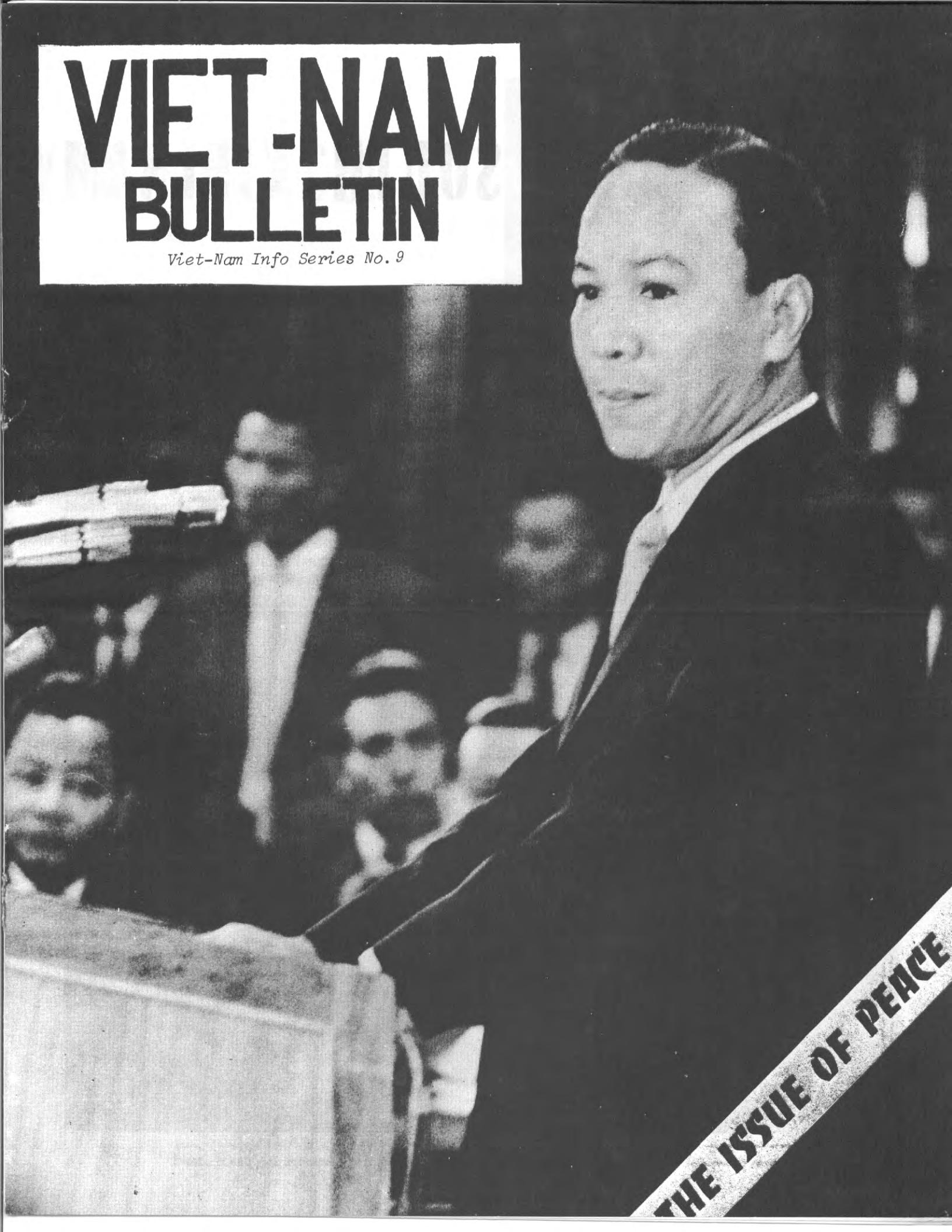


VIET-NAM BULLETIN

Viet-Nam Info Series No. 9



THE ISSUE OF PEACE

DOES SOUTH VIETNAM

By TRAN NHA

A sampling of public opinion on the issue of peace recently conducted by a Saigon newspaper may very well knock many foreign observers from heights of complacency in their assessments of South Vietnamese predispositions on a peaceful settlement of the war.

«How would you feel if one morning you woke up to the news that peace has come?» men and women from all segments of the community were asked. To many the simple question proved huge,

disturbing like the sudden burst of sunlight flooding a room long steeped in darkness. And their answers could jar not a few internationalist-humanitarians bent on promoting peace in Vietnam at all costs. Their tone and approach varied, but there was a striking similarity in the response, the same basic feeling—that of cautious enthusiasm.

The reaction of a lady attorney echoed the typical view: «Instant peace is fine, wonderful, but beware of instant loss of freedom and democracy altogether.» The man on the street was succinct with simplicity. «Real peace?» he invariably asked. The educated youth was candid. One university student spoke of the difficulty of winning the hearts of untutored peasants in the far-flung, tragedy-stric-

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People from all over the country converge in Saigon to express support for peace stand.

WANT PEACE?

ken areas over the plausibility of our peace concept — a genuine peace in freedom and justice but which calls at the same time for greater sacrifice and more endurance. «Does it really mean peace for our children?» asked many a woman in the home.

It is not strange — the unfamiliarity of many a Westerner with the inner fears of the free and knowledgeable South Vietnamese of a peace that brooks collusion with the Communists and devoid of guarantees for continued liberty and the democratic process. It is not improbable that they question the above views as the result of indoctrination in that field in which the Communists excel. Hence, the hasty conclusion that the people of South Vietnam are too easily influenced by the nation's «hawkish» generals to be able to speak for themselves and adopt a stand contrary to the official hard line. Such a misunderstanding of the problem is all but fortunate.

In the weeks that followed President Nguyen Van Thieu's adamant refusal to join the Paris peace talks on a four-party formula which allowed participation of the National Liberation Front as a quasi-government of South Vietnam, press reports from abroad showed gross lack of understanding by official and diplomatic circles in the Western capitals of the world of the position of Saigon. In the face of the President's defiance of pressure and threat which won unprecedented and popular acclaim and shattered the «U.S. puppet» image that pernicious minds had for the Saigon administration, a majority of Western observers surprisingly continued to treat the matter as something that was «not serious.» Only a few regarded the position of Saigon for what it was, a matter of life and death for the nation, not plain face-saving or principle. The dishearteningly low ebb in faith was such that one could not escape the impression that Western opinion makers were coldly and deliberately ignoring South Vietnamese interest and stand to influence world opinion in a concerted effort to get the stalled peace talks under way and at any price. The average Vietnamese found this hard to believe, and doubly hard to believe the fact that these intelligent opinion makers could not grasp the heart of the matter.

When finally, on Nov. 27 word came from



President Thieu and Vice President Ky emerge from a discussion with government leaders on the peace issue.

Washington of an explicit endorsement of the Saigon position that prompted our government to end its month-long refusal to join the Paris talks, the same foreign observers were quick to describe President Thieu's new decision as stemming from a «growing sense of isolation, a growing realization that there was little support for his position outside of Vietnam.»

A foreign news agency reported that even «diplomatic sources» in Saigon said that «aside from a few hard-line anti-Communist countries in Asia such as Thailand, there was little support and sympathy for his (President Thieu's) stand. The assertion implies a continued disregard for South Vietnamese aspirations, attempts to bolster the contention that the government of the Republic of Vietnam is not keen on an early peaceful settlement of the war through negotiations. In short, it falls in line with the thinking of disregard-South-Vietnam exponents who bluntly accuse this nation's leaders of all being «hawks» with war as their *raison d'être* and that of their regime.

How then explain the unanimous and popular support within Vietnam for the government's hard line? To maintain that one whole nation and its

Yes, but not peace on Communist terms

elected instrumentalities who have suffered from the cruelties of a war of more than two decades could be compelled to support a «hawkish» policy by force or threat of reprisal by constituted authority is to insult the very cause which the South Vietnamese are fighting for, and tears into shreds the very fundamentals of American commitment in Vietnam. The question must be asked: Have not this nation's first truly genuine democratic institutions rendered the U.S. government truly proud such that it has sent half a million sons of America to the battlefields of Vietnam in defense of those very institutions?

Over twenty years of war, it is true, have conditioned the Vietnamese to the ways of conflict, disabused him of illusions of an easy and early termination of the struggle. But such does not justify the

gross and unfair distortion that he rejects peace because he stands behind his government's uncompromising position on the negotiations issue. Conversely, the observation that the government stand does not reflect the profound aspirations of the people who may be all but unwilling to welcome peace at any price is equally tendentious.

It cannot truthfully be said that the spontaneous, rousing acclaim accorded President Thieu's world-shaking speech before a joint session of the National Assembly on Nov. 2 was more a manifestation of belligerence than an outburst of admiration for his resplendent definition of the nation's sense of dignity and freedom. If work stopped, men and women openly wept, employes held their breath in their offices, factories, market places, bus stations, and on the battlefield, it was not because of disappointment in a delay in the negotiations or the prospects of prolonged war. It was because this small, unhappy but proud nation, in the words of its leader, was determined as ever to weather the storm, stand firm against Communist aggression whatever their military onslaughts or political blandishments. It was because the people took heart with the President's dramatic appeal in their behalf to men of good will



Senators and Deputies march to Independence Palace to assure President Thieu of backing.

all over the world «not to encourage aggression» by condoning promotion of a coalition government with the aggressors in South Vietnam which the Communists have spoused all along.

Yes, the South Vietnamese people want peace, but not peace at any price, not peace on Communist terms. They know only too well the lesson of North

Vietnam after the Communist takeover with a coalition government.

Even if aggression were to be rewarded at the peace negotiations, 16 million men and women of Free Vietnam are determined to suffer, to strive for the triumph of justice in this corner of the world. Such is the iron fact of the matter.

Senior NVA defectors:

'REDS WILL NEVER GIVE UP'

The four most senior defectors from the North Vietnamese Army in South Vietnam were interviewed in Saigon on October 28 and 29, shortly before the U.S. bombing halt of the North on Nov. 1.

Between themselves, these four men count with a total of 89 years of North Vietnamese (Lao Dong) party experience. An insight into the North Vietnamese Communist scheme of things for a takeover of the South while talking peace is provided by the following views expressed during the interviews.

Lt. Col. Phan Viet Dung, alias Phan Mau, Commander of the North Vietnamese 165th Regiment, 21 years Party membership:

«Hanoi says that the Americans are the aggressors both here and in the North. By their reasoning a bombing halt will demonstrate that the Americans are guilty and they will be able to make propaganda gains from this, both in Vietnam and around the world.

«Further, the halt will give them every opportunity to repair the roads and bridges and regardless of what they say they will then increase infiltration far beyond anything you can imagine, though they may at first hide the men and equipment in Laos and Cambodia.

«Hanoi wants this bombing stop and the apparent peace it will bring only so that she can better prepare to gain her ends. This apparent peace will bring negotiation and coalition which are only steps on the way to final victory for the Communists. I tell you, they will never give up their objectives.

«Even after the bombing is halted, the Paris talks will yield nothing for the U.S. because Hanoi will then claim that the halt proves the Americans were guilty and that Harriman's charges and demands were ridiculous and unfair. And of course the Americans will be unable to begin the bombing again for fear of world opinion.»

Lt. Col. Huynh Cu, first commander of the special training base set up at Xuan Mai near Ha Dong in February, 1952 for the express purpose of preparing re-

gular North Vietnamese Army units for infiltration, 23 years Party membership:

«If there is a complete bombing halt in the North then you will see that Hanoi will launch a great propaganda campaign to tell the people there and the people around the world that this is a great victory over the aggressors. This will be just what they needed to boost sagging morale in the North. The people in the North, according to all of the men I have talked to who have come down most recently are getting more and more doubts about the Hanoi government's ability to win. Many people are having doubts about the claims



PHAN VIET DUNG



HUYNH CU

made to them by the regime. In some areas relations between the population and the regime are reaching dangerous proportions. They can use the bombing halt to gain back support from those who are beginning to doubt the wisdom of party leadership. For you see, the bombing halt will prove the party was right.

«Militarily, there is no question but that they will be able to give greatly increased support to their forces in the South. The aid can then proceed with great momentum. On the surface, all may seem quiet in the South but don't be fooled.

«With the bombing halt it may appear that there will be progress towards peace at the Paris talks but it will be a false assumption. Actually the situation behind the scene will be much more serious and dangerous. These events may lead to recognition of the National Front for Liberation and that would be a great mistake.

«You should remember what happened when the coalition was formed in Laos in 1962. When we North Vietnamese forces attacked we could easily have taken Vientiane. It would have been a simple task. But Ho ordered the troops to pull back rather than risk any military intervention by the United States, or risk getting the West too concerned. At that time when our troops moved out, the Lao troops should have gone out and reoccupied a lot of land. They could have done it. Later when our forces came back we found that the Lao troops had stayed in the city and towns. It was a bad mistake. You must take a lesson from that. If the North moves some troops out in an apparent move to deescalate, the South must not be fooled but must go out and take back the land regardless of what Hanoi or anybody else says.

«Another thing... Right now is the best time for the ARVN troops to attack. Yes, right now. They must not wait. At this very time there is much doubt in the minds of the troops down here with all of the talk going on. This affects their motivation and it is a mistake not to hit them now.

«But I don't really understand

what the Americans hope to gain by the way they are proceeding. It is most important that the Allies understand the importance of this situation. This is like any other kind of trading. If you give something, you must get something. But what are you going to get in exchange? They will give you nothing but words. To believe them would be a mistake. I want to remind you what an important Japanese Communist has said... «The Westerner believes war and peace are two different things. The



LE XUAN CHUYEN

Westerner thinks it is right to deceive people in war time but not in peace time. The Communist believes that it is also right to deceive people in peace time because the Communist believes war and peace are the same thing.» I remind you of this because it is important that you know what is really happening here.

«Mao said that the closer to peace, the greater the danger. Now is the time to be most alert. At this time it is most difficult for you to see what is going on. The idea of peace may blind you. You must understand this.»

Lt. Col. Le Xuan Chuyen, Deputy Chief of Staff and Operations Chief of VC 5th Division (assigned to be Commander of new VC 7th Division at time of defection), 21 years Party member:

«The bombing halt will bring great advantages to North Vietnam for then they can continue to press their attack and you will be able to do nothing. If you stop, it is a confession that you were wrong. It is like calling yourself a murderer. Don't you see? Hanoi says that it is you who have been waging the war. They have been demanding that you stop because what you have been doing is unjust aggression. But if you do stop then you are admitting that you are in the wrong. Hanoi needs this gift from you so she can use it to motivate the people.

«Stopping the bombing of the kind of targets you have been hitting is only going to lengthen the war and eventually you will suffer greater, not lesser casualties. Also, you will see that the anti-war movement in the U.S. will become greater causing even more problems for the U.S. government. You will encourage the demonstrators by convincing them that they are right.

«The North demands that you stop all bombing and other acts of war. They intend to give you nothing in exchange even though they may lead you into believing that they will. Actually, at this time, the North has three targets one after the other. First, she wants a complete bombing halt. Secondly, she wants a ceasefire between ARVN and NLF troops. And if this happens, then you cannot avoid the third one and that will be a coalition government, because one will lead to another. If the U.S. agrees to a coalition between the GVN and the NLF then that government will invite the North to share the responsibilities. You must know coalition means complete victory for the Communists.

«The Allied political weapons are inferior to those of the Communists. But the Allied military weapons are superior to those of the Communists. Why should you exchange your superior weapons for inferior ones? When I first heard of the complete bombing halt order I thought it must be a joke and I laughed, but when I realized that the U.S. was serious, I was dumbfounded by their total lack of insight.

«With the bombing halt you are heading this country for coalition and let me tell you what that means. The Communists will ask for only very few positions at the central level here in Saigon. Also they will ask for only a few at the provincial level. They will ask for a few more at the district level and then more at the village level and their infrastructure will do everything possible to have complete control at the hamlet level. The whole plan was made ten years ago.

«Of course, your people want peace, but if a ceasefire comes, don't be happy. There will be really nothing to be happy about for it will be sure to lead to great suffering here and many, many deaths. Don't forget the first coalition in 1945 and 1946. How long did that last? In the North I was told that more than 10,000 non-Communists died at the hands of the party after they agreed to coalesce with the Communists. You will see, the deaths here in the South will be at least one thousand times greater. But by that time your western press will have believed that peace is here and they will have gone home and won't be around to see it happen. The other westerners will also have to leave to get away from the dangers. Only the Vietnamese will be left for there is nowhere for them to go this time. There are three million people on the blood debt list, and you will have condemned them.»

Col. Tran Van Dac, alias Tam Ha, Political Officer, Sub-Region I, commanded 8,000 VC in attack on Saigon, 24 years Party member:

«If this side stops the bombing completely and unconditionally it will show that the Communists have been right in their claims all along and it will be much easier for them to convince the people that they are correct and that the Americans are the aggressors. Then they will be stronger than ever when pushing the theme that they have the just cause.

«Politically, if the bombing halt is carried out it will lift the morale of the Communist troops and con-

versely it will weaken the fighting spirit of the ARVN and Allied troops. You will be giving away what advantage you have. Look at the example you are now experiencing. The Americans ordered a partial bombing halt in the North but what happened? Not only did the Communists fail to respond with any real move towards deescalation, but they continued to infiltrate large numbers of men and equipment and in some ways even increased their war efforts in the South.



TRAN VAN DAC

«In my opinion you should not stop bombing at all but if you do you must insist absolutely in getting something in exchange. Unless you demand that in no uncertain terms, you have only demonstrated that they have the right cause.

«As for the conditions you must extract from them, you can expect no less than (1) that they stop all attacks everywhere in the South and (2) that they must remove all North Vietnamese troops from the South. If you want to deal with them at all you must make no compromise on these points. If you deal with them in any other way they will get the best of you. Even so I must warn you that in my opinion it will be impossible to get Hanoi to keep her promise. I know their ways. They may go through the motions at first and

Americans, being optimists, want to think everything is going fine but I tell you now it will be subterfuge. The only promise they will keep is the one they have made to themselves, that nothing can keep them from eventually conquering South Vietnam.

«Militarily you must be ever vigilant and you must stay strong. Take every precaution and be ready for all of their changes of tactics. If peace comes from a ceasefire, many people will think that peace has really come and they will relax and let their guard down. Then the Communists will act suddenly. Right now this side must develop its own infrastructure while at the same time they are destroying the Communist infrastructure.

«You must be warned that when it seems like peace has come then it will be the most dangerous time of all for during that time they will only be preparing to take over everything. You must be more careful than than you are now for it is then that they will exploit everything, any situation at all.

«From the Communist point of view the idea of coalition means simply that it is an opportunity to mix in for the sole purpose of taking over. Coalition is never thought of in terms other than a very temporary condition. Coalition can only result in their taking over.

«When we talked among ourselves, that is among senior party members, we didn't even use the term coalition for we never planned a true coalition as you in the West think of coalition. We use the term with the enemy only for the purpose of deceiving him. Certainly this must be clear to the American leaders by this time. Have you forgotten the first coalition here or what has just happened in Czechoslovakia?

«They made an agreement and everyone was decorated with smiles but how long did the Russians keep their promise? A week was it? What makes you think that the party leaders in Hanoi will keep their promise?»

COALITION: ITS PITFALLS

By NGHIEM XUAN THIEN

The war in Vietnam has a very strange impact on European and American intellectuals' mind.

The attitude of most of them is more concerned with bringing a solution to South Vietnam's fate than to North Vietnam's. They speak of elections in South Vietnam, coalition Government in South Vietnam. They never speak of such things in North Vietnam. They seem to consider South Vietnam as a mere loot left behind by the French, and they make proposals to decide on how to make a fair share of this loot.

They raise the question of elections in South Vietnam to allow the South Vietnamese to choose between a Communist and a non-Communist regime. They speak of a coalition government allowing the Communist elements camouflaged in the National Liberation Front to participate in the South Vietnamese Government.

They never speak of elections in North Vietnam allowing the North Vietnamese to choose between the dictatorial regime presided by Ho Chi Minh and the democratic regime existing in South Vietnam.

They appear to be only interested in the North Vietnamese Government, but not in the North Vietnamese themselves, let alone the South Vietnamese.

All they want is to stop the war, regardless of the fate of 14 million South Vietnamese. All they want is to satisfy the North Vietnamese government's ambition and thirst for conquest. They believe that this is the only way to stop the war.

Some of them have gone as far as asking whether Ho Chi Minh is a Communist, whether Ho is a patriot — a nationalist wanting only a social revolution in Vietnam. But these very sophisticated intellectuals never ask whether Stalin,

Kosygin, Mao Tse Tung, Ulbricht are Communists or only patriotic nationalists, though these men, in the main lines, are of the same training as Ho's.

It is true that Ho is making a social revolution in Vietnam, just as Mao Tse Tung is making a social revolution in China, and as Lenin has made a social revolution in Russia. But their revolutions are Communist revolutions, based on hatred and partisan spirit. And these kinds of revolutions are not wanted by the majority of South Vietnamese. The proof of this was recently given eloquently by their refusal to acclaim the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong (this word in Vietnamese means only Vietnamese Communists), during their occupation of Hué and some parts of Saigon after their surprise attacks of the Lunar New Year.

The Big Lie

The Communists in North Vietnam, who actually created and command the Viet Cong, by dint of telling the big lie that they are supported by the whole population of South Vietnam, finally deceive themselves into believing this lie. And this convinced them that they had only to appear and make an appeal for the formation of a coalition government to be obeyed by the whole population of South Vietnam.

Actually, they have been bitterly disappointed. The population of South Vietnam, instead of joining them, always tried to join the Government troops, during the bloody days of Communist attacks on South Vietnam's cities, even in regions occupied by the Communists for days or for weeks.

In order to retaliate on the population they believed won over to their cause, but who actually fled before them as before the devils, the Communists set to launching rockets against the civilian popu-

lation in Saigon. Why do the Communists choose Saigon for retaliation? It is because Saigon is known throughout the country as the safest part of the land. Shelling Saigon is a severe warning against other cities whose population refuse to join the Communist aggressors. The methods employed by the latter is always to compel people to obey them by terrorism and violence.

For the foreigners, journalists and intellectuals alike (except a rare few), only North Vietnam exists. This is because the Communist North Vietnam has a strong army and a very active propaganda machine. This is especially because the Communists in the whole world, from time to time, stage demonstrations to support North Vietnam's attempt to unify Vietnam by force. The result is that when the foreigners speak of Vietnam, almost always they mean North Vietnam. And when they speak of the war in Vietnam, they almost always think of the war between the U. S. A. and North Vietnam. And as North Vietnam is the smaller of the two countries, their sympathy goes to North Vietnam. They ignore, or pretend to ignore, one very important thing: every day, the South Vietnamese — soldiers and civilians — die by hundreds for defending their land and preventing it from falling into the Communist hands. They ignore, or pretend to ignore, that the war in Vietnam — in its essence — is a war between two ideologies, two opposite ways of life: the dictatorial Communist regime and the democratic Western regime.

In such a state of mind, they propose or support a solution to the Vietnam war, in which a coalition government should be formed. A coalition government is a government composed of Communists

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and nationalists together.

Not long ago, in France, the Communists took advantage of the student unrest to bring down General De Gaulle's government and asked for a coalition government in which they could participate.

De Gaulle, although very friendly to the Communists, reacted dramatically in a speech made in the afternoon of Thursday, 29th June. He said: «France actually is threatened by dictatorship. People want to compel her to accept a power that would impose itself, in a fit of national desperation. This latter power would then be essentially that of the victor, i.e. of the totalitarian Communism.

«Naturally, in the beginning, it would be coloured with a deceitful appearance, by using the ambition and hatred of discarded politicians. After that, those personnages would not weigh more than their own weight, which would not be heavy. Well! No, the Republic will not abdicate, the people will pull itself together. Progress, Independence and Peace will get the upper hand, together with Liberty. Long live the Republic! Long live France!»

Mere Puppets

Though General De Gaulle has never experienced a Communist regime, he knows quite well that any Communist regime is a dictatorial regime. He also knows that any coalition government with the Communists is only a government composed of, in the beginning, «discarded politicians», who are satisfied with being mere puppets, whereas the real power lies in the hands of Communist political commissars, under the control of the men in the Communist Politburo. And a little time later, these puppets will disappear from the political scene, to give place to their Communist bosses.

This was what happened in Vietnam in 1946, when the Communists and Nationalists formed a coalition government, under the Chinese occupation troops' pressure, before Ho Chi Minh headed a delegation going to Fontainebleau, to discuss the status of Vietnam with the French government.

‘No price is too high for defending freedom’

One will remember that after the surrender of Japan, Chiang Kai-shek, then master of China, sent troops to Vietnam to relieve the Japanese occupation troops, north of the 16th parallel. South of this parallel, the British troops had the same mission.

Disappearing Ministers

This coalition government lasted only for a short time, while the Chinese troops were there, but the Chinese troops were replaced by the French troops and then the coalition government was reshuffled. Many nationalist ministers disappeared and the only one left was given a minor job. He disappeared also a few months later. After that, the so-called coalition government was only composed of Communists as it is now in North Vietnam.

Another example of coalition government is provided by Laos. Prince Souvanna Phouma is Chief of a coalition government, born of the Geneva Accords of 1962. This government is actually composed of Nationalist Laotian elements and of agents from Communist-led Pathet-Lao. But now, the Pathet-Lao withdraws into the jungles in North Laos, where they are joined by about 50,000 North Vietnamese soldiers, who are there contrary to Geneva Agreements of 1962.

50,000 North Vietnamese troops in Laos are too many for the Laotians, whose army is much inferior in number. But what are the North Vietnamese in North Laos for? Geneva Agreements of 1962 prescribe that any foreign troops must withdraw from Laos. The Americans have done this. But the North Vietnamese refuse to do the same. On the contrary, they have reinforced their men in Laos and at the

present time, Laos could fall into Communist hands at any moment. But the Communist North Vietnamese do not want to conquer Laos for the time being, so long as South Vietnam is not under their rule. They are satisfied with collecting opium grown in North Laos and sending it to China (who exports it as a drug), contrary to a Geneva convention. The opium trade brings hundreds of millions of dollars to China every year, to feed their anti-American propaganda machine and their subversive activity abroad.

These two examples of coalition government with the Communists are sufficient enough to give a clear idea of what a coalition means to the Communists, either Vietnamese, French or Laotian. For them, coalition is the first peaceful step to swallow their adversaries.

Chinese Lesson

I must also remind my readers of another coalition between Nationalists and Communists. It happened in China during the war with Japan in the 1930's. In a time of danger, Chiang Kai-shek made an attempt to co-operate with Mao Tse-tung and his Communist followers. He released many Communist agitators from prison (one of whom was Ho Chi Minh), but these very Communists he released in the hope that the whole country would be united to face the Japanese threat were the ones who banished him from China a few years later.

These examples of unhappy co-operation that the Nationalists have tried to achieve with the Communists, show that the Communists want the power only for themselves. For them, every means is good for establishing the dictatorship of their party, but of their

party alone. The Communists are like fire — they want to spread and have spread it since the end of the war. They want to burn down all obstacles to their expansion. They cannot be stopped by compromise, alleviation, propitiation: like a fire, either they burn you to ashes or they must be extinguished or brought under control.

When considering that the war in Vietnam cannot be won by either side (this is not true, because the U.S.A. are strong enough to win the war quickly, if they are free to act), many intellectuals and politicians of the free world, believe that a coalition government is a solution to the Vietnam war.

For them, South Vietnam must reach a compromise with the Viet Cong (Vietnamese Communists), or the so-called National Liberation Front, or the newly-created Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces, another Communist tool.

Tools for Deceit

They seem to ignore that the National Liberation Front and the new Alliance are nothing but North Vietnam's tools for deceiving the misinformed world. To

make a compromise with North Vietnam's tools is to accept North Vietnam's demands, which is to surrender South Vietnam to Communist rule. The surrender is not immediate. It is made palatable to «save U.S.A.'s face». But after a certain time, the inevitable shall come: «the discarded politicians», as De Gaulle called them, who are allowed to enter the coalition government, will be eliminated and the so-called coalition government will be a purely Communist government under the dictatorial control of the Communist party, just as it happened in 1946, when a coalition government was formed in North Vietnam, under the aegis of Chiang Kai-shek's occupation troops.

Such a way of solving the Vietnam war is a negative one. But it may be an apparently honourable way offered to the U.S.A., if they feel that they must at any cost get out from this hornet's nest, which is South Vietnam, infested by the Communist guerillas. It will allow the U.S.A. to apparently «save face». But it will not prevent them from facing a disaster.

If the U.S.A., in spite of the quality of leaders of the Free World, in spite of their stature as the most powerful nation in the

world, are brought to their knees by little North Vietnam (population about 16 million), they will lose the confidence of small nations neighbouring China. None of them will trust the U.S.A. any more. Consequently, they shall be obliged to compromise with North Vietnam and China, just as little Cambodia is doing.

Secondly, the loss of South Vietnam to the Communists is not only an American defeat; it is also the defeat of the Free World, because at least six nations of the Free World are involved in the Vietnam war, for the cause of Freedom and Democracy.

Losing South Vietnam to the Communists is then losing the battle for Freedom and Democracy. It is losing the war of the Free World against a small country of the Communist bloc. It is the beginning of the end of American supremacy and of the Free World.

Fervently, I pray to Almighty God that such an unhappy step will never be taken and that South Vietnam, in spite of her shortcomings and difficulties, will emerge as a free and democratic nation. The price for this may be very high. But no price is too high for defending Freedom and Democracy.

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