, and learned poetry in its growth tended to become popular songs.

Let us study this ancient poetry briefly.

From one point of view, it would interest philologists and historians as much as poets for, like Chinese characters, ancient poems are reality condensed, stylized, idealized, reality transposed, into a world of symbols.

Like a Chinese character, the poem is a schematized world, or, as Claudel says «a schematic being, a scriptural person, having, like a living being, its own nature and modalities, its own action, its intimate virtue, its structure and its specific character » (Claudel, *Knowledge of the East*).

The styles of poem are many, and each one is distinctive. Possibly in no other poetry has technique been carried so far.

Take for example the commonest genre, the Bat cu, or eight-lined poem. Each of the eight lines consists of seven words or seven feet, the words being monosyllabic. The caesura is always after the fourth foot. The tone of every word is fixed ; the rhyme is the same throughout. The first two lines form the introduction, the last two the conclusion.

So everything has to be said in the remaining four lines of which, moreover, the first and second pairs must be perfectly symmetrical as regards both content and form.

At this point, let us listen to a 15th-century Emperor reflecting on the condition of man, in a poem which already breathes a strange foretaste of existentialism:

« I shudder whenever I think of existence.  
Sent into life, I go back to death.  
Intelligence, idiocy : joined toge' her under  
nine feet of earth,  
Riches, poverty : a pot of rice cooking !  
To struggle ? before my eyes, clouds dissol-  
ving  
To suffer ? behind my body, very heavy  
mountains !  
Vainly I question Heaven.  
Yet, I strive to live, listening out for Fate »

So every word, in this extreme concision, must have its full value, and the poem must form a harmonious whole, from every point of view — writing, music, thought, etc.

« Eastern art is all convention and symbolism », said one of our contemporary writers, PHAM QUYNH. « Genius consists of the artist's power of stylisation, abstraction or abstract evocation ».

This characteristic, which is common to all Eastern Art, is particularly striking in our ancient poetry. It could be summed up, if I may say so, in a number of ready-made clichés which the waves of history have left on its shore and which the poet can handle as he likes, imprinting them on his own moods. It is like those Sung period landscapes in which creation is replaced by an increasingly learned touching up of the same themes.

And while we are on the subject of themes, let us say something of those which chiefly inspired our old scholars when the Muse came and knocked at their door.

These themes are very varied. But in this very variety, we can always very clearly distinguish three influences:

Firstly the illusion of the world, the beauty of isolation, the vanity of honours and riches, the eternal decline of things, etc. — the influence of India :

« Spring departs, the flowers die  
Spring comes, the flowers smile.  
In my eyes everything turn white...  
But do not think that when spring is dying  
All the flowers are going to fall.  
Already last night, in my garden,  
A peach branch was blossoming...»

Secondly there is the exalting of social virtues, filial piety, loyalty to the king, the good man's ideal — the influence of China.

« With my shoulders holding up the earth,  
I hope to serve my Lord  
With my armour laved in the river of Heaven  
I try to pierce the clouds  
How much time is left me  
To whet my sword the moonlight ? ».

Lastly, there is the influence of the people with their ordinary feelings.

## **VN POETRY...**

especially love, their joys and sufferings, like the despairing cry of this Emperor, which still moves us, across so many centuries, through its very preciousness:

« I shatter every mirror to seek your shadow  
And I fold your garments to keep your  
perfume ».

Through these conventional ideas, feelings and form, the poet must reveal his soul, in poetry which could paradoxically be called «conventionally original».

To tell his sadness, the Vietnamese poet would not write a long poem on that sadness itself, he would not say straight off, like Lamartine : «My heart is full, I want to weep», but he would try for example to describe the sadness of an historical character whose life somewhat resembled his. Or else he would paint a landscape — not a real one, seen through his sadness, but a dream landscape which he creates himself and which is completely identified with his state of soul.

To describe the sorrow of parting, he would say:

« Who then has cut the moon in two,  
One half imprinting itself on a lonely pillow,  
The other lighting up the road ».

The lonely pillow shaped like a half-moon represents solitude, the distant road symbolizes the absence of the loved one, and the moon cut in half is of course the heart of the lonely woman.

We have here perhaps the opposite of the European, or more particularly Nietzschean conception of lyricism : here, it is not the poet who may be identified with nature, but nature which may be identified with the poet, a nature made up of symbols, highly stylized, a nature pointed with strokes of a scholar's brush. Listen to the descriptions of a sorrowful woman :

« Sadly, she looks at the gate of the ocean,  
at nightfall,  
What is that boat whose distant sail appears,  
then disappears ?

*Sadly, she looks at the drop of water that  
has just fallen,  
Where is that flower of silence going that  
slowly follows the river in its course ?  
Sadly, she looks at the immensely sad meadows,  
And the feet of the clouds and the face of  
the earth, both uniformly blue.  
Sadly, she watches the wind driving the waves,  
Which roar tumultuously about the chair on  
which she is sitting sorrowful..*

### The «Kim Van Kieu»

This lyricism reached its perfection, I believe, in a long poem looked on as the Vietnamese poem, the Kim Van Kieu, a few lines from which have just been translated.

It is the story of an exceptionally beautiful and talented girl, Thuy Kieu, who to save her family has to give up the man she loves and marry a sort of rogue who leads her straight to prostitution.

In turn prostitute, student's mistress, servant, Buddhist nun, victorious revolutionary's wife; in turn ravished, sacrificed, glorified, betrayed, all alone in a diabolical world, she managed to keep her soul great and her love intact. And only at the night's end, in the depths of despair, does she at last find her reward — reunion with her family and the man she loves.

This girl is supposed to symbolize the author himself, who, a mandarin under LE dynasty at the dawn of the 19th century, remained faithful to his Lord when the latter finally lost power. THUY KIEU's constancy in her love and the painful experiences she goes through are said to represent the author's staunch obedience to the dynasty and the vicissitudes he suffered.

— So in this poem of epic cast there is apparent on nearly every page a lyricism that is quivering yet reticent, and all the more moving for its very reticence :

*« Down the centuries, in the world of human  
beings  
Has genius ever been known to keep pace  
with happiness ?  
And through so many upheavals who among  
us can restrain his sorrow ? ».*

With the KIM VAN KIEU, Vietnamese poetry comes of age. In it are reconciled the more or less contradictory influences our poets have felt,

viz. India, China and the soul of the people.

The KIM VAN KIEU, is the reconciliation between the world as illusion and the world as reality, between unwillingness to live and extolling social virtues, between Buddha and Confucius, by the introduction of an idea that is fundamentally of the people — the idea of a Heaven, of a God who has a heart, a heart that can be moved.

THUY KIEU, under the influence of the law of Karma, is inexorably swept along to misfortune. But by her love, by her virtues, the greatest of which is filial piety, by her nobility of soul and her charity in affliction, she touched the « heart of Heaven » and Heaven alone was able to break the relentless dialectic of cause and effect to give back her happiness. But happiness here does not consist in a swallowing up of the individual in the depths of Nirvana, or in a better incarnation: it is a social and personal happiness starting in this life, the union of two human beings who are in love.

The author ends thus :

*« When we are still under the effects of Karma  
We must not be too quick to murmur against  
Heaven  
For the source of happiness dwells always  
in our heart ».*

With the KIM VAN KIEU, classical poetry reaches its peak. But the old themes whose contradictions are overcome in it seem to have lost their inspiring force. After this poem, no outstanding poem blooms on the tree of our poetry. The need is felt for a new source of inspiration. India and China have ended their mission. There remained the West.

### MODERN POETRY

What then did the West bring to our poetry, when the clash of arms stilled and hearts on both sides were beginning to open ?

First, it brought youth with its power, its fire, its direct language, its sense of observation and its overflowing exhilaration. But above all, with Christianity, it brought the idea of the person felt vaguely as absolute originality, creative intelligence, liberty spouting

## VN POETRY...

forth, infinite love. Finally, with the French Revolution came the idea of right complementary to that of duty. As the feudal structures burst under pressure from new-born capitalism, the rigid framework of our old poetry could not withstand these new contributions, to which was added the adaptation of the Roman alphabet which was to throw into confusion the whole structure of the Vietnamese sentence.

About 1930, a group of young poets passed to the attack and founded « poetry renewed », a literary movement which soon won over all the youthful elements of the Vietnamese elite. Our modern poetry was born. What did it want ? Freedom, of course freedom of expression and freedom of inspiration. It offers a complete contrast to the old poetry :

In place of conventions and traditions, it wants creations ; over against rules and laws it sets free verse; in place of the universal, it extols the individual; to modesty it prefers genuineness.

Actually, following a process common to every literature in the world, a romanticism has really been born, in reaction to a classicism which had exhausted its power.

Every reaction is extremist and every literary movement has to go through a critical period of growth. The ambitions of our young poets have not always resulted in masterpieces and the search for originality has often yielded only unbridled, commonplace lyricism :

*« Let me shed the tears that are left to me  
So they may fall as verse weeping for my lot. »*

However, through these somewhat affected confidences spring up from time to time accents of a sadness never heard before, for it is sadness, sadness verging on despair, which distinguishes the soul of our youth of the day, born on the ruins of an aged world, into a society at the height of a crisis and already corrupted by colonialism.

A young poet can proclaim his joy of life thus :

Politico-Religious Crisis

# APPALLING PROSPECTS

by PHU-SI

The month-long political crisis in Saigon entered into a lull phase on April 14, 1966 with the signing by Lt. Gen. Nguyen Van Thieu, Chairman of the National Leadership Committee (NLC) of a Decree-Law formalizing the establishment of an elected Constituent Assembly within three to five months.

In fact, Ven. Thich Ho Giac, head of the Lay Buddhists Affairs of the Viên Hoa Dao (VHD) or Buddhist Institute for Secular Affairs, declared to the press, following the promulgation of the new law, that «we are satisfied at this point; our main aims have been met».

There is hope then that political stability may return to this war-torn-country.

Political stability is an absolute prerequisite for the Vietnamese people to win the war against the Communists.

Stability here, however precarious it is in the eyes of the informed people, has at least been maintained successfully by Vietnam's military leaders.

Everyone wants a representative government, but most Vietnamese who understand this country's problems, realize that for the time being, stability must come first, then defeating the Communists, then a representative government.

## WHAT NEXT?

Many are now anxious however about the duration of our present relative stability. They ask, «what next?»

— Some people fear that the Viên Hoa Dao leaders may change their mind overnight, and political unrest would start again. Actually, in the northern provinces of South Vietnam, the Buddhist struggle continues for the immediate overthrow of the present government, in spite of the «ceasefire» appeal by the Saigon Buddhist leaders.

— Other Buddhist factions have denied the policy of the Viên Hoa Dao by protesting that it only represents a small minority of the Vietnamese Buddhist community. The Hoa Hao and Cao Dai Buddhist sects, totalling four million people, are actually entities completely independent from the Viên Hoa Dao. The Cồ Son Môn sect, the Association for Buddhist Studies, the Vietnam's General Buddhist Church and others, which have at least three million followers, have always strongly opposed the Viên Hoa Dao leadership.

— The Government's concessions to the Viên Hoa Dao Buddhists have provoked very strong reactions from the two million Catholics who, since April 12, have reorganized their ranks. A nation-wide campaign has been launched since April 16 by the Catholics indirectly against the

Viên Hoa Dao whom they call an «anti-government minority group» exerting untimely pressure on the Government. They have urged the Government to heed the «profound aspirations of the majority, instead of kowtowing to the wishes of a minority in a specific area».

— Nationalist patriots see with great concern the danger of the involvement in politics of the Viên Hoa Dao Buddhists. They worry because the Viên Hoa Dao Buddhist leaders have used their religion as an instrument to further their political ambitions. The VHD, they said, has in fact become a politico-religious organization.

— The prospects of a religious war in VN is considered most appalling. And this danger can only be avoided when all religions agree between themselves to quit politics

We doubt however that this is possible.

## FACTS

### CAO DAI'S FEAR

On April 6, Cao Dai sect leader Trần Văn Quê urged all the Cao Dai faithful not to involve themselves in politics.

Cao Dao dignitaries were also told to ask their followers to remain calm and vigilant, to avoid violating the principles set by the Cao Dai Church, to help maintaining national order and unity.

The Cao Dai Church wished that the Government, all other religions, parties and groups could find proper solutions to the crisis in order to «avoid regrettable consequences».

### HOA HAO'S GOODWILL

On April 24, the Central Executive Committee of the Hoa Hao religion said that «in the face of the present difficult situation of the country, the Hoa Hao cannot stay indifferent and finds that it has the duty to contribute its good will and constructive ideas to the common cause and problems of the Nation».

Urging mutual concessions and a better efficiency of anti-Communist efforts, the Hoa Hao leaders warned against «Communist infiltration into the constitutional drafting body, if elections are prematurely held».

The Hoa Hao religion exerts predominant spiritual influence on the people of the twelve western provinces

APRIL '66



## CATHOLICS' PRESSURE

The Catholics who had earlier couched denunciations of Prime Minister Nguyen Cao Ky's bending to a « minority group » by his concessions to the Buddhist demands for general elections within three to five months, are now staging a nation-wide campaign of demonstrations in a « show of force » to warn against subversive agitation and Communist infiltration in the Constitutional Assembly through hasty elections.

Fr. Hoang Quynh, leader of the militant Catholic Greater Union Bloc even qualified the « trouble-makers of Central Vietnam as rebels and the destructors of the Nation, whose plan is to cut the country into three States.»



## STUDENTS' S.O.S.

The Saigon University Students, the most genuine nationalist and patriotic organization of Vietnam have instituted a permanent « Struggle Committee » to launch a large scale campaign « to save the country in danger ».

They formally appealed for support from all students, the troops, the local and foreign press and all freedom fighters at home and abroad.

They also warned that « camouflaged Communists » are in action everywhere and that life, property and freedom of the people are seriously threatened.



Urging PM Ky's Government to take appropriate measures to prevent the recurrence of agitation, the students denounced plots now being waged to destroy the war efforts of Vietnam and her Allies.

## VNQDD'S THREAT

At a press conference in Saigon, the Viet Nam Quoc Dan Dang (Vietnamese Kuo-Ming-Tang) threatened to resort to force to defend themselves against attacks on their members in Central Vietnam.

Blame for the VNQDD was squarely laid on the shoulders of the Buddhist leaders and Buddhist troops in the area, in particular those participating in the « Popular Forces for Revolution ».

It was reported that a number of people had invaded the headquarters of the local branch of the party in Danang and Hoi An, and smashed the picture of the party leader, tore up the Party flag and arrested several party members.

## DAI VIET'S CHARGES

On April 26, the Dai Viet Revolutionary Party (Dai Viet Cach Mang) launched an accusation of violence against the « People's Struggle Force » in Central Vietnam.

In a letter addressed to General Ton That Dinh, Commander of 1 Corps, Mr. Quang Nhat said on behalf of the Party that one of his party comrades, Mr. Vo Dai Lo was attacked and beaten by a group of about 20 men of the Force, then locked up in a school in Quang Tri city, before being trundled off Force headquarters in Hue to be detained there.

The letter also contained a warning saying that « if no satisfactory solution is found, we shall react accordingly ».

## VIEN HOA DAO'S WARNING

Ven. Thien Minh, head of the Youth Section of the Buddhist Institute asserted, during his lecture to a crowd of thousands gathering in the Vien Hoa Dao on April 23 that there had been attempt to sabotage the forthcoming, elections for a Constitutional Assembly. He called on all his faithful to be vigilant, because there may be even a « coup » specifically intended to impede the implementations of the Decree-Law on elections.

Ven. Thien Minh also denounced « current campaigne aiming at dividing religions, groups and parties »,



« I want to clasp the scudding clouds and the fluttering wind.  
To absorb in one countless kiss  
Mountains and rivers and trees,  
And the grass of the fields, dew-pearled,  
To intoxicate myself with perfumes,  
Fill myself with light  
O my rose springtime,  
I want to bite into you ! ».

The same young poet sings further on :

« On every hand, gleams of music : a crystal sea,  
The island of my soul quivers on all sides,  
The grey mist is silent, night holds its breath,  
Listening to the sad music rising toward the star... »

And further on :

« The wind pursues the moon from the sea to the mountains,  
With the wind, sadness spreads in quivering waves ;  
My soul is sad like the sea,  
Leave me not alone to meet my soul ».

(Xuân-Diêu)

At times, the echo of the age-old past returns to strike the ear of the young modernist. Let us listen here to this nostalgia, somewhat precious but moving all the same :

« Awake, my bark sleeping on the shore,  
For we leave tonight.  
Let the oar of dreams carry us, musing,  
Towards a corner of the sky  
Where the late moon's gold steals through the clouds »

oOo

The wind blows no more, the river flows, icy,  
The bark glides in the shade of an ancient citadel  
Where on a sudden, from the age-old depths,  
Resounds the echo of ancient trumpets.

oOo

From the age-old depths, awakens all the ancient soul,  
And the trumpets shake the gold of the late moon,  
But soon, all relapses into silence,  
All is only silence, in the late moon.

oOo

Sail on, my bark, sail, and thou, oar of dreams,  
Strike still the moon ;  
My soul is a row of ancient citadels,  
Where from age-old depths resound at times  
The echo of ancient trumpets ».

(Vu-dinh-Lien)

# Vietnamese Poetry

(From page 15)

The second world war, followed by our long struggle for independence, hindered the growth of this young poetry. At this very moment when Vietnam, having recovered her true aspect, at last sees the future opening out before her, Vietnamese poetry is still seeking its way, still waiting for the poet.

That way can only be a harmonious synthesis between. East and West. The great of modern poetry is to have unduly favoured the novelties imported from the West and to be, for that very reason, out of reach of the people. Whereas the Kim Van Kieu, a learned poem written by a scholar, is known by the humblest of our fellow-countrymen, and has become a popular song, none of our contemporary poets, even those of real ability, has the freedom of the city in the heart of the masses.

This gulf can only be bridged by our young poet's returning, after their long journey through the West, to the poetical sources that dwell in our people.

For this people is a people of poets, and the poor wretch who, in the evening, lying on a dusty suburban pavement, utters, before he goes to sleep, a few lines of Kim Van Kieu to the moon, is then a genuine poet, like our young peasants who sing their love duet, and as poets, as a people, they are at the very source of that sap which, slowly rising, will make the tree of our poetry blossom.

(From VN Culture Series  
Dept. of National Education)



# THE OBSERVER

## THANKS

The present issue would have failed to come to you this month, because none of the five printers we had contacted accepted to print it.

The first one was the INDEO Imprimerie. The first question we were asked was :

— « What kind of publication is yours ?

— « There is a little of everything therein, including politics, economics, education, social subjects,...»

— « We are sorry, we cannot print political matters,...

— « Why ? they have passed by the censor, we guarantee you there will be no trouble.

— « No Sir, we are rather afraid that « they » come to destroy and burn our shop in case your magazine contains criticism against « them ».

Well, there was no use to insist and we went to see the Imprimerie du Sud Est Asiatique (Dong Nam A), as suggested by INDEO.

— « Is your publication a periodical ? » I was asked.

— Yes, it is a monthly

— There is then very little chance we can accept the print. We have so much work from the Americans with whom we have contracts that we cannot respect a deadline. How about going to the ASPAR Imprimerie next door ?

— « No deadline ? Our readers cannot wait !»

Thanking the man, we went immediately to the ASPAR, realizing all the difficulties we might meet.

The ASPAR director said he could only answer us in three days. We agreed to wait. But when we came back, the answer was : « I am sorry, we have not enough men to work for you ?

The two other printers we had contacted told us more or less the same as the previous ones.

Finally, this issue found its rescuer in Mr. Pham van Nhon the Publisher of the Viet Nam Nouveau.

We avail ourselves of this opportunity to express, — in the name of the Free Observer and on behalf of its readers. — our sincerest thanks to the Viet Nam Nouveau publisher and all the members of his staff.

Ky — Americans — War

## «BABY» OBSERVER QUESTIONED

On April 19, a few days after the « Baby » Observer was born, it received the visit of a group of tall men.

The men identified themselves as representatives of the Australian Radio Television in Saigon.

Questions were asked and the « Baby » must answer :

1/ Q — Do you think that the neutralists and the Communists are to be present in the forthcoming elected Constitutional Assembly ?

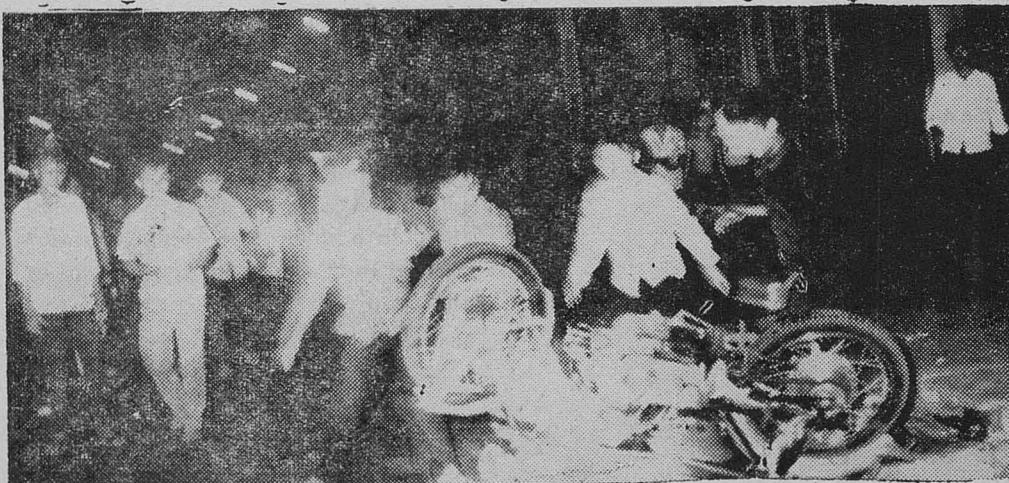
A — First, The F.O. believes that in Vietnam today, it is impossible to be neutral. Here neutralist means Communist, or a Communist pioneer. The F.O. does not make any difference between the two.

Second, we are now fighting the Communist enemy ; there is then no reason to admit the enemy in our most important national organization.

2/ Q — Do you think that PM Ky is wise when he made concessions to the Buddhists recently ?

V.N.-U.S. — These U.S.

Jeep and Honda burned  
by some demonstrators  
cannot be the expression  
of the general  
feeling of the  
Vietnamesse people



# AT WORK

A — Yes. In life, we should sometime stoop down...

Q — Do you think he will conquer ?

A — This depends on him. We don't think that he is a man who only knows how to stoop.

3/ Q — How about the anti-American feeling in Vietnam now ?

A — We don't think that a few anti-American acts or shoutings may be interpreted as the general feeling of the Vietnamese people.

The general feeling is this : everybody, from the youngest to the oldest, including the Viet Cong, realize that if the Americans quit Vietnam today, tomorrow will mark the end of Free Vietnam, (and the beginning of a sad era for all South East Asia).

Q — Who conduct the war here ? The Americans or the Vietnamese ?

A — Actually one cannot fight the war without the other.

(In connection with this question, the Observer wishes to amplify as follows: In this war, Vietnamese and Americans are like two friends crossing a dangerous forest heavily infested with robbers and pirates.

If both are attacked, they both react. When one is attacked, he reacts first, and the other comes to his rescue. When they are attacked separately, each tries to defend himself the best he can.

And each one uses the weapons he possesses to the common fight. So how can one say who conducts the war).



## Life and The Truth

### THE TRUTH SHOCKS

The Free Observer received the following letter from Miss Mae Rapport of USOM :

*Nguyen thi Nga, Publisher  
The Free Observer  
241 Hai Ba Trung  
Saigon, Vietnam*

Dear Nga :

Just to wish you and the « baby » a good and healthy long life, and to congratulate you on your first issue.

As an American woman working here in Saigon, it is difficult to reach any sort of opinion on what is going on, what is true and what is real.

I especially enjoyed reading the story about the first United States visitor in Vietnam. It took me away for a short time from politics and war.

Again, very best wishes to you and your staff for a successful magazine.

Sincerely,

Miss MAE RAPPORT, CPS

## OUR ANSWER

*Miss Mae Rapport, CPS  
87, Le van Duyet  
Saigon, Vietnam*

Dear Miss Mae,

Thank you very much for your sympathy for the « Baby Observer ».

The « baby », as it was born Vietnamese, will try its best to tell you the truth on what is going on in this country. However, it feels that sometimes it is really difficult to tell the truth. It remembers the following sayings each time it opens its mouth :

« Toutes les vérités ne sont pas bonnes à dire » (French).

« Su that mat long » : the truth shocks (Vietnamese).

And as you have enjoyed reading the story of the First American Visitor to Vietnam, we have greatly enjoyed reading your letter which was the First Letter we received from our readers.

Sincerely yours,  
NGUYEN THI NGA  
Publisher



## REMEMBER :

« Les tonneaux  
vides font  
le plus de brut

JUNE 2, the military commission met for the first time to discuss the regroupment of troops and the fixation of the demarcation line.

JUNE 8, the conference was again convened in général assembly during which the Soviet Foreign Minister stressed that the military problem should be solved concurrently with the political problem after the ceasefire in Indochina had come into effect.

JUNE 10, the conference was menaced with a deadlock. Mr. Eden had to warn that the time had come to decide whether the conference should succeed or should fail. In the latter case, it would be of no use to prolong it.

JUNE 12, the situation was confused, the Laniel Government was voted out by the National Assembly with a vote of 306 against 293.

JUNE 16, Mr. Chou En-Lai reiterated his proposal of May 27.

JUNE 17, secret talks between Mr Bidault and Mr Chou En-Lai.

JUNE 18, Mr. Mendès-France was elected Prime Minister with 419 votes. He promised the National Assembly to solve the armistice problem in less than four weeks, that is on July 20 at the latest. The reason for this determination which startled the French people was that the new Prime Minister had full knowledge of the content of the secret documents at the Geneva conference.

JUNE 19, Mr. Chauvel, the new French representative, proposed that the 9th session of the conference be adjourned for three weeks. Heads of the various delegations left the conference, their assistants remained in Geneva to continue to discuss less important problems. Taking advantage of this truce, the French and the Viet-Minh exchanged proposals which were then studied by Viet-Minh and the Communist bloc on one side and France and its allies on the other side.

JUNE 20, tripartite talks between

Messrs Mendès-France, Eden and Walter Bedell Smith in Paris.

JUNE 23, Mr. Mendès-France had a private talk with Chou En-Lai at Berne. We see that Communist China did play a major role at the conference, the Soviets had only a minor role in the discussions while the Viet-Minh cut a sorry figure as the conference prolonged.

JUNE 24, Chou En-Lai flew back to Peking, stopped on the way at New Delhi and was hailed by the Indian people as Peace Ambassador. On the way back to Peking, Chou also met with Hồ-Chi-Minh at the Viet-Nam border. In the meantime, the U.S. had seen clearly into the affair and shown dissatisfaction at the compromising attitude of its allies, France and Great Britain, vis-à-vis the Soviets and the Chinese Communists.

JUNE 25, Messrs Churchill and Eden flew to the U.S., talked with Messrs Eisenhower and Dulles on the alliance in South East Asia. The purpose of the visit was to persuade the U.S. to accept a compromise in Viet-nam in exchange for some promises of the British on the Pacific Treaty. The U.S., for its part, saw no other solution than the proposed compromise while trying to strengthen its defense program in the Pacific; this would constitute the most effective means to safeguard freedom and democracy in this part of the world despite the cunning and vague attitude of its allies.

JUNE 30, general withdrawal of the French troops from the southern part of the delta after agreement between the French and Viet-Minh representatives in Geneva. The U.S. and the Vietnamese Nationalist government were not informed of this major decision; this provoked discontent among the people and especially the nationalists. The Catholic people of Bui-chu, Phat-diem, Phu-ly, Thai-binh were seized with panic and ran away.

JULY 8, Mr. Mendès-France met with Mr. Molotov at a dinner party in a very friendly atmosphere.

JULY 11, the French, Soviet and Chinese stage-managers had played their roles: it was time to arrange a meeting between Mr. Mendès-France and Mr. Pham-Van-Dong. Meanwhile the announcement that the U.S. would not come back to participate in the conference had frightened the French and British representatives. Mr. Henri Bonnet, French Ambassador to Washington, received orders from Paris to try to persuade the U.S. representative to come back to Geneva. The British also asked the U.S. representative to come back. On July 13 Secretary of State Dulles came to Paris and asked Messrs Eden and Mendès-France to meet with him in Paris. The Communists startled before the U.S. attitude whereas they were so optimistic before.

JULY 13 and 14, after the talks between the three foreign ministers, France pledged to respect the requests of Washington and asked the U.S. to be present at the last phase of the conference. Among other things, France had pledged to approve the European Mutual Defense Pact and to participate in the Pacific Treaty Organization. On July 17, General Walter Bedell Smith was sent by Secretary Dulles to Geneva according to the requests of France and Great Britain.

JULY 18, everybody was anxious about the results of the conference. It was Sunday. Mr Molotov presided over the conference and was very conciliating. After Mr Molotov, U.S. representative Bedell Smith delivered a short speech expressing hope for an armistice agreement. Everyone breathed a sigh of relief, especially Mr Mendès-France. Later in the night, the attitude of the U.S. was still favorable and the Viet Minh agreed to make a concession by moving back the demarcation line from the 13th parallel to the 17th parallel. Soon after, Red Chinese news agencies and radio

broadcasts announced the imminent success of the Geneva conference.

JULY 19, optimism reigned in the villa Joli Port. At 10:30, Mr Mendès-France received Mr Tran-Van-Do to advise him to agree to an impossible situation. It is to be noted that the French Premier did not inform the Vietnamese nationalist Foreign Minister of the situation until the last minute when agreement had been reached between the French and the Communists, although the French Government had repeatedly declared that the Vietnamese Government would be informed in advance of any important decisions regarding the Vietnamese people or nation.

JULY 20, at 6 p.m., Messrs Eden, Molotov, Mendès-France met to discuss the request of the Cambodian representative who, at the last minute, had asked for the withdrawal of the Communist-trained Issarak troops, recognition of its neutrality and the right to strengthen its military potential if necessary. The proposed terms of the agreement had to be modified. At 01:40, Pham-Van-Dong came into the conference room, apparently tired. Eight minutes later, he left the room but soon came back. A sigh of relief from everyone. The Cambodian delegation consented to the armistice agreement after its requests had been granted. After reviewing the various documents of the armistice in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, General Delteil, representing the French General Staff, and Mr Ta-Quang-Buu, Deputy Minister of National Defense of the Viet Minh, signed the agreement at 03:48 in the morning of the following day. The armistice agreement with Laos was signed at the same time. After the signing, the armistice was immediately proclaimed and the representatives,—except Mr Tran-Van-Do and General Bedell Smith,—went out of the Palace of the League of Nations, bubbling with joy.

oOo

Even before the signing of the Geneva

# The 1954 Geneva...

armistice agreement, everywhere in the country, from North to South, there was an increasing dissatisfaction which was concretized by furious demonstrations. The Vietnamese Army also sent telegrams to protest against this plot. Of course, the Nationalist government, under the leadership of late Premier Ngo Dinh Diem, also protested energetically before the world immediately after the signing of this treacherous agreement.

The people were really afraid of a renewal of a fratricidal war which their ancestors had experienced during three long centuries. The vision of the bloody Gianh river obsessed them. Anyway, reunification is a primary condition for the national rehabilitation and for the building of a prosperous country. But alas! how could they realize reunification without having to kill one another?

## GENERALITIES ON THE GENEVA AGREEMENT

### A. Military aspect.

1) Demarcation line: Along the Ben Hai River North of National Route No. 9 joining Savannakhet (Laos) and Quang Tri. This line is 20 Kms long and is a part of South Vietnam. No common road is provided for either side, except for a temporary Zone around Hai-phong for the regrouping of the French-Vietnam forces in the delta. This zone will be abolished in due time.

2) Hai-phong: A French temporary zone is established for 10 months for the withdrawal of French troops and equipment from the delta.

3) Control over the cease-fire is assured by a committee consisting of representatives from three countries: India, Canada, and Poland.

4) Regroupment zone in Laos. These regions as all parts of Laos are placed under the authority of Nationalist Laos with « free Laos » advisers.

### B. Political aspect.

The Indochinese states are not all neutralized.

1) South Viet-nam as well as North Viet-nam agree not to permit the establishment of new military bases (for example American or Red Chinese bases on Vietnamese soil and not to join any military alliance). Mr. B dault challenged that Mr. Mendès-France had wanted to leave this point aside.

But France could still keep her arms in South Viet-nam on the request of the Nationalist government.

2) Cambodia still has the right to join a military alliance in accordance with the principles of the United Nations and to let a foreign power (such as the United States) establish bases on her territory if she deems that her security is threatened.

3) Laos enjoys the same rights as Cambodia. Besides, France can keep two military bases (Sano and Dong-chum) on Laotian territory with an effective of 3,500 men and a delegation of 1,500 advisers, training personnel and experts for the training of Laotian forces.

General election will be held all over the territory of Viet-nam. In the two-year period before the general election, the state which wins the people's support by enlightened and progressive reform can hope to survive.

Up to the election date, French economic and cultural interests are guaranteed by the Viet Minh (as agreed in letters exchanged between Messrs. Mendès-France and Pham Van Dong).

Let the reader see for himself what had happened in reality on the Indochina stage.

(From the book entitled :  
THE SEVENTEENTH  
PARALLEL  
By Duong Chau)

# V.N. GIAP APPRAISES AMERICANS...

(From page 8)

Political instability and popular war (guerrilla) techniques.

1) Giap believes that the political situation in South Vietnam is entirely «rotten». He thinks that after successive «coups», revolutionary governments have become powerless and divided. In the meantime, the «strategic hamlets» system is collapsing, popular movements in the cities continue their growth, he says.

Giap has affirmed that, due to the struggle conducted by «the troops and the people» in Central Vietnam, the War Cabinet has been forced to abandon part of priority projects to concentrate efforts in the pacification

of the Mekong Delta area.

2) Giap is proud of his invention of the guerrilla warfare and he compares these techniques to the invention of atomic weapons in the military field.

These techniques consist of inciting the people into rebellion through «legal struggle» to create favorable conditions for the seizure of power by armed elements.

Following is the definition by Giap himself :

«Armed struggle in South Vietnam has developed under favor of political struggle. Either it is a

guerrilla warfare or a relative regular warfare, armed units must always remember the following principle : there must be the closest cooperation and coordination with political struggle».

(Naturally, political struggle means rebellion under cover of legal claims).

★

\* (Giap's statements were published in the «Hoc Tập» NVN review, January 66 issue.)

## Ist US Diplomatic...

(From page 12)

reject them ? If we do, we would display a lack of magnanimity».

«The Emperor then gave orders to a delegation composed of Dao-tri-Phu, Lê-ba-Tu who was Vice-president of the Ministry of the Interior, and other officials of the Diplomatic Service to present his good wishes to the visitors. The delegation was not received, however, the commanding officer of ship pleading illness. The interpreter was then sent to pay a formal visit, a visit which was returned. On the very same day the ship weighed anchor. Dao-tri-Phu and the delegation came back to report to the Emperor, asserting, «These fugitives have proved how incivil they are».

«The Emperor then wrote on the report : «They came to us without our rejecting them : they left without our sending for them : we have conducted ourselves in accordance with Chinese

courtesy. We do not need to take offense when we are dealing with foreign barbarians».

It is to be regretted that the reason for the PEACOCK's sudden departure was not made known, to the Emperor's delegation, for the mission had already made clear its good intentions by anchoring at Tra-Son as it had been ordered to do it and when it returned to Vietnam. The fact is that Roberts had been taken ill during the negotiation which he had conducted in Siam before coming on to Vietnam. He grew steadily worse on the voyage and during the PEACOCK's eight-day stay at Tra-Son.

The ship's hasty departure on May 21 to find help for Edmund Roberts was of no avail : he died at Macao on June 12, 1836. Thus, in sad irony, despite the good will on both sides, ended the second United States mission to Vietnam.

(IN NEXT ISSUE : The First Visit Of a VN Diplomat To The U.S)

# LETTER TO THE EDITOR

## A CRITIQUE :

# THE FOREIGN PRESS

To The Editor,

Dear Sir :

There was recently a protest raised by the head of a religious organization in the Capital against a foreign news agency in Saigon for having released a « completely false » report. Meanwhile, the Vietnamese press agency « Viet Tin » was ordered closed, by the Director of Press and Information, because it disseminated inaccurate reports, some of which were even « pirated » from foreign press services.

These related recent events renders me doubtful of the reliability of the foreign press in general which used to enjoy my full confidence.

Checking at length with some veterans of the Saigon press, I have come to the following conclusions :

Only a few foreign press agencies or offices in Saigon have made frequent inaccurate news reports. However, some mistakes have been serious enough to affect the reputation of the « ensemble »

The mistakes may come, not from the foreign correspondents themselves, but oftentimes from intermediaries, the interpreters and translators.

I have no doubts about the abilities of our technicians. However, we must recognize neither interpreting nor translating is an easy job. A hasty interpretation of a delicate conversation ; the inaccurate translation of a word, particularly key words in a sentence, which oftentimes have no equivalents ; the misunderstanding by the interpreters themselves of possibly both the questions and the answers ; all these may render the whole conversation into unrelated pieces.

On the part of an interpreter, there may still have the involvement of his « self » in the conversation, especially with questions concerning « faith ». Naturally, he quite often favors his religion over others. How would the foreign journalist, whom he helps, know the exact answer from his subject.

All newspapermen are pressed by tight deadlines. They send something to the central office every day. The need is invariably for something outstanding, sensational, exceptional, exclusive. And as such events do not occur everyday, they are sometimes forced to report rumors, as advance stories, to meet some deadline, to be denied later if necessary. Usually, denials are made only in case there are reactions.

The need for hot and explosive news tends to generate in our pressmen a professional deformation. They do not like things as they are. They have a tendency to make things into what they want them to be. By the techniques of making leads ; the use of exaggerated terms ; the suppression of some details, sometimes of a whole aspect of a problem ; by these devices the stories become sensational and attractive without being entirely false. The stories have however been deformed. And the victims are not the reporters, and things pass.

There may be cases of intentional distortion of news for personal reasons, or because of the agency's policy or interests. News distortion is also used by some as a way to correct a mistake previously done. This technique is rather too hard for the common reader to understand. It is however detrimental to the prestige of the paper concerned.

(Continued on page 26)

REMARKS :

1/ From the viewpoint of overall organization, it appears that there is some structural parallelism, with the Catholic Citizens Community (N° 3) at the center, the Greater Union Forces and the Catholic Greater Union Bloc on one side, the Catholic Citizens Front and the National United Front on the other.

2) The overall organization also indicates an effort to gain a largest participation of the people :

— The 'party' organizations stress 'no religious discrimination' ;

— Both 'bloc' organizations authorize the participation of similar specific categories of people (NVN refugees, Central VN Catholics, ...)

3) The two 'Greater Union' groups (N° 1 & 2) were placed under the spiritual leadership of Father Hoang Quynh, a North Vietnamese.

The two 'Front' organizations (N° 4 & 5) were sponsored by Father Tran Van Vui, a South Vietnamese.

This indicates that there were almost separate organizations to fit everybody : North or South Vietnamese, those who like politics and those who do not...

4/ The organization in the center (N° 3) was rather a politico-socio-religious branch gathering the 'rest' of Catholic citizens.

SECOND PHASE: 1966

During the first four months of 1966, there were two changes in the Catholic organizations :

1/ Early 1966, the Christian Democrat Party (Dân Chu Thien Chua Giao) whose leader is Mr. Hoang Xuân Việt was officially authorized to operate. It functions like brother parties in Italy and West Germany.

There are then now six Catholic militant organizations.

On April 12, exactly one month after the beginning of the political unrest, Catholic leaders met in an important congress and decided the creation of a Catholic Leadership Committee (Chu

tich Đoàn) to head a new organization called the « Catholic Citizens Bloc (Khôi Công Dân Công Giao).

The Committee was composed of seven men ; the Bloc commanded and coordinated the activities of all the six Catholic groups.

On April 21, the Committee was reshuffled and reinforced to become an 8-man Committee. The duties of the Bloc remained unchanged.

Father Hoang Quynh is the Committee Chairman.

However, up to May 15, the composition of the Catholic militant high command is not definite. A national Catholic congress, which will be convened soon, will decide on its shape and formation.

SISTER ORGANIZATION :  
The 'Citizens of All Faiths Front'

The « Citizens of all Faiths Front » was created in 1965. It was a common organization for four main religions in Vietnam : Buddhism, Catholicism, Cao Dai and Hoa Hao.

The Buddhists of the Vien Hoa Dao were also among the founders of the Front. They later withdrew, but there remain the Buddhists of the General Buddhist Church.

Father Hoang Quynh was unanimously elected Chairman of the Front and maintains his function ever since.

The Front has always worked in very close cooperation with all Catholic organizations.

After the withdrawal of the Vien Hoa Dao Buddhists, and especially during the recent political crisis, the Front has always been the sole instrument for contacts between main religions and the only area for frank exchange of views between religious leaders.

The Council of Religions (Hoi dong Tôn giao), a more official religious organization which the Vien Hoa Dao has refused to join too, — is more representative than effective.

## The foreign press...

(From page 25)

The last point concerns a possible superficial knowledge of the Vietnamese problems on the part of certain journalists.

Vietnamese problems actually involve the military, politics, economics, social affairs, ... everything, and each of these fields has tens of years of background and all are mixed together.

Mr. Editor, let me tell you the following story before I finish my letter :

During the recent political crisis, a foreign pressman conducted a series of interviews. He only spoke English. In one interview, he met with persons who only speak Vietnamese and a bit of English.

As there was no translator, a cameraman played the intermediary role. The man spoke some broken English.

The conversation was about religions, political parties, Vietnamese VIPs and other most delicate problems of Vietnam.

One can imagine what kind of news this combination produced.

Sincerely yours,  
TRAN QUYET CHINH

# APRIL : A 2-HALF MONTH

April was clearly divided into two halves: the first half may be called Buddhist and the second Catholic.

Actually, the Buddhist staged almost daily demonstrations in Saigon and the Central provinces from April 1 through April 14 which was the date fixed by the Buddhist Struggle Forces for a mammoth protest demonstration in Saigon.

Fortunately, the Decree-Law on the election of a Constitutional Assembly was signed the same day, rendering the Buddhists «satisfied», as Ven. Hô Giac told newsmen.

A rather orderly and peaceful street march on April 14 marked the end of the initial month-long stage of the Buddhist struggle.

However, starting on the 15th, three days after the Catholic leaders met to form a «High Command» called the «Catholic Citizens Bloc», Saigon and the provinces fell again in unrest with Catholic demonstrations everywhere.

We may say then there was not any quiet day in April, which will stay in history, we believe, as the most special month of the post-revolution period,

Other events included the involvement of several political parties, the active participation of students and professors in the turmoil and a series of changes and new decisions in the administrative hierarchy.

## CHRONOLOGY

### APRIL 1

KY — P.M. Nguyen Cao Ky warned against the dangers of Communist exploitation of signs of dissension within the national ranks.

Indifference and non-cooperation with the Government are improper because the Government stands ready to accept suggestions from whatever side and discuss any problem with those who raise it, he said.

«I might have to solve problems as a militaryman that I am», he added.

The statement was made in Can Tho, during ceremonies marking the establishment of a University for the western provinces.

CHIEU — Reports reached Saigon that Lt. Gen. Chieu, Secretary General of the National Leadership Committee, was «prevented» by Hue demonstrators from returning to Saigon.

Gen. Chieu, accompanied by Col. Pham van Lieu, former Commander of the National Police, went to Hue on March 30 to meet Gen. Nguyen Chanh Thi, the deposed I Corps Commander. Col. Lieu met no trouble.

THIEU — Lt. Gen. Nguyen Van Thieu told Brasilian newsmen that «things done in a hurry will never last.»

Democracy cannot be built in one day; we need time to draft a Constitution, to educate the people, to organize a referendum, to prepare a general election for the National Assembly and to set up a civilian government, he said.

### APRIL 2

HO GIAC — Ven. Ho Giac, head of the Lay Buddhists Affairs of the Buddhist Institute (Vien Hoa Dao) told a crowd of 10,000 persons that national unity must be achieved through mutual understanding and tolerance on the part of all factions, groups and religions, to «save this country from annihilation».

SAIGON RADIO — Buddhist students screaming anti-American slogans stormed the Saigon Radio station. With a machine-gun show of strength, Premier Nguyen Cao Ky moved against the Buddhist demonstrations for the first time.

Before the demonstration, a sweaty crowd of 10,000 had gathered at the Buddhist Institute to listen to a speech by Ven. Ho Giac.

CHIEU — Lt. Gen. Pham Xuân Chiêu flew back to Saigon from Huê. In answer to a question of a newsmen who asked him if his life is in danger at any time in Huê, Gen. Chiêu replied: «I don't know, I can't say».

### APRIL 3

NLC — The National Leadership Committee announced four important decisions: 1/ The Government is moving towards the installation of a duly elected representative government; 2/ A political Congress will be convened; 3/ Extremely firm measures would be taken against agitation; 4/ Vietnam is grateful to friendly Allied countries and troops fighting here.

PM Ky proclaimed Danang in pro-Communist rebel hands, and its mayor will be shot.

### APRIL 4

STREET MARCH — Buddhist youths marched Saigon's streets. Dispersed by tear gas grenades hurled in their way by the Police, they regrouped elsewhere and continued the march.

THIEU — Chief of State Nguyen van Thieu alerted the people to the danger of Communist infiltration into the demonstrators' ranks. He also said that the demonstrators had seized control of the Hue, Dalat, Ban Me Thuot and Nha Trang radio stations.

He ordered all schools to close beginning April 5, for security reason.

MAYOR — Saigon Prefect launched an appeal for calm saying:

«Claiming to fight for freedom and democracy, a minority of people, challenging the national leaders and, the majority's desire, want to achieve their aims by all means. They even plot to sell out Free Vietnam to the Communists».

TAM CHAU — Ven. Tam Chau, head of the Buddhist Institute said that the April 2 demonstration against the Saigon Radio was not organized by

# APRIL :

the Institute «which always advocates moderation».

CURFEW — 9 p.m. to 5 a.m. curfew was imposed in Saigon and Gia Dinh.

DANANG MAYOR — Dr. Nguyen Van Mân, Danang Mayor, said he had no intention to leave, and had nothing to fear because he was not a Viêt Cộng.

In the meantime, Lt. Col. Ma Sanh Nhon was appointed by PM Ky to replace Dr. Man.

TAM GIAC — Ven Tâm Giac, head of the Buddhist Chaplains said in Can Tho that the Buddhists do not promote agitation and called on all Buddhists to keep calm and clear-sighted so that «we shall not be exploited by profiteers».

TRI QUANG — Ven. Tri Quang, the spiritual leader of the Buddhist movement, said that the Buddhist position remained unchanged: an elected National Assembly and an elected government.

STUDENTS — Saigon University Students disclaimed connections with Buddhist agitation.

KY — PM Ky headed troops to Da Nang. Paratroopers and Marines were on board six U.S. C-130 transports.

## APRIL 5

CAO DAI — Cao Dai leaders urged faithful to remain calm, to respect national order and unity.

DEMONSTRATION — Buddhist youths staged two demonstrations in Saigon and were dispersed by the police using clubs and tear gas. One group withdrew in the headquarters of the Buddhist Youth (near the Buddhist Institute) which was then surrounded by the police.

KY — Returning from Danang, PM Ky declared that «the situation is very serious».

DAT TO — The publisher and editor of 'Dat Tô' (Fatherland), an official press organ of the Buddhist Institute were arrested and detained.

## APRIL 6

ASSEMBLY — The Government and the Buddhists reached an agreement in principle on the election of a Constitutional Assembly, following a meeting between PM Ky and three Buddhist leaders — the Ven. Tam Châu, Hô Giac (Lay Affairs), and Thiên Minh (Youth Affairs), — and extensive consultations with other religious, political and civic groups.

The agreement concerned the election of a Constitutional Assembly within five or six months and the formation of a Political Congress of selected delegates to study ways and means of holding the general elections.

DA NANG — Ven. Tâm Châu, head of the Buddhist Institute, asked PM Ky to cancel all military movements against Da Nang, Huê and the other provinces of the I Corps.

SONG PAPER — The office of the (Sông) daily newspaper was sacked by Buddhist demonstrators. (Sông) publisher and editor Chu Van Binh, better known as Chu Tu, was accused of having reported «false stories» on their activities.

HUE — Huê demonstrators announced they disassociated with the Saigon Viên Hoa Dao and vowed to stand separately to continue the struggle against the Government.

## APRIL 7

DEMONSTRATION — Defying orders from Buddhist elders, about 600 teenagers took to the streets, upturning and burning a US Jeep parked on Phan Thanh Gian Street, Saigon.

Warning shots fired by the ARVN paratroopers failed to break up the mob as they marched downtown, threatening to burn at least two newspaper offices.

VIEN HOA DAO — The Buddhist Institute released a communique calling on all the people to «temporarily cease all forms of struggle» and set at the same time a new set of «requests» to the Government.

They were :

1. To retract all orders relating to punishment or transfer of those «civil servants and military personnel who took part in the movement for freedom and democracy in the country since March 11, 1966...»

2. To release all persons including military men, who have been detained because of their activities.

3. «Withdraw all government troops who were sent to the central provinces for political operations in order to create an atmosphere of serenity».

4. To reaffirm the intention of the Gov't to set up a Constitutional Assembly by the promulgation of an decree.

The communique said the Buddhists would send their own investigative committee to the Center to probe recent occurrences there.

CONGRESS — The NLC announced that the National Political Congress will be convened on April 13 to advise the Government on the election of delegates to the Constitutional Convention.

DANANG — Lt. Nguyen Huu Co, Deputy Premier and Maj. Nguyen Van Chuân, Commander of the I Corps, conferred for the third straight day in an effort to solve the political crisis in Danang and Huê.

PRESS — The Association of Vietnamese Newspaper Publishers sent a letter to Information Minister Dinh Trinh Chinh asking for complete abolition of the press censorship regulations.

## APRIL 8

DEMONSTRATION — Buddhist teenagers took to the streets of Saigon for the 7th consecutive day and riot police used a new weapon — vomitive grenades — to disperse them. The youths overturned and set fire to a police jeep and tossed two grenades at police.

# A 2-HALF MONTH

SCHOOLS — Lt. Gen. Nguyen Van Thiêu, Chairman of the NLC authorized all schools in the IV Corps to reopen starting Apr. 9.

## APRIL 9

VIEN HOA DAO — The Buddhist leaders claimed that the Government had turned down the four-point demand they had present last month. Since the aspirations of the people had not been met, they said, they decided to start an open struggle against the Government.

The decision was announced at a news conference held in the Vien Hoa Dao during which the following proclamation was read :

«The United Buddhist Church reaffirms its position of joining the aspiration of the people. One of these aspirations is an elected Congress in a very short time. This Congress must be a platform where the people can speak about the sovereignty of their nation.

«Since March 1 until now the Buddhists have tried to reach a solution with the government to avoid many sacrifices and riots in Saigon. But until now many obstacles to form this Congress have been put in our way.

«Meanwhile, all the activities of the people in their efforts to oppose the government have been separated. For this reason the United Buddhist Church has decided to accept leadership. We appeal to all branches of the United Buddhist Church to declare an emergency to all Buddhists and to inform them that all separate activities against the government must stop and that the headquarters of the Buddhist Church be notified before new ones begin. »

The statement continued :

«The new organization is called the Vietnam Buddhist Forces and it is directed by Thich Thien Minh (Director of Youth Affairs) and Thich Ho

two venerables will lead the Buddhists

in their struggle. For all the people wishing to show their opposition to the government, please contact our headquarters at Vien Hoa Dao, we will dictate the time and place».

CATHOLICS — Members of the Greater Union Forces — a militant Catholic organization — held a meeting at the City Hall condemning agitations and asking the government to take « strong measures to stabilize the situation at any price ».

Speakers at the meeting, while stressing that the national prestige had been adversely affected by the week-long demonstrations and riots staged by a minority, hinted that their organization could hold « counter demonstrations » many times larger than those occurring in Saigon during the past week.

The GUF speakers also called on the people to « stand up against the rioters. »

VIET CONG.— Intelligence source reported that the VC, taking advantage of recent disturbances in the country, were trying to launch a general war and instigate the population to topple the government.

The source disclosed that in an order dated March 12, 1966 sent by the VC Central Committee in the South to the Liberation Front of the East Zone, the Special Commissariat in Saigon—Gia Dinh and the Committee for Buddhism Defense of the East Zone, the V.C. estimated that the internal disorder could soon attain its climax, which would be favorable to the launching of a general war on all fronts, political economic and social.

GEN. DINH — Lt. Gen. Tôn Thất Dinh, one of the young generals who were instrumental in the overthrow of Ngô Dinh Diệm in 1963, was named Commander of the I Corps, replacing Maj. Gen. Nguyen Van Chuan.

## APRIL 10

VIEN HOA DAO — CONGRESS — In what was tantamount to an official declaration of war against the military cabinet, Buddhist leaders told a news conference that their denomination would not participate in the National Political Congress to hold in Saigon April 12.

«To hold such a congress with appointed members is to kill democracy», said Ven. Thien Minh, head of the newly created Buddhist struggle forces.

CATHOLICS — The Greater Union Forces (Catholic youth) held an extraordinary general congress at their headquarters to plan for future actions.

Meanwhile, Saigon Catholic students, in an Easter Sunday meeting, denounced anti-government violence that has generated chaos in Saigon and some other cities throughout the past week.

The meeting, sponsored by the Saigon University Catholic Student Association, heard speakers strongly blast use of violence by promoters of non-violence » and urge the government to spare no drastic measures to restore security and order to assure adequate protection of both public and private properties in the cities.

The Catholic students, while supporting the Ky government in its efforts to stabilize the situation, also called for a representative government «as soon as possible».

They welcomed the presence of allied forces in the country, but declared that Vietnam's sovereignty must be respected.

GEN. DINH — The new I Corps Commander said that he did not need VN Marines to restore order in Danang.

## APRIL 11

HO GIAC — Ven. Ho Giac, deputy

# APRIL :

commander of the Buddhist Struggle forces urged all Buddhist faithful to respect the «properties and honor» of Allied servicemen.

TRI QUANG — Ven. Tri Quang, the spiritual leader of the Buddhists denied being anti-American and pro-Communist. He said he was opposed to the blocking of the setting up of a National Assembly «at the earliest date possible», and this means he was «opposed to American policy in so far as it blocks the constitution of such national body».

## APRIL 12

CONGRESS — National Political Congress opened at Dien Hong Place 117 representatives of various political religious and professional groups and civic organizations from all parts of the country were present.

THIEU — Chief of State Nguyen Van Thieu reiterated before the Congress the standing military government's pledge to turn over state powers to civilians.

«We in the military have no wish nor intention to cling to the burdens of statehood», he said.

US AND VN BASES — An American Embassy in Saigon said that the US government has no territorial leases in South Vietnam. The land used by American military and other installations is owned by the VN government and this government can assert control of these areas at any time.

CATHOLICS — Ranking Catholic leaders met «to discuss the present political crisis.» The meeting decided the creation of a 7-man Leadership Committee to command and coordinate the activities of all Catholic organizations and groups.

The meeting was believed to be the start of a nation-wide Catholic stand against street agitation and abuse of democracy.

CURFEW — The 9 p.m. to 5 a.m. curfew in the Saigon Gia Dinh area

was shortened back to midnight-4 a.m.

KY — PM Ky told a visiting delegation of the Saigon University Student Association and the Student Council that «the patience shown by government over the recent days means neither weakness nor stubbornness to stick to power.»

THIEN MINH — Ven. Thien Minh, head of the Buddhist Struggle Forces, called for a mammoth Buddhist demonstration on April 14, «to express the Buddhist demands for a Constitutional Assembly».

BINH — TAM CHAU — CONGRESS — Archbishop Binh told Gen. Thieu, NLC Chairman, that «I cannot attend the political congress because it is purely political. As for Catholic representatives, I cannot send them either because according to Catholic rules, no Catholic is entitled to represent the Catholic Church in politics.»

Ven. Tam Chau, head of the Buddhist Institute told Gen. Thieu he could not send any representative.»

CENSORSHIP — Information Minister Dinh Trinh Chinh turned down the request of the Saigon press for the lifting of press censorship by explaining that «the decision cannot come from this Ministry alone.»

## APRIL 14

ASSEMBLY — The Decree-Law deciding the election of a Constitutional Assembly within three to five months was signed by Lt. Gen. Nguyen Van Thieu before the National Political Congress.

As Chairman Thieu was signing the document, Buddhist leaders who had boycotted the political congress, were exerting efforts to heed off demonstrations called for the day before.

«We are satisfied at this point», Ven. Ho Giac told newsmen the same day the Decree was signed.

Thousands of Buddhist however, staged an orderly and

peaceful street march, in a «show of force» that had been rendered academic by the signing of the Decree-Law.

## CATHOLICS

The Vietnamese Catholic Citizens Bloc (formerly the Greater Union Force) took stand on releasing the following statement :

«This democratic regime should respond to the real condition of South Vietnam, an under-developed country which still has to fight against the Communist threat and to realize, in the future, the reunification of the partitioned homeland.»

«In order to attain best and lasting results, the future democratic regime could not be established on the basis of a compromise in whatever form, with the Communists.»

«Genuine democracy, should be built under favour of national stability and solidarity.»

STUDENTS — Student Chairman To Lai Chanh denied an allegation that the Saigon University Students had been 'bought' for the sum of five million piastres. Chanh said that Ven. Thien Minh had made such an accusation against the students. He called the allegation a «slander.»

## APRIL 15

THI — Lt. Gen. Nguyen Chanh Thi, former I Corps Commander whose ouster ignited the current political crisis, stepped to the forefront of the rebellious northern provinces for the first time and vowed to keep demonstrations going.

# A 2-HALF MONTH

## APRIL 16

CHU TU — Two unidentified gunmen shot and critically wounded the publisher and editor of the Vietnam language daily newspaper « Sông »

Sông's office was burned by Buddhist demonstrators on April 6.

CATHOLICS — Five thousand Catholics refugees snarled traffic on the Biên Hoa Highway, 15 miles north of Saigon. They called for the Government to take « strong measures against rebels, and to punish Communist elements » they accused of having instigated the recent demonstrations in Saigon, Da-nang and Hué.

## APRIL 17

TRI QUANG — Buddhist spiritual leader Tri Quang urged the people of Da-nang to stop demonstrating and give PM Ky chance to set up the promised election of the national assembly.

The most militant Buddhist leader also said the Buddhists do not want the immediate resignation of the Ky government. They were prepared to let Ky rule until general elections are held in the three to five months.

## APRIL 18

ELECTORAL LAW — NLC met to discuss plans for the establishment of a committee in charge of drafting an electoral law.

STUDENTS — A Saigon University student threatened to burn himself as a wave of resentment over Ven. Thiên Minh's charge that the students elements had been « bribed » by the government to sweep the South Viet Nam capital's student elements.

The student was Hoa The Nhàn, who together with 17 other students, wound up a 24h hunger strike in protest against the Buddhist monk charge.

THIEN MINH — The head of the Buddhist Struggle Forces exhorted

Buddhist faithful « to be vigilant and ready for all eventualities ». The warning was made after dissenting voices were aired by Saigon University students and professors and several Catholic organizations citing the « untimeliness » of elections at this time.

## APRIL 20

VIETNIKS — Vietnamese youths broke up an unauthorized news conference held by six American « Vietnicks » and warned them to get out of the country with their protest against US involvement in VN.

STUDENTS — Saigon University Students ordered a stop to hunger strikes and denounced Ven. Thiên Minh » as an individual » for his failure to prove his alleged charges that the students had received VN\$5 million piastres in bribes from the government

The students however expressed satisfaction over the « deep sympathy » by other Buddhist leaders ; they cited two cables from Ven. Tâm Châu and Ven. Quang Liêñ, head of the Bô De Buddhist high school.

## APRIL 21

PRESS — To protest against the murder attempt on Sông's editor Chu Tu, all newspapers suspended publication one day.

DALAT — Following the fatal mauling of a soldier by demonstrators in Dalat, ARVN troops fired at the mob killing two on the spot, and another who expired later. In an earlier incident the same day, a soldier was beaten to death by the demonstrators.

V1ETNIKS — Saigon police hauled six kicking, struggling American pacifists up the ramp of a Pan-American jetliner and expelled them from South Vietnam.

## APRIL 22

POLICE — Colonel Pham Van Lieu was relieved as chief of the National

Police. Col Nguyen Ngoc Loan was designated to replace Col. Liêu. Loan will function as concurrent commander of the Military Security Service.

LOGDE — US Ambassador to Vietnam Henri C. Lodge branded the recent local political disputes as « great attempt... by the Communists to take advantage of the situation.

STUDENTS — Saigon University Students braced up against what they described as a 'plot' to undermine Vietnamese and Allied efforts to save the country from Communism. They announced the organization of a « Struggle Committee for the Protection of the Fatherland and Citizens Rights Against Camouflaged Communists ».

## APRIL 23

### Electoral law

A 48-man council to draft an election code for South Vietnam held its initial sessions at the Dien Hong conference hall.

Fifteen representatives of the various elected provincial and city councils in the four tactical zones ; four from the ministries of Information, Interior, Justice and the Prime Minister's office ; and 29 from the various religious, political groups and other noted civilians comprised the body.

The council will draft laws and regulations governing the forthcoming elections of the assembly and subsequent polls.

HOA HAO — The Hoa Hao Buddhist sect expressed apprehension over possible Communist infiltration into the Constituent Assembly.

The warning was contained in a communique signed by the Hoa Hao Central Executive Committee. The communique also said that « prevention against Communist infiltration into the constitutional drafting body is of utmost importance. »

# APRIL : A 2-HALF MONTH

## APRIL 24

CATHOLICS — Militant Catholic demonstrators marched through the streets of Saigon warning against the danger of a Communist-infiltrated National Assembly which could result from hasty elections in insecure areas. The Catholics staged at least three demonstrations — two in Saigon and one in Biên Hòa, 20 miles from Saigon.

## APRIL 25

DALAT — Buddhist leaders and the Dalat Military Commander met in an effort to hammer out a « compromise ». The lifting of a 24-hour curfew laid down four days before indicated some semblance of normalcy was returning to the Dalat city. Arrangements were made for the funeral of four persons who died in the previous week demonstrations.

## APRIL 26

TRI QUANG — Ven. Tri Quang, mastermind of the recent Buddhist demonstrations, pledged to remain in Huê until after the government has effected its pledge for Constituent Assembly in three to five months. He cautioned a throng of Buddhist faithful the Dieu De pagoda in Huê against at further street marches which might prejudice « the rights we are concretely enjoying ».

KY — PM Ky allayed fears of a Communist take-over of the government, citing as a deterrent the growing strength of the Armed Forces. Speaking before a dinner group, the Premier said « the Armed Forces is not an instrument of any individual, especially those who have neither actively fought the Communists nor share the ideal of the Armed Forces. »

DANANG — Thousands of Catholics held anti-Communist, pro-Allied rally

in the Catholic village of Tam Toà, on the outskirt of Danang. Banners in Vietnamese and English carried such slogans as « We are grateful to the Allied Forces „, Down with the Communists ... »

« Let us not worry about the turmoil in the cities », he told over 300 rural reconstruction cadres at the An Nhơn Stadium, Bình Định province.

## APRIL 29

LODGE — Ambassador Henry C. Lodge headed home for a major review of US policy in Vietnam. Lodge planned to stop in Rome to see Paul VI.

POLICE — Colonel Nguyễn Ngọc Loan took his new position as Director of the National Police.

## MAY DAY

— Thousands of demonstrators gathered in scattered points of Saigon. Labor groups of various tendencies mobilized their members for the traditional march. 10,000 troops and police stood by to thwart any rioting. No serious incidents happened.

PRESS — Four local vernacular dailies were blacklisted from Central Vietnam : Tu Do, Chinh Luân, Tiên Tuyên and Thoi Luân. Significantly, the Catholic Xây Dung which had editorially opposed Buddhist « methods », remains in the news stands.

DAI VIET — The Dai Viet Cach Mang (Dai Việt Revolutionary party) staged two mass demonstrations in two localities near Huê, denouncing Communist henchmen who took advantage of the Buddhist struggle to repress and terrorize nationalist patriots.

## APRIL 28

KY — PM Ky cited rural upliftment as the decisive factor in the Vietnam conflict.

The stress in Government efforts is in the speedy implementation of projects to bring opportunities for higher standard of living to countryside residents, he said.



# THE KOREANS IN THE WAR



INT'L SOLIDARITY — This war is being imposed on the Vietnamese people by international Communism. The international community is involved, and only international forces can win this war.

## TIẾNG ĐÀN TÔI

(Strains from my guitar)

PHẠM - DUY

Born in Hanoi in 1921, Pham Duy is the eldest son of Vietnamese famous poet Pham Duy Tôn. His brother is Mr. Pham Duy Khiêm, also a famous French-educated writer. His wife, Thai Hang, a mother of 6, has been, a widely acclaimed songstress of Vietnam for two decades. Pham Duy who began his career as a composer about twenty years ago, has produced over a hundred pieces of music. He has been specializing in folk songs. (Tiếng Dan Tôi) is a 15-year old song very familiar to the young generations of all times.

Tango

