

VIETNAMESE ORGANIZATIONS AND GROUPINGS  
(As of May 26, 1969)

1. Political Parties and Organizations

VNQDD (Viet-Nam Quoc Dan Dang, or Vietnamese National People's Party): Founded in the late 1920's on the model of the Kuo Min Tang, it is the oldest extant nationalist party. The party comprises two main groupings at present:

Unified VNQDD (VNQDD Thong-Nhat): A merger, announced February 4, 1969, of the Central Viet-Nam branch (Ky Bo), which has considerable local strength in I Corps, and two other factions, the Chu Luc ("Main Force") and Tan Chinh ("New Politics");

Merged Vu Hong Khanh-Nguyen Hoa Hiep Groups: These two groups announced their merger on April 19, 1969, despite differences in the past (both leaders ran for president in 1967). No new name was announced.

Dai Viet (in full, Dai Viet-Nam Quoc Dan Dang, or Greater Vietnamese National People's Party): Founded in the late 1930's. In addition to a largely-inactive faction of Northern refugees who are known as the "mandarin Dai Viet" (Dai Viet Quan-Lai), there are two main groupings active at present:

Revolutionary Dai Viet: Led by Ha Thuc Ky, a presidential candidate in 1967, it has relatively strong representation in the National Assembly (one Senate list, several Lower House deputies);

Tan (New) Dai Viet: Led by Nguyen Ton Hoan (in the US for the last several years) and Nguyen Ngoc Huy, a member of the GVN delegation at Paris.

Greater Solidarity Force (GSF; in Vietnamese, Luc-Luong Dai-Doan-Ket): An organization largely composed of Northern Catholics, with lay leadership. Principal spokesman is Senator Nguyen Gia Hien.

National Salvation Front (NSF, also referred to as People's Front for National Salvation or PFNS; Mat-Tran Nhan-Dan Cuu-Nguy Dan-Toc): Post-Tet nationalist front organization, founded February 1968, by Senator Tran Van Don and a variety of other political figures, became one of the founding member organizations of the Lien-Minh (below) in July 1968, but withdrew in April 1969.

Free Democratic Force (FDF; Luc-Luong Tu-Do Dan-Chu, which can also be rendered as Democratic Freedom Force): Another post-Tet nationalist front organization whose impetus came from Nguyen Van Huong, secretary-general at the Presidency. The FDF joined the NSF in founding the Lien-Minh, July 1968.

Farmer-Worker Association (FWA; Hiep-Hoi Nong Cong): A joint creation of the Confederation Vietnamiennne du Travail and one grouping of the Hoa Hao sect, established in April 1968 and a charter member of the Lien-Minh along with the NSF and the FDF (above).

Lien-Minh (full title: Lien-Minh Dan-Toc Cach-Mang Xa-Hoi, or National Alliance for Social Revolution): Established in July 1968; the principal components were the NSF, FDF and FWA, the three organizations listed immediately above. Senator Tran Van Don was until recently its official chairman. It has become one of the 6 main elements in the NSDF (see immediately below). (Not to be confused with the Communist-front "Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces", which also has the words "Lien-Minh" at the beginning of its name in Vietnamese.)

National Social Democratic Front (NSDF; Mat Tran Dan Chu Xa Hoi Quoc Gia): Formally inaugurated on May 25, 1969, the NSDF currently combines 6 political groupings into an overall front organization. (The 6: Nhan Xa, GSF, Lien Minh, RDV, Khanh-Hiep VNQDD, and Trinh Quoc Khanh's Social Democratic Party group). Organized and personally led by President Thieu as the major pro-government political grouping and as the first step in consolidating organizational strength of the various non-communist political elements. (Thieu has also called for an organized, unified "loyal opposition", not yet formed).

Progressive Nationalist Movement (PNM; Phong-Trao Quoc-Gia Cap-Tien): A grouping of several political elements, spearheaded by Nguyen Ngoc Huy of the Tan Dai Viet party and Nguyen Van Bong, Director of the National Institute of Administration, established officially in April 1969. The PNM appears in part to be a descendant of the United Nationalist Forces, an earlier front with a Tan Dai Viet core.

Viet-Nam People's Force (VPF, Luc-Luong Dan-Toc Viet): Founded June 1968 by Phan Ba Cam, who has headed one part of the Hoa Hao Social Democratic party for years.

New Citizen Movement (Phong-Trao Tan Dan): Founded in mid-1968 by former Chief of State and 1967 presidential candidate Phan Khac Suu.

Nhan Xa (in full: Viet-Nam Nhan Xa Cach-Mang Dang, or Revolutionary Humanist Social Party): Made up to considerable extent of Central Vietnamese and former followers of ex-President Ngo Dinh Diem, this organization made its appearance in April 1968.

Movement for the Renaissance of the South (MRS; Phong-Trao Phuc-Hung Mien-Nam, which can also be rendered as Movement for the Restoration of the South): An organization of "Sudistes", most of them associated with Prime Minister Tran Van Huong, which had its origin in the Constituent Assembly of 1966-67. Largely inactive as an organization since then, its active membership now tends to be concentrated in the Lower House "New Society" group (see below).

(Hoa Hao) Social Democratic Party (Viet-Nam Dan-Chu Xa-Hoi Dang, or Dan Xa for short; can also be rendered as Democratic Socialist Party): The political organization established in the 1940's by followers of the late Huynh Phu So, founder of the Hoa Hao sect. It has split into several separate groups, usually identified by the symbols on their party flags (e.g., three stars; swastika). One of the various group leaders is Phan Ba Cam, who also heads the Viet-Nam People's Force (above). Another, Trinh Quoc Khanh, has led his group into the NSDF.



## 2. National Assembly Blocs

### a. Upper House (60 members)

Republican Bloc: This bloc, which has undergone several changes of name, had 20 members as of mid-March and is built around two of the six lists which constitute the Senate: one is the list headed by Tran Van Don, and the other is made up of Revolutionary Dai Viets. Some members of Don's list have left, and a few Senators from other lists have joined.

Social Democratic Bloc (SDB): This bloc was officially announced in January and has more than 20 members. Its leaders are Dr. Dang Van Sung, of Don's list, and two Senators who headed their own lists: Tran Van Lam, and Nguyen Gia Hien of the Catholic Greater Solidarity Force. (A counterpart SDB is also in formation in the Lower House; 19 House members, most of them independents, announced on April 24 that they had formed a "Social Democratic Group" which they hope to register as an official bloc by June.)

Independents: The remaining 10 to 20 Senators are unaffiliated at present.

### b. Lower House (137 seats; two seats currently vacant due to death of incumbents, and one member a prisoner of the Viet Cong since Tet 1968).

Democratic-Progressive Bloc (DPB): The largest bloc, with 52 members, and generally pro-GVN.

Unity Bloc (UB): 20 members, including some from the VNQDD; moderately opposed to the executive.

People's Bloc (PB): 15 members, including the more outspoken Buddhist deputies, who tend to favor Thich Tri Quang's militant faction.

Independence Bloc (IB): 14 members, mainly Northern Catholics and Revolutionary Dai Viets.

Independents: The remaining 33 deputies are unaffiliated; they include most of the 19 who make up the newly-announced "Social Democratic Group" and also several members of the Movement for the Renaissance of the South, who have long constituted a proto-bloc known as the "New Society" group.

### 3. Non-party Groups

Unified Buddhist Association (UBA): The principal Buddhist organization, established in late 1963 after the successful struggle against Diem but badly split since 1966.

Quoc Tu (National Pagoda) group: This is basically a Northern grouping led by the Venerables Thich Tam Chau and Thich Tam Giac. This group received a government charter in mid-1967 when the original UBA charter was withdrawn, an action which the militants (below) have held against the GVN ever since.

An Quang pagoda group: This is mainly a Central Vietnamese grouping led by the Venerables Thich Tri Quang and Thich Thien Minh; it takes its name from the pagoda in Cholon where Tri Quang has had his headquarters since 1966. It elected its own, rival leadership in August 1968 but has retained the original UBA Supreme Patriarch, the Venerable Thich Tinh Khiet, who is about 85.

Confederation Vietnamiennne du Travail (CVT): The principal labor organization, headed by Tran Quoc Buu, which claims a membership of about 300,000. Its leaders are active in the ILO, the ICFTU, and in cooperative projects with the AFL-CIO.

Viet-Nam Veterans Association (VVA): A largely non-political organization led by LtGen Pham Xuan Chieu as President of the VVA. (Chieu is now slated to go to Seoul as Ambassador.)

Lien-Truong (literally, [Alumni of] Associated Schools; known in English as Southern Old Students' Association): An organization of 1,000 or more graduates of the four lycees of Cochinchina, formerly headed by Senator Tran Van Don; includes numerous professional men and high-ranking civil servants, some of them former students of Prime Minister Huong who taught at the My Tho lycee in the 1920's and 1930's.

"Executive Board" of the Cao Dai "Secular Life Commission": A governing body elected in April 1968 by major elements within the Cao Dai sect. It does not, however, contain all the various political groupings within the sect.

Central Executive Committee of the Hoa Hao Buddhist Church: A new committee elected in October 1968, it too represents some but not all of the sect's various political leaders and groupings. It is not directly connected with the Hoa Hao Social Democratic party (discussed above).

Cambodian Leadership Council: A new organization of ethnic Cambodians, established within the last few months, grouping principal clerical and lay leaders from all provinces with significant Cambodian population except Vinh Binh; leadership elected in March 1969 is almost entirely clerical, reflecting the Cambodian life-style in Viet-Nam.

FULRO (Front Unifie de Lutte des Races Opprimees): This Montagnard separatist organization was officially disbanded on February 1, 1969, when almost all of its "armed forces" returned to GVN control from their exile in Cambodia. However, Y B'ham Enoul, principal FULRO leader, remains in Cambodia under unexplained circumstances. Since the disbanding of FULRO, two organizations built around former FULRO adherents have come into being:

1. The "Movement for the Unity of the Highland Ethnic Minorities of Viet-Nam" (Phong-Trao Doan-Ket Cac Sac-Toc Thieu-So Cao-Nguyen Viet-Nam), which has been brought into the Lien-Minh and thus into the NSDF.
2. The "Progressive Movement of the Highlands" (Phong-Trao Cao-Nguyen Tien-Bo), organized by Minister of Ethnic Minorities (and a former FULRO leader) Paul Nur.



Neither of the foregoing should be confused with a "Unified Bloc of Vietnamese Ethnic Minorities" (UBVEM, or Khoi Doan-Ket Dan Thieu-So Viet-Nam) established in March 1969, by pro-GVN National Assembly members. This organization is mainly Montagnard in character, though it does include some Cambodian elements.

#### 4. Communist Political Organizations

National Front for the Liberation of South Viet-Nam (NFLSV, or NLF for short; Mat-Tran Dan-Toc Giai-Phong Mien-Nam): Hanoi announced in January 1961 that the NLF had been established on December 20, 1960; its creation followed from a resolution adopted by the Third National Congress of the Lao Dong party in September 1960, which called on the South Vietnamese to form a broad national united front directed against the "US-Diem clique". The ostensible components of the NLF include some 19 "mass organizations" (Liberation Women's Association, Patriotic and Democratic Journalists' Association, etc.); five religious organizations (Buddhists, Catholics, Hoa Hao, Cao Dai); two ethnic groups (Montagnard and Khmer); and three political parties: the People's Revolutionary Party (below), the Radical Socialist Party, and the (New) Democratic Party.

People's Revolutionary Party (PRP; Nhan-Dan Cach-Mang Dang): Name given to a "new" party established by "Marxists-Leninists" of South Viet-Nam, according to a Hanoi announcement of January 1, 1962; captured documents have established that the PRP is simply a cover name for the Southern branch of the Lao Dong party.

Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces (ANDPF; Lien-Minh Cac Luc-Luong Dan-Toc, Dan-Chu va Hoa-Binh): Front organization established by the communists in 1968 to appeal to urban bourgeois elements which wished to avoid direct association with the NLF; it first appeared locally in Saigon, Hue and Quang Tri during the Tet offensive in February 1968, then "went national" on April 20, 1968. Additional local branches have supposedly been established since that time in Da Nang and elsewhere. (Not to be confused with the pro-GVN National Alliance for Social Revolution, whose Vietnamese name also begins with the words "Lien-Minh".)