WHY WE MUST DEFEND THE EXISTING REGIME
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(Translation of the speech made by the Political Adviser and his answers to questions at the Board of Reporters' Monthly Meeting in the Reception Hall of the Department of Information and Youth, on 15th November 1957.)

Note of the translator. The text of the speech was recorded by tape. Mr. Nhu speaks bad and colloquial Vietnamese. I intentionally conserve his inaccurations, vague terms so as to give English readers the same impression a Vietnamese could have when listening directly to Mr. Nhu.

Note of the second translator. In addition, the awkward way in which the lecturer's uncrystallized ideas are expressed makes them still more obscure, unintelligible and confusing. In view of this, the translator's difficulty rests in the necessity for turning out a translation which makes sense without impairing the genuineness of the original text.

Insertions in brackets are the translator's.

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POPULAR DIRECTING COUNCIL
For the DENUNCIATION OF COMMUNISM
CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
For the CAMPAIGN of DENUNCIATION OF COMMUNISM

MINUTES
Board of Reporters' Meeting
November 15, 1957

Openings: 8:00 a.m. on 15 November 1957

Place: Reception Hall, Department of Information and Youth
Present:

Secretary of State for Information and Youth

Standing Member, Central Executive Committee for the Campaign of Denunciation of Communism

Subject of the Lecture: Why we must defend the existing regime.

After the procedural introduction, Mr. Ngo-dinh-Nhu, the Presidential Political Adviser, reported "amidst warm acolsimes" of all the Reporters representing the Communism Denunciation Sub-Committees of Saigon Prefecture and the executives of the Directorates and Divisions of the Department of Information and Youth.

Every government policy which is reasonable is naturally based on many factors: international situation, situation in Asia, internal situation. Therefore, to formulate a policy, one must study innumerable complicated problems, and in order that it [the policy] may be thoroughly understood, it is naturally necessary to let you understand the internal and international situation. When one states that one understands thoroughly and diffuses the government policy, one believes that it is easy, but it isn't, it is very difficult. It is why I realise that the majority of you, not only those present here, but also those in various departments, do not understand well the policy of the government. Let me repeat. To realize, to create a sound government policy, one must study many complicated problems and to understand that policy is also very difficult. Therefore one has to study hard. It is why the President continually referred to cultural matters when he spoke at home and abroad. In Asia, the President continually spoke about the problem of national construction, the construction of Asia on a cultural basis. This is
because one must have a broad culture in order to understand the needs, the factors in order to take adequate solutions consistent with internal and international situation. Therefore it is not surprising that we do not understand government policies, that one realizes that one's superiors do not understand well government policies. That is not surprising, since the problem is very complex, a problem which requires continual attention, continual amendment. Policies which cannot be applied forever.

As the situation changes, one must follow closely the situation, observe it in order to design solutions in due time, therefore the effort in culture is a basic effort. If one has no culture one cannot fulfill one's responsibility in understanding and diffusing government policies.

In one talk I cannot present all the problems, therefore I ask the Department of Information to set up a programme of education which includes all the problems concerning government policies and lines of conduct.

Today I take only the problem of government policies as a subject of my talk and discuss it summarily with you, and when we study that subject we will tackle world affairs as well as the situation in Asian countries. The outline of government policies that you already received contains many important points. If you study them, you will understand the policy of the government, the path that the Vietnamese people is following in the present time.

Where can we have materials for the study of government policies? Materials relative to government policies are contained in speeches delivered by the President, since the day he returned from abroad to assume the power. Those speeches contain sufficient documentation for you to study the trends of the government.

In this outline, I only mention the basis for government policies. It consists of building a real democratic structure in Vietnam. On his visit to India, the President talked about the policy of our government and at the same
time he raised the problem of Asian policy. In fact the Communists are still waiting for the day of world revolution. At present in all Communist countries, communist cadres are aiming at fostering a world revolution, but they are like the Jews. They are waiting for a day, a new era created by the World Revolution and thus they are like the Jews who are waiting and have waited 2000 years for the arrival of a Messiah. Similarly the Communists are waiting for the day of the realization of the World Revolution. The Jews were waiting for the arrival of the Messiah, but the Messiah had arrived and they did not know. The Communists are waiting for the World Revolution, but the World Revolution began more than one hundred years ago, since the Europeans conquered America, Asia, Africa. Therefore we are now in the midst of the World Revolution which started more than one hundred years ago. The World Revolution has taken the form of colonialism, now it appears in the form of Communism and Aid, as well as other forms. World Revolution is more than one hundred years old. It creates disorder in the history of the world. There never existed such a large movement which urges the masses of the world to demand freedom and higher standards of living. Never such thing happened in history. For more than one hundred years there exists only one wide movement which ferments the world, therefore the Communists say that they have to wait for, to prepare a world revolution, in order to create a paradise on earth. Thus they are like the Jews who still nowadays wait for the arrival of a Redemptor.

In this World Revolution, Europe advocates mutual aid to underdeveloped countries. It is an attitude. The other European attitude of colonialism is the communist attitude. Because Europe is the place which gives birth to the theory of individualism. Individualism gives birth to 2 twins: one is called Colonialism and the other Communism.

And what is the attitude of Asia before this problem of World Revolution? Since World War II to today, Communism is trying to take the leadership of the
world revolution in Asia, by means of anti-colonialist propaganda and propaganda for peace. They want to use two subjects, two factors for the propaganda in order to carry Asia away, to submit Asia to their leadership. In one period this policy was successful, acquired an important success; particularly at the Bandeong conference. In all Asia and Africa we agree together on the platform of fighting colonialism and building peace. At the present time, the subject of fight against colonialism and construction of peace has lost most of its vital force. Therefore, particularly in Asia, another movement takes place - the Bandeong movement. The spirit in Asia is the same as in Africa, i.e. the struggle for independence, the emancipation of the territory. What to do after the territory is delivered? Once the territory is delivered, one has to build Asia and Africa with Asians and Africans, i.e. one recovers independence in order to be free, to build one's life in one's own way. That is an idea which has a great impetus on the Asian peoples. What to do if one wants to build Asia according to Asian spirit to edify a way of life in the Asian mood? From there appears the trend toward neutrality. They are neutral. In fact neutrality is not pro-Western, pro-Communist. But the theory of neutrality shows us why there is neutrality; neutrality is the wish, the will of Asia to be independent. But the neutral method is a fruitless method, therefore despite the fact that we have the theory that neutrality presents many weaknesses, it is only a tactic to gain time. But if one studies carefully the problem of neutrality one can notice a revealing fact, a deep volition, despite the fact that this revelation is not accurate, not opportune, but in a sense it lets us know that Asia is determined to be self-supporting.

In a brief lecture I cannot present in details all the aspects of the problems, but in short there are two important points relative to Asia, to Vietnam. The first point is that there already exists a force of world revolution since more than a hundred years. All our habits have been shaken
by the pressure of Europe, therefore we must not sit back and wait for another
world revolution. There has already been a world revolution for more than one
hundred years back, and we are now living amidst that revolution. The second
point relative to us is the tendency of Asia and Africa (in which is included
Vietnam, geographically, socially, technically speaking, in every field Vietnam
is an element of the Afro-Asian bloc) which may be clearly or not clearly seen
and under which all Asian and African peoples must take the emancipation of
the territory as a means, not as an aim, the means to achieve freedom. For
what purpose to be free? To be free in order to re-build the life of Asia and
Africa in our own manner, not to be forced to imitate Europe and not to follow
the communist path. That is a real fact, and in order to escape from European
pressure on the one side and the communist on the other, they [the peoples] have
discovered many solutions. Although their solutions are not correct, they
reveal to a certain extent the Asian and African profound wishes. This is a
basic point [plural in the original] which explains to us why we have a policy,
which is now being applied in Vietnam, and why this policy is not only the
reflection of the worries of all Asian and African people in this historical
period. Not only is it a reflection, but it is also a leading factor of
nationalist revolutionary movement in Asia and Africa in the present historical
period. That is the whole idea contained in the speeches delivered by the
President in Asian countries during this year. All our brothers in Asia and
Africa are looking for a third way out, but not a third force, unlike Europe
and Communism. How this way out can be paved, by what method, according to what
norms? That is the problem which is raised, and in solving it we cannot imitate
anybody, because if we want to develop a new policy, we must naturally have new
methods, and to have new methods we must make effort in the cultural field.
Thus, the problem of national construction, of building democracy in Asia becomes
a cultural problem. I want to repeat why a cultural problem, i.e. a problem
entailing spiritual and psychological efforts, is one which must be solved by new methods. In order to have new methods, we have to mediate, we must develop such intellectual efforts as the ones of thoughts and morals so that we can find new solutions appropriate to the new problem, the problem of the third way for Asia and Africa. In setting the problem in such a way we understand at once the policy which is presently applied in our country and which is being advocated in countries of the Western world and the neutral bloc. The point that the government is advocating and that is not yet clearly understood by many agencies is that it is necessary to build a real democratic substratum. Therefore if we want to be self-supporting we have to start standing on our realities; we cannot rely on realities of other countries to solve the realities of our own country. Therefore, our first step is to stand firmly on our own realities. In our realities the country is backward, very weak and full of shortcomings in technology. Naturally, if we want to be self-supporting, we must build up a basis with our minimum means.

We know that democracy without a morsel of private ownership is a false democracy. This sort of democracy is seen in free capitalist countries in Europe, in Communism. Capitalism on the one side and Communism on the other are profitable for only one class. In capitalism, free capital is profitable for capitalists, and Communism is only the class of Communist cadres. Therefore, the Nhan-Vi theory (humanism), that since four years the government has set as an ideology and a basis for activity, how has it deeply influenced the practical life? This Nhan-Vi theory has appeared in the conception of private ownership. We are not prone to free capitalism; we do not advocate the suppression of all private properties like Communism, because we follow the Nhan-Vi theory. Thus, if man can have no basic property and "man will not be man"; there will not be any sort of freedom, no future about freedom. In communist societies the government not only handles political rights, but it also holds economic rights so that if we do not follow the government, we shall have nothing to eat. We want
to sell the goods we have, they don't buy. We want to buy with the money we have, they do not sell; therefore, under communism for a grain of rice one has to think of Uncle Ho, of the government, of the Party. Without Uncle Ho, without the government and the Party we could not eat that grain of rice. That means that a man is inferior to a dog, because this animal is self-sufficient and can scratch the earth for food when he is hungry, while a man under communism owes his rice to Uncle Ho, the government and the Party. Since they hold a wrong conception about private ownership, they do not leave the citizen any right of ownership, and if some is left to the citizen, they put into the citizen's mind the notion that private ownership is wrong, is illegal. At a future day, it will vanish and the citizen is uncertain as to whether tomorrow he will have his food or not, not to talk of political ideology. On the contrary, in the free society there is free competition which leads people to the point where only those who possess property and capital can be free, while those who have no capital will become poorer and poorer till finally they face bankruptcy. To the two doctrines, the two regimes, free capitalism on the one side and Communism on the other, we oppose the Nhan-Vi theory in which man is not regarded as a separated individual. A man, under the Nhan-Vi theory, is a man with a body and soul, a family, friends, a bit of property, a house and a small garden. In our imagination, whenever we think of a man, we conceive a small basic block, we do not conceive the man as an individual, because the man conceived as an individual like in free capitalism is an abstract man. Man always lives with something and with somebody. Man is not an individual who is not attached to any material or spiritual thing. The conception of man as an individual is an abstract one. The abstract man does not exist on earth. The conception of man as an element of the people is an abstract conception about man. In the Marxist regime man is conceived as a number, an element in a class, in the mass of the people. "People" is a word they use very often and
man is sunk at the bottom of the mass of people. They (the Marxists) conceive man as an element of the people and that conception is also abstract. They do not conceive man as a reality.

Therefore, when we set forth the Nhan-Vi theory we have to ask what connection that theory has with real life. As we advocate Nhan-Vi, we must naturally endorse a new conception about private ownership; basic private ownership is respected and if the right to private ownership is too broad, it must be coordinated with the interest of those people who have contributed in the building of this capital. Thereafter we can speak of the building of the democratic basis. What factors does this democratic substratum include? The first factor is a spiritual one. It is why the government undertakes to arm the citizen morally. The man conceived in the manner I just described is a man with a family, with the right to basic property. Therefore, the first point is to arm that unit. To arm the morale of the Vietnamese citizen is to conduct such information activities as to make him understand the theory of Nhan-Vi Cong-Dong Dong-Tien (collective progress of humanism), and fully realize man's interest and responsibility towards God, himself, his family, his fatherland and mankind. We are right in arming morally man in that way because we do not spread that ideology in the interest of political parties, the nation, the government. According to that theory, man and his mission stand above the mission and the interest of the government. Therefore, we have to arm the morale of man, so that man can understand his responsibility in order to be able to resist against various pressures among which that of the government is the most important in this historical period. At the present moment the technical needs exact too much power for every nation, much more than in the past. Therefore, misuse of power by the government upon the people easily occurs. We must arm the morale of the people so that they can understand their responsibilities, the limits of their interests, and those of the power of the government so that they can resist all
the political, economic, and social pressures. Therefore, we do not spread this theory in the interest of a political party, of a government, or of a regime, despite the fact that the present regime can change according to the constitution, and the evolution and change of a regime are something very normal to us, not strange at all. Why so? Because we have put Nhan-Vi into our constitution. Once we have put into the constitution the Nhan-Vi theory, we must naturally accept the fact that the present regime can change, in no other direction than that of the Nhan-Vi. We cannot fight against that change. The change is not a strange thing, but in what direction? The direction will determine the goal for our struggle which will be in line with the progress of the interests and responsibilities dictated by humanism. Therefore, there is no government which charges the education and information cadres with diffusing a theory which is contrary to the interest of the government; but in our regime, the government assumes a policy conducive to the limitation of the misuse of government power.

The moral armament of the Vietnamese citizen is the first task in the establishment of a real democratic structure. Do you ever see any government which teaches its people that they have such interest? The government has no other purpose than to help the people develop in morals, in virtues, and in spiritual affairs. None. Therefore, the first step in building a real democratic substratum consists of arming morally the citizen so that he can understand the Nhan-Vi theory. This has some bearing in the realities since the Nhan-Vi theory implies a new conception about private ownership. Therefore, the Communists are wrong when they say that we are in the capitalist bloc. The capitalists say that we are prone to a theory close to Communism; this is not true either. We stay in the happy medium of Nhan-Vi and Nhan-Vi must be developed, must be applied for the fulfillment of its sacred mission. This sacredness must have a material basis, i.e., an elementary property. About
elementary property, it is necessary that the citizen in our country have a small property serving as a base for his moral development. We raise the question in order to lead us to the second point which is the necessity of arming materially the Vietnamese. What methods to use in arming materially the Vietnamese? There are two methods: one is Agrarian Reform in legislation. In agrarian reform the government spares for the person who works 75% of the crops. That is an indirect way to help the person who works, the proletary has an opportunity to create for himself an elementary property which is a house and a piece of land. That is an indirect manner of moral armament. There is another way of arming materially, in which the government sends people in agricultural camps. There the citizen receives directly a house and land. In that way he has an elementary private property necessary for the individual freedom of his family. We know that the citizen will realize his rights and his responsibilities when he possesses housing and food. When he is able to subsist through days and months, naturally he has freedom. If he has a house and 2 hectares of land to cultivate rice or to plant fruit trees, he has not any luxuries, but he is not afraid of hunger and does not fear the government. When we have a garden, if we fail in working in a public agency, we can enter the garden and eat and we need nobody. If the government does not agree, the government cannot do anything against us. We stay therein, we remain silent, nobody can do anything. If we have no basic property, no house, no garden, and if the government dismiss us as a public servant, where do we go when we starve? And if the house we live in is a rented one, they will chase us. Tomorrow is not secure. We are afraid. We have to obey and execute all that the government asks us and then we do not understand in our brains that we have a personal dignity which we alone know of. Secondly, we know our duties towards the society and when we have a house and a garden in which we can find
means to have two meals a day, then we are not afraid of anybody; then if we do not publicly criticize the government, we keep quiet, and nobody can disturb us.

That is the material armament and the application of the Nhan-Vi theory, but this is but one aim. The other aim is to make the owner of a house, 1, 2 or 3 hectares of land, have spare money with part of which they will pay taxes to the government; with the remaining part, they will participate in the industrialization of the country because the reconstruction of a backward country is a problem of industrialization. What does a backward country need for its industrialization? The industrialization of a country needs two things. It needs capitals. Where to have capitals? One part is imported from foreign countries. It is invested in foreign countries [i.e., in Vietnam among others]. The second source of capitals is at home. This comes from taxes or voluntary investments made by the citizens in industrial development ventures. If we take too much capital from foreign countries, if imported capitals exceed domestic contributions, we cannot avoid damaging our independence. Therefore we will really consolidate the political independence of our country when we strive to raise domestic capitals above capitals from abroad. If every citizen, apart from his work in a public or private office, has a family who make another source of profit, if they have an elementary property as I have just mentioned, then they sum up their two profits and naturally they will be able to pay the tax very easily, and they will use the remaining sum to participate with the government in building industries. In that way, on the one side they will immediately profit by a real democracy, i.e. it is only with democracy that they can have a guarantee for their material possessions, for their elementary private property. Secondly, they can efficiently contribute to the industrial progress of the country. There is another angle [problem] observed in other countries, apart from the fact that too much foreign capital will impair our independence. The other problem is that industrial development usually gives
birth to the proletariat. If we succeed in realizing the material armament as I have just said, of course we can thereby find an answer [a solution] for the prevention of the formation of the proletariat created by industrialization.

So, I have briefly explained the problems of the construction of a democratic substratum for our country, in which we do not need much aid from foreign countries. Such is the fact that we visualize self-support as a basis for independence and freedom of our country without the need of foreign aid. And this base, as it is developed gradually, can lead us to be self-sufficient, with no need for foreign aid. Another point is that if every Vietnamese citizen clearly understands the policy of the government and endeavors to secure for himself an elementary property, the question of reunification will be very practical and very fruitful, because if we raise the problem of unification in the reality of life we will inevitably see that from there [North Vietnam] two or three million people will rush into here in one form [way] or another, because in North Vietnam the political and particularly the economic situation is narrow, [not generous, stifling].

If one day we will have completed the substratum, and maintained normal relations, naturally from there people will rush in, several millions within a short time. We have seen that in the [recent] exodus there were only 800,000 people and we had so many difficulties in resettling such a small number. Now, if within a period of 1 or 2 months, our compatriots in the North, thanks to the freedom of movement that we will obtain by struggle, they will rush in like overwhelming flood. Where can we have food to provision them. If the substratum is not yet built, it will be a difficult problem, because we have seen in history, when Hitler invaded France, he released refugees from the North, jamming roads in France, Belgium. Those countries could not mobilize their troops to occupy other countries quickly. If our compatriots come and we cannot receive them at once, therefore, from a military viewpoint, we will be blocked up and the Communists will have an opportunity to invade easily. What to do in economic field?
Economically, which country will be able to help us immediately for the subsistence of 2 or 3 million people for one month, for example? Therefore, if we succeed in building quickly a democratic substructure, each of our compatriots here will have a small house, a small piece of land, be morally armed, understand the path [government policies], the human rights. Then, compatriots can say here, for one month I can accept one family, at another place I can receive two persons, at another place I can receive 2 children. Then, naturally when compatriots arrive from there [the North], within one month or two we can absorb them at once. Since here we respect human dignity, guarantee political rights, resist military aggression, build democratic substratum as I have told, we solve many enormous problems with a simple progress achieved by the Vietnamese people without the need of foreign aid. In solving the problems we stay within our front, they [?] stand in the revolution. The present world revolution is a strong will of the Asian and African peoples who newly escape colonialism. With the pride of building by ourselves, Vietnam put forth a simple solution in accordance with the progress of Asian and African countries, one which can be applied at once. If we want to apply immediately we must study in order to understand that policy [i.e., that solution which constitutes a policy].

Today I have the opportunity to present to you those important but simple problems; if you make effort, you will contribute effectively and directly to the resolution of important world problems. At present time, the first important problem is industrialization, i.e., raising the standards of living. The second important problem for Vietnam is the reunification of the territory. You see that the strategy which is being applied can solve many important problems. In order to successfully solve those problems, the most important thing is enthusiasm, understanding, cultural efforts of the cadres in the information branch.
ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

Question: Recently on the occasion of the President's visit to India, there is a rumor that Vietnam will tend toward neutralism. But, Mr. Adviser, you just said: "We are determined to fight Communism". And the Free World is divided into two blocs: one bloc is neutral, the other one is capitalist. What bloc does the government policy decisively trend to?

Answer: The visit of the President to India has a very important character in terms of the study of the international situation. It was the first time that India received a President of Republic; previously India only received Premiers.

Throughout the President's visit to India, the Indian press never mentioned the word "neutralism".

Our foreign policy toward India is the same toward other Asian countries; that external problem is like the wearing of apparel, i.e., like us India strives to build an Asian policy while not discontinuing external relations. When we want to build democratic regime, freedom will become an obstacle to the efficiency of industries. It halts the progress; that is why democracy is always slow retarding because of the conception of freedom, because of the application of that conception to the life of the people. All the nations meet with that obstacle. We want freedom, but freedom must be compatible with our realities so that it does not become an obstacle to economic progress. Sometimes it is also of a military nature. Every country meets with this basic problem, but in Asia and Africa there is still another worry, that is how to build a free Asian society without breaking the sempiternal ties with the sacred ancestral traditions. With this additional worry on the necessity for perpetuating the sacred ancestral traditions, there can be 2 obstacles: the first is to build a democracy in which there is freedom but we see that because of the temporary result, Communism suppresses freedom. In suppressing freedom, the Communists do not dislike freedom, do not hate freedom, but they see in
freedom an obstacle to the establishment of industries. To practice freedom in such a way that it does not hinder the speedy development and the efficiency of economy which mean our subsistence, we cannot naturally imitate Europe, we do not imitate Communism, therefore we have to devise such solutions as will guarantee essential freedom and will permit us at the same time to build quickly and successfully our economy and livelihood. The other point is to see that this society be not cut off from ancestors. Therefore, in Asia there is only another country which has the same worry as we do, that is the Indian nation. In India there are many religions. Those religions have engendered many massacres. Therefore, now it is a thorny problem for India to keep the essence of the ancestral culture in order to draw out factors [material] for the edification of a new society, but India still worries about how not to lose the relations with ancestors [cultural patrimony]; willy nilly the leaders must remain in the framework of the guarantee for the sacred traditional values but they have not a solid norm in order to compare and to decide on what is to be kept, what is to be discarded. In our country there is a meter, which is Nhan-Vi. What is consistent with Nhan-Vi is to be kept, what is not consistent is to be discarded. In doing this, we fight Communism, because we keep up the string of relationships with ancestors, the sacred string [that is, we maintain the ancestral patrimony], which means that we actively fight Communism. Though India extraneously presents the advocacy of neutralism and peaceful coexistence, when the President arrived nobody spoke of peaceful coexistence and neutrality, because these are but a "question of detail", a circumstance [an aspect] that each country must show in foreign policy but the souls are always alike [i.e., India's policy and ours are basically identical]. How Asia can have the pride of building according to Asian method, how to make a political regime but not retrograde backward in industry. How to build a [real] Asian democracy, not a "tay-lai" or [French-Vietnamese half-breed], not Communist, not born of
a "me-tay" (Vietnamese woman married to a Frenchman). That is a difficulty. Whether they like it or not, only India and Vietnam have this worry. As for other Asian countries, they also keep up their traditions, they also shave their head and stay 3 months in pagodas. But for them, there is no worry, because there is no connection between work in a pagoda and the Constitution and political life. Similarly, a Catholic enters a cathedral to attend a mass and then goes out and he does not understand, does not worry about affairs what is going on in the cathedral. Now India and Vietnam have worry on how to benefit by ancestral traditions, national traditions, on what factors means to use for the edification of the constitution, for the development and management of industries. With regard to other countries such as Buddhist countries, they have an appearance of prosperity, but actually there is nothing of such. Why? Because their policies have nothing of Buddhism. They have studied Buddhism, taken from Buddhism the subtleties suitable to the work to be carried out. But in speaking of Nhan-Vi we do not speak "on papers" (e., what is planned on papers is followed by action). I have said that the Nhan-Vi theory dictates the work on private property. The conception of private property is in connection of the legal life (it has bearing on legislation). The constitution itself is in connection with every phase of our life. When we ask ourselves the question, is there anything in Buddhism which make us progress, usually there is "Tu-bi" (Compassion). People in all other Buddhist countries explain the theory of Compassion. But if we use Nhan-vi to measure Tu-bi, very often we find that Tu-bi is an opportunity for exploiting the mind (Inclination) of the people who make charity and forget to do justice. Justice must go ahead of Tu-bi. Tu-bi must begin with justice first. With justice in society, we realize that we worry over taking from Buddhism the conception of Tu-Bi, but that Tu-Bi if conceived according to our Nhan-vi is what? It means that we must have justice
first, and Tu bi next; it does not require that we give people things, once a month and then come home satisfied with our Tu bi, with no regard to who is dead in our own house. That is a mistake. Tu bi exists because the foundation of justice exists. On the foundation of justice, a flower blossoms which is called Compassion. If there is not a basis for justice, there can be no Tu bi. That proves the concern of the Vietnamese people with respect to traditional values. Usually Buddhism teaches Tu bi and does not consider anything else, but we say that there is not only Tu bi in Buddhism. Buddhism teaches that men, rich and poor, who are born of women, are equal before the sufferings on this world. In that conception all those who are born of women are equal and we incorporate that equality in our constitution. In countries worshipping Buddhism, while they meditate, people continue to fight because they think that that affair [meditations] is another affair, and that faith is a personal matter. If everybody has to stay six months in a monastery, I'll stay six months, shave my head, sit there; but to go out is a different thing. When we go out, that period becomes out-of-date, belongs to the past, has no connection with this present, we can say everywhere [?]. Now people say "Spounik" and "Atomique", who will listen to us when we speak about Buddhism? Therefore, whether clearly or obscurely in their mind, they consider that [monastic period] as past, not in harmony with the present life. But for us and India we may say that there is something in it [in that period]. What is that something? In making research in Nhan-vi, we find that there is a worry [a preoccupation] on how to draw from traditions, since it is only the concrete essence that we can make use of. Our elders speak, we do not understand. They say that we Asians must keep our finest Asian subtleties. We ask them what those are, they do not know, or they say this or that, that or this; therefore, there is no system of thinking. Then what are our finest subtleties? Now we have Nhan-vi, we use it for comparison and we know, among the things that people believe in but consider
as an excess, as out-of-date, what is subtle, what holds hope for our fatherland. Therefore, with regard to "our" visit to India, we raise a basic question and not a superficial question of details, it is why India is being now neutral. Her neutralism is now much mixed up, then we understand what neutralism really is. Neutralism means the will, a token of the will of Asian peoples to be independent of everybody. But in reality it leads us to terrible moral antagonism.

For example when we say peaceful coexistence, it sounds good; but can we peacefully coexist with the communists? They do not set the problem so as to have a base for discussions aiming at preventing war. We go deeper in the problem and say that in peaceful coexistence there are naturally five points of which one is not applicable with Communism, that is the point not to interfere with our internal affairs. Then let us realize that Communism always interfere with internal affairs of other countries because that is the nature of Communism.

If Communism does not interfere with internal life of foreign countries, Communists will no longer be Communists. Therefore they claim they use diplomacy to talk with foreign countries in order to prevent war; their claim in itself is very contradictory, because if we ask who will contract with us on the five points of peaceful coexistence, the Communists will also sign; but they sign and we know that they are unfaithful because they must interfere with our internal affairs and they do interfere and use the Communist party to interfere; that is natural, if they do not act in such a manner they are no longer Communists. Changeability is the nature of Communism, therefore we say that peaceful coexistence is only possible with those who are sincere, who live up to those 5 points. If we contract with people who cannot observe those 5 points, that is only a fake. On our visit to India, people say this and that. India holds a facade of peaceful coexistence, neutrality, but this has no meaning for us. We and India share in common the home administration \( \text{I.e.}, \) we and India have the same conditions in terms of home affairs. The internal administration and
the development of democracy in India, as I have just described, are aimed at a free democracy with maintenance of the ancestral ties. We do the same thing in our country, therefore we and India are friendly with each other because both want to realize an Asian way of life. By this, we very much relate to India because if in reality India's five-year plan fails this year, there will be naturally very serious disorders in India. These disorders will deeply affect the Asian peoples because this is the area in which we want to experiment with a new policy. If the reconstruction of Asia in accordance with the Asian way of life is not successful, the Communists would say that it is impossible to do that way, only imitate communism to succeed. In the other bloc, they would say that is would be necessary to practise free capitalism in order to succeed. Therefore, we need a new affair and in India and in our country we are striving to building such an affair. We and India relate with each other in this effort, the common concern being the building of an Asian society, in the Asian manner. Therefore that thing is the facade, has no meaning at all. I repeat that India received the visit of a President of a foreign country when the President came. The reception was very warm, meanwhile not only nobody among leaders in the press talked about peaceful coexistence or neutralism. The Vietnamese stand is deep-seated in the minds of Asian people, neutralism or peaceful coexistence has no meaning to be talked about.

Question: Building up a new way of life in the Asian manner is our common dream. But if we achieve this in the present conditions of a small country like ours, do we meet with reactions of those nations which, in view of their interests, do not want us to have a self-supporting life in economy, in politics; are we able to avoid these fatal reactions: First, do they want us to have a self-supporting economic life? Secondly, in the military field, if we assume the policy of building up Asia, we materially guarantee SEATO but will we undergo any changes? Secondly, in internal and
international conditions, we shall have to raise the question of reunification. Thirdly, do you think, Mr. Adviser, that the alliance of the small countries on this Indochina peninsula will be a policy effective for the defense against communist aggression from the North?

Question: Normally it is very hard to conceive a term but very easy to define it. As a reporting cadre, I am frequently asked by people in the neighborhood what the government has done to prove its humanism (Nha-D-vi) toward the people, in line with its advocacy of humanism. I have explained and sometimes discussed the programs of study mentioned by the Adviser to the Government at the Cultural Congress at Norodom Theater last year. On the agrarian reform program, the community development program, the books edited by But Tuan and Father Nguyen-huu-Thanh do not mention evidences of the service of the government to the people, to show that this government is more humanist than other governments.

Question: In the policy of building up democracy, the substructure of humanism is constituted by moral armament and material armament. In material armament there are such indirect points as agrarian reform and such direct points as land development camps. Thus, the problem of material armament exists only in rural areas; what is the government policy toward the city populations?

Question: Industrial development gives birth to a proletariat. The more the industries are advanced and the equipment is modern, the more manpower is reduced. If the proletariat thus grows out from industries, the workers cannot enjoy the interests engendered by industries.

Mr. Adviser, you said that in the near future there will be normal relations and some 3 or 4 million people will come South. Please explain to us; since we have long studied To-cong (denunciation of communism), we have heard that we can speak of normal relations only when there is no more communism in the North. Therefore, what does that question of normal relations and arrival of millions of people mean?
In the present situation of Vietnam, we have to organize the substructure, carry out moral and material armaments. We dare not talk on material armament but as communism-denunciation cadres we have assumed the task of moral armament.

1. While carrying out our duties, we have always met with impediments, because we lack everything from the operational means to the legal standing.

2. We have always been fearful because in the press it is said that the Communists or people with communist inclination are the most zealous denunciators of communism and are most fervent toward the Republican regime [to cover themselves].

There is an opinion that human innate interests "do not exist in man himself" but are [the result of] a conventional concept because the innate interests of man are determined by society. Society has the right to determine these interests in harmony with public interests. Is that correct?

The Adviser's Answer: All the questions you have raised are related to the concept of struggle. We must place the question of propaganda above that of struggle. In the present struggle as in any other struggle, we do not meet with ideal conditions. In reality, we meet with numerous impediments created by the regime, by all the realities, If there is a retreating or stationary tendency, the question to be set forth is the question of struggle. All of us, whether in public agencies or anywhere, we must set forth the question of struggle in harmony with our democratic and Republican spirit. This is a difficult problem but this difficulty should not discourage us because we must set forth the question of existence as a question of struggle and not as one of peaceful coexistence. Those countries which have been annihilated must be annihilated soon or late. Therefore, the question you must raise first is that of struggle. But we must struggle in such a way that it is different from the communists! This is very difficult, because generally what we must set forth is our own question. Now, if we say that foreign countries may have pressures on us
because our policy is not compatible with theirs, there are two problems: the first problem is that we must struggle against the reactions of those countries, whether friendly or hostile. The position of Vietnam vis-à-vis America is a position of struggle -- struggle since the beginning of the Vietnamese-American relations, unlike other Asian countries. With respect to America, other Asian countries have a position called "diplomatist" position, i.e., they owe to the Americans all that they (the Americans) request, in order to receive larger and larger aid until they are strong and discard the Americans. Such is the common position of the Asian countries with respect to America. With respect to America, we have a different position which consists of struggling right from the first steps of the relations between American and us and so that later America and we have no worries or serious antagonisms. This is because our country, small and weak, cannot follow that diplomatic policy of giving all that they [the Americans] request, to kick them off later when strong. Therefore the position of Vietnam with respect to American aid is a clear-cut one; they help us because we are not communists and we are not communists not because of American aid but of our dislike of communism. This is positive and it is not because of American aid that we are anti-communists. Thus, in relations with America, the Government always sets clearly defined limits, to avoid regrets in the future. The reactions with which you think the Americans are able to guide us in one direction or another, have ceased since May 1955. But they have a particular way of life, a particular way of contact and they always adopt that way to treat with us. If we raise the question of struggle, naturally we set ourselves against what is incompatible with the humanism of the Vietminh [probably the lecturer meant, what in the Vietminh is incompatible with humanism] with respect to the alliance of the small Afro-Asian countries for a joint policy. We raise this not on a negative but cultural basis. Culture for the building up of a new society in line with our way of life. This is the basis for our
internal and external affairs. If any bloc should be formed, it is formed on that basis. But we are not thus related to each other in order to confront one another but to realize something in mutual understanding. Therefore, in our foreign relations, we talk about this only. We do not talk about fighting communism, we do not talk about anything negative; therefore, we do not advocate negative subjects. Building up an Asian society not communist, not in the capitalist line. You are worrying about such and such reactions and interferences; this is the concern of the government. This is a question of struggle; not that we don't raise the question of struggle. Even if we struggle with faith, the main question is to ask ourselves whether the direction is correct. If it's correct, of course we must struggle, whether against friends or foes.

But the methods of our struggle have several forms; military, diplomatic, economic, political struggle - many forms. Among these forms, we select the most effective one to fulfill our will that is also that of all the Asian and African peoples. In the implementation in view of the ideal, naturally we are faced with many impediments, the first of which is our administration which needs reconstruction. In the colonialist countries, there are many policies. The British policy is different from the French policy. The Dutch policy is different because according to colonialist policy, the colonial people are not given the right to leadership; therefore very often when they withdraw we don't have the higher executives, we need a period of time for training executives in line with our progress. When we are in shortage of this we are faced with many impediments; this is natural. Therefore, we must strive to struggle tenaciously. But our struggle has many forms; therefore, to have a base for struggle, we must have shrewd culture, the forms of struggle which are effective and do not tend against the democracy we want to work out; therefore, in carrying out its policy, the government has two impediments. The first is that we don't have up-to-date executives. The second
is that we don't understand the government policy. Therefore, in the Government Message the President said that this year the government echelons would be reorganized so as to be consistent with the Constitution. Therefore, our presence today is aimed at carrying out the points raised by the Government in the recent message to the National Assembly. In this matter, the government policy should be well understood, carried out in harmony with the Constitution, that is to say with democracy. Generally, one speaks of pure theory and practices in a different way. If the problem is complex, it is because we are so circumstance. As for India, they have adequate executive personnel in the armed forces, administration, and sciences. Thus, when they went there on the occasion of the President's visit to India, our specialists found that they have an administrative machinery at executive levels, and in every field men fit to lead the Hindu people. At present, we lack many things. Therefore, this year we must make effort in building an administration consistent with the aspirations of the people. To this end, there must be fellowship, comprehension. Therefore, upon a proposal of the Secretary of State for Information, I appear today to talk.

There is another problem, very important, that of thanh-tien can-lao (progress of the labor classes) in the cities. This is not contrary to the material armament which I just mentioned, because workers in cities can have their wives, sons, daughters, brothers, uncles, relatives go to the land development camps and receive a basic property. By this, they have two places. One is a testing place for work; the other is, if there is crisis in that work, a place in which they seclude themselves in order to settle the economic crisis before coming back to work. We must make the people understand this; if they don't they misunderstand that we want them to return to the villages. In the Vietnamese families, there always are the old parents, brothers and uncles living together in a house. Among them, those who support the whole family are naturally the persons who go to
to work; one person, two persons, go to work to feed the whole family who sit there doing nothing. Now, we divide, we apportion the work. One part remain and continue to work; the other part, doing nothing, go out to receive land and build up another property. Even the hare provides three places, three holes, so that if one is blocked, he goes to another; a fortiori, man [must be more provident]. We must explain to the people. Besides, not that the government does not have a labor progress policy. Progress of labor is a difficult task; it is not a simple problem which can be solved as agrarian reform, because in the matter of industrialisation there are capital investments from outside. We wish for, any government needs contributions from the outside. The capitalists abroad, they invest. If we want them to invest, it is natural that there should be more interests [here] than in their countries. If they come to our country to invest in our country and if they have relatively the same interests, they disregard us. This is matter-of-fact. [If it is] necessary for a period, we must sacrifice during a period of time to let them know the profit here and the profit at their home; therefore, this problem is difficult. The second problem is that most of our workers, following the European way of life, believe that we can achieve the solutions of Europe applied in our country [probably the lecturer meant to say, Most of our workers believe that, if we should live the European way of life, we can apply the solutions of Europe in our country]. At present, we are pondering whether there is an effective means of Labor Progress for the enterprises. Now, the trade unions, experts of the international organization [ILO?], the unions present here, are studying in order to submit to the Government a solution for the application of Thang-tien Can-laoc in the enterprises within the Prefecture.

On the other problem, the problem of reunification, the question is worthwhile. This problem is our first concern, territorial reunification. Whenever there is Communism, it is difficult to reunify the territory. This is natural.
There are two aspects. One is internal, the other is international. Because the problem is Communism, there is an international problem. If there is not Communism, there are no foreign countries interfering in the partition of the country. Therefore, the first basic impediment for reunification is the communist regime in the North; we then say that our regime on this side is a changeable one, if it changes in direction, but the communist regime cannot change. Those who sit outside usually say that, because the two regimes are too different from each other, the problem of reunification is complicated. They do not understand that our present regime is a changeable one, while the communist regime does not change. The outsiders who receive no responsibilities, from a time viewpoint, conjecture that the two regimes are alike, the two Southern and Northern governments are alike. They sit above to determine the direction as in Tam-quoc (the Three-State period in ancient China), they have no significance. These people live outside the area of history, never contribute any small bit to the national revolution but only satiate their individualism, having no harmony with history. There is no historical existence (historical continuation). Throughout so many national revolutions, they only play a secondary role; in general, the intellectuals did not numerously participate in the revolution, because they lost historical disposition (the sense of history), they don't understand that at present time world revolution is carrying away; what other revolution we are waiting for. In the same way, the Jews are waiting for Jesus to come back. There is no more. The position of the hesitant people is just the same; they wait for a thing which does not exist, or for thing which already existed but which they believe did not exist yet. History does not wait for them. Our position with respect to reunification is that if there is Communism on the other side, there are obstacles for reunification. If there is Communism, there must be foreign countries interfering. If there is not Communism, for what should foreign countries interfere in this matter, an internal
matter. Communism wants to overwhelm not for neutral peaceful coexistence, but for covering their banditry with peaceful coexistence and neutralism. The expansion of Communism will affect the equilibrium of the world. By this the country is partitioned, reunification is difficult. If a regime is republican like ours, nothing is difficult. With this regime, we can but making many liberties, we expand the liberties, because if here below \( \text{L.e., in the South} \) we make a liberal free regime we'll dig the ditch deeper between the collectivist situation in the North and us. In reality, because here below we must strive in such a way that they on the other side break off Communism, but the political and economic situation there is not very different from ours, if the values of Nhan-vi (humanism) are respected. What is respect of humanism? It should be respected step by step; we must not say that we'll see to it only after the success of the revolution. Now, on our side we don't have a too liberal free regime, in which there are two factors. The first factor is that we must see that freedom does not impede not economic progress. Freedom digs deeper the barring ditch between South and North, reunification is very difficult. The question of reunification is very complex because there is the factor "Communism" in it. The question of reunification is no more an internal affair, becomes an international affair. The question of reunification has three factors - political, military and economic. Because of Communism in Vietnam, these 3 factors have two aspects. One is internal, the other is international, politically, militarily and economically speaking. Economic factor is divided into two, economy with respect to international situation and economy with respect to internal situation. The same with military factor, political factor. The intrusion in the life of Vietnam of a communist system makes our problem more complex and therefore we have three factors which are political, economic and military questions; then each factor has two aspects, international aspect and internal aspect. Therefore, confronting such difficulties, what should we do?
We must have the constitution which does not dig deeper the harming ditch between South and North and in which the values of man are guaranteed, the fundamentals of freedom are guaranteed; nothing can shake this.

The second question is that we must be unable to make reunification uncertain; perhaps can be understood to read, if we are not able to achieve reunification, the question will become an international question. We alone cannot settle, therefore in the country, in the Constitution, we must see that the political life have a situation which can lead to reunification without too many complications. In this, we only request one thing: the basic values of freedom must be respected from right now on but not in the "terrestrial paradise" the purpose of which is be created first and have that thing freedom next.

Therefore I say that in building up the democratic substructure, we visualize reunification while the economic situation is too different. Our political situation has equilibrium; if not, by ourselves we can never reunify. We must work out a situation with many aspects, which leads to reunification when the international situation is less strained and can lead us to that place to reunification. There are several other questions which you mentioned. You said that in humanism, society knows that that is wrong. Society does not decide because of humanism, man has freedom or establishes society which has influence but does not decide.

On the subject of humanism, we must have special study periods to clarify the subject, not as you believe what the books mention. Thus, those books have many contradictory places, many incorrect places, not conformable to the realities, because humanism is a theory which is to be carried out, applied and is not a mere theory; that is to say, on today's discussions as a whole we can conclude with two points: the first point is that we must raise the question of struggle, the other is that we must raise the question of culture. Culture is not solely study from books. In culture, there are morals and intelligence
which must develop rapidly, effectively on culture. As such, today's talk can be summarized.

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After the Government Adviser instructed and explained, Mr. Pham-quoc-Bao, permanent member of the Central Executive Committee for the Campaign for the Denunciation of Communism, representing the Board of Reporters, thanked the Government Adviser and the Secretary of State for Information and Youth, Chairman of the Popular Directing Council for the Campaign of Denunciation of Communism.

The Secretary of State for Information and Youth, Chairman of the Popular Directing Council for the Campaign of Denunciation of Communism continued to preside over the council and explained to the council several other important subjects.

The council adjourned at 11:30 a.m.

Saigon, 15th November 1957

Chairman,

TranchanThanh

Secretary,

PhamquocBao