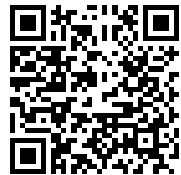


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**PRESIDENT**  
**NGO DINH DIEM**  
**AND THE**  
**ELECTION OF APRIL 9**  
**1961**

**ADDRESSES**  
**STATEMENTS**  
**PROGRAMME**

**PRESIDENTIAL PRESS OFFICE**  
**SAIGON, 1961**







**PRESIDENT**  
**NGO DINH DIEM**  
" AND THE  
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## LETTER TO THE NATION

(February 7, 1961)

Dear compatriots,

The Vietnamese nation is preparing, in accordance with the Constitution, to go to the polls to elect a President and a Vice President to whom it wants to entrust the destiny of the country for five years.

This is an essential civic obligation which all of you will wish to fulfill.

\*  
\* \*

Since the foundation of the Republic, all together, we have achieved unquestionable progress.

Together we have fought courageously, first to halt our country from sloping down to an abyss, then to build anew on ruins piled up by warfare.

Together we have overcome many an obstacle inherent in our underdeveloped status in order to progress in all fields towards the goals of the National Revolution.

However, we have had to face Communist subversive actions at every moment.

Today, out of a partitioned and exhausted country to which the best experts granted but a few months to live, we have made a true state which holds all its chances for the future wholesome and the international status of which draws esteem and respect.

That task, we together took six years to achieve. This period of time, comparatively short, makes the result meritorious; it also explains the deficiencies.

We had to work quickly, start a speed race in order not to be bogged down in an underdeveloped status and not to be paralyzed by the skepticism and intrigues of some people or by insecurity created by the Communist enemy who is all the more eager to undermine our regime as it grows stronger every day.

There is still much to be done and perfect, as much from the organizational as from the working methods standpoint. Parallel to the legitimate satisfaction with our attained achievements, our common mission of national renovation requires from each of us greater efforts and sacrifices in all fields.

My dear compatriots,

In the past few days, innumerable resolutions were sent to me by people in all walks of life from everywhere in the national territory. These testimonies of confidence have deeply touched me and made me realize how much it is necessary, to be worthy of such confidence, that I continue the work.

It is therefore with full awareness of the immense difficulties which lie ahead, but with the firm conviction that thanks to the active cooperation of all of you as in 1955, we will take another positive step forward, that I make it a duty today to go again to the Vietnamese people to seek the honour of a second presidential term of office, with, as the vice presidential candidate, Mr. Nguyen Ngoc Tho, my faithful fellow combatant for these six years whose patriotism and devotion to service of the people in the most trying hours have greatly contributed to the prosperity of the country.

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## **RADIO ADDRESS TO THE NATION**

(March 15, 1961)

My dear compatriots,

At the end of a term of office to which your confidence led me six years ago, I received an invitation to seek your votes again. I did not want to shirk my duty. As a candidate, I have come to speak to you tonight about the ballot which you will hold in your hand on April 9 and which, believe me, will determine more than my future. It will concern your own future, that of your homes, parents, village, city and, lastly and above all, the future of our whole Vietnamese fatherland. Why, you ask me? That is precisely what I am going to tell you.

When I speak of the future, I want you to know I am thinking first of the simplest things — of material conditions of life, facilities often modest and humble which the citizen enjoys, his food, his clothes, a home for himself and his family, and his ability for savings and business undertakings. But does it not appear immediately evident that these elementary satisfactions — recorded in the Human Rights declaration which is the charter of our nation — demand two primary conditions which are security and minimum social organization? Is it not obvious that the aspiration for a better life, that which I call the future, becomes impossible when the individual finds himself either threatened or submerged in a chaotic and structureless society?

Such baleful conditions, my dear compatriots, are not imaginary. We have only to turn to the recent past to refresh our memories.

If you wish, let us go back seven years, when only a favored minority were profiting from the war-born artificial activities. Let me remind you briefly of this abyss from which we then emerged. The immediate problem was to emerge from the abyss because the diffi-

culties did not exist only in themselves, they derived from one another and multiplied reciprocally.

For instance, to restore buildings, which the Communists had systematically destroyed in their scorched-earth policy, it was necessary to bring in a mass of materials. To do this first required the repair of the communication network, all devastated, and the reconstitution of a fleet of vehicles which was reduced to zero. There was also need for technicians, cadres of all kinds, particularly those for administration. Cadres? We did not even have the means to train them since there were neither universities nor technical schools in the classical sense of the word, not even sufficient secondary education. Our primary schools did not meet even one-twentieth of the nation's needs. And yet one had to implement so many projects in all domains at the same time despite the lack of personnel which I have just mentioned and while our army, the shield of the country, remained at the elementary stage of small battalions. But the principles of personalism, community development and collective progress inspired us; they could suggest to us working methods flexible enough to fit the shape of reality.

And so, our work of reconstruction has rapidly attained excellent results. We have built a vast economic infrastructure. Our communications facilities, our roads and our bridges, our waterways, our dikes and dams, our air fields are today among the most renowned in Southeast Asia. We have begun the exploitation of the Nong Son coal mine on a large scale. The construction of the Danhim dam will, within three years, assure us of an abundant supply of electricity. The first factory chimneys have appeared, thus opening the era of the country's industrialization. The agrarian reform has raised effectively the living standards of the rural population in conjunction with other large enterprises such as agricultural development, agrovilles, agricultural credit, cooperatives and community development. In the towns, and especially in the capital, one has witnessed the improvement of the living standards of the working people. A considerable number of social and cultural services have been generated on their behalf such as schools, hospitals, organizations for mutual aid and protection of professional interest. School and college enrollment has increased at the same time at a record speed.

On the social level, the Vietnamese woman has benefitted from a promotion which will henceforth allow her to play her role with dignity in the national community as well as within her family. For its part, the youth was able to start taking an effective part in the establishment of a new social order which meets its ideals, that is, one which is based on justice and charity.

These few considerations do not stem from subjective opinions; the foreigner who returns to Viet Nam today after an absence of several

years is, of course, the first to testify to the extent of our progress. Where, in towns, he formerly saw kilometre-long alleyways of thatched houses, he now sees paved avenues lined with concrete buildings. In the evening, instead of oil lamps he sees flamboyant neon. In formerly desolate places, hamlets have sprung up with their markets, dispensaries, rice mills and movie houses. What village, no matter how remote, does not use incandescent lamps, ride on innumerable bicycles, listen to transistor radios, use motorized boats or machines which previously were a luxury to the population ?

Many high foreign officials visiting Viet Nam have freely questioned our farmers. « What do you want », they asked ? « Tractors », was the answer most often recorded, because an enterprising spirit has replaced the former doleful resignation. Who could not see in this behaviour of our compatriots in rural areas, besides the obvious improvement in social standards, the proud expression of self-respect which I call Personalism in other circumstances ? And shall I remind you — since the word tractor has come to me incidentally — that more than 600 of these machines, privately owned, have been added to the considerable amount of technical equipment to make Viet Nam the most motorized nation in Southeast Asia.

I cite these examples as they come to my mind ; there are others — humbler and much more innumerable — which will testify equally to the vitality and industry of our population.

Confronted with our obvious successes, the Communists are at a loss. They realize that civic spirit, community understanding and faith in the collective progress gains each day and drives back the effects of their propaganda ; in a few years, they will have lost their last chances of success. This explains the stiffening of their attitude manifested by an increase of terrorist activities, of sabotage, of kidnapping, plundering and murder. But thanks to our dauntless army and our population, which are unswervingly united in the common fight, we are sure to be able one day to eliminate them.

If I sum up the achievements, I shall soon conclude that we have chosen the way which best meets the possibilities and exigencies of an underdeveloped country which is determined to build up a true democracy. In our country, like in other underdeveloped Asian and African countries, democracy, in the present circumstances, aims at giving the population equal chances for the full development of the human personality. Democracy cannot be built up with words, oratorical tirades, demagogical proclamations or vain promises. To take democracy for granted without taking into account these two tragic realities, which are underdevelopment and cold or hot war, may, in the long run, serve the interest of a minority, but certainly also will weaken the will of



the nation, create trouble among foreign investors and hinder the very conditions required at the start for the growth of democracy itself.

Because they have measured the task achieved by the government with the backing of an experienced and unanimous public opinion and because they have confidence in the solidity and stability of our regime, in the ideals and tenacity of our leaders, those holders of foreign capital have carried out a liberal policy of investments and loans regarding our country. We even wish for larger loans because in our under-developed state, large credits are necessary for the national renovation for the financing of which the tax revenues are insufficient.

Malicious critics who attack the immense work of reconstruction which we have undertaken, if they serve as an outlet for the personal dissatisfaction of a few bitter minds, have no doubt the serious drawback of being derogatory to the superior interest of the nation. Thus, they serve the subversive action of the Communists whose propaganda aims at two goals only : to weaken the national Government authority and prompt the population to clamor for the enlargement of democratic liberties without taking into account the realities of the country.

We are faithful to the democratic ideal, we do not deceive ourselves nor do we seek to beguile the population ; we realize clearly that to fight a hot or cold war is a complex undertaking which requires all our tenacity. Not only do we have to recruit, train, equip and maintain a strong army, but also build communications networks facilitating military traffic, organize solid communication systems, create resettlement villages for rural people in the High Plateaus as well as in the immense marshy and still unreclaimed areas, and lastly, instill a strong faith in the population, particularly the youth who have to defend the nation with courage now and in the future.

Many foreign and qualified observers who have visited our country have told the press of their admiration for the rapid progress of our army.

Dear compatriots,

The short time given to me for this talk, by the election campaign organization committee, prevents me from expounding my programme for the years to come. I will do so in the press. This programme will create the most propitious conditions for the full development of our liberties and the preservation of our security.

Dear compatriots,

As I told you, this ballot which you will place in the ballot-box on April 9 will determine your future. Rarely has a vote had so much importance. Your consciousness of our problems, your dignity as citizens, your legitimate aspirations, and the pressing concern for the security of your homes and your families make it your duty to vote and vote well. Is it necessary for me to add that my appeal is inspired only by patriotic preoccupation? Do I have to remind you that after the October 1955 referendum, you elected me the head of the state for an undetermined duration? However, I proclaimed the republic with a renewable presidential term of office. You are not unaware either that an article of our Constitution allows me to have my term of office extended in view of the war against the Viet Cong and the state of alert which this war creates — this I do not want to do. Lastly, you will see that throughout the world and, sometimes not far from you, an increasing number of nations, suffering difficult times and subversive threats, suspend their constitutions, dissolve their assemblies and nationalize their press. Nothing of that sort has been contemplated at home. Therefore, you can see for yourselves that, in soliciting your vote, it is not myself that I place at stake but the very idea of our fatherland.

I realize that the circumstances are very difficult and the responsibilities very heavy. However, I have faith in the heroic traditions of our people, in the « Dien Hong » and « Sat That » invincible spirit as well as in the enlightened will of the nation, which has for ages, glorified the « Thanh » and « Tin » virtues and gathered its energies to defend itself.

Dear compatriots, you can believe what is sincerely told you today by a man who during all his life has had only one aspiration. that is, to serve the people, and whose only will has been to promote a policy subject to the only ideal worthy of consideration, that of the Common Good and the active and the realistic democracy.

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## **PRESS CONFERENCE**

(March 23, 1961)

### *STATEMENT TO THE PRESS*

To hold elections at a time when our country is in the midst of a war of subversion is a real challenge. Notwithstanding this, we are holding them. This is because what might be considered an abnormal situation in some other countries has for some time past been the daily lot of South Viet Nam — an underdeveloped and divided country, the foremost target of Communist penetration in Southeast Asia.

With this in mind, we must follow democratic principles in spite of unfavorable circumstances, while taking them into consideration.

This was precisely my view when, six years ago, I accepted the responsibility of my mandate. The moral rehabilitation and material reconstruction of a country, burdened at the outset by this triple handicap, confronted the whole nation with the necessity to accept a discipline all the more strict because it desires to liberate itself all the more rapidly. This is an incontestable challenge. The question then is to limit that discipline which proves necessary to the quick establishment of economic prerequisites of democracy. It is along this line of thinking that we have built our Republic upon the three-fold principle of Personalism, Community development and Collective progress. Since Viet Nam's accelerated transformation demands heavy and sustained sacrifices from all her children, let not these sacrifices be in vain and without the human touch, and let them be beneficial to everyone and not just to a minority. It is along this line of full development of the human being in a specific historical context that all of our programmes, which aim at the rapid transformation of an



*President NGO DINH DIEM and Vice President NGUYEN NGOC THO answer questions at a press conference at Independence Palace, March 23, 1961.*



outdated technical and social structure, were formulated and implemented. It is already a long and arduous road which takes us from the state of a rural society to that of a modern industrial society. It becomes even harder if we make no effort to realize our real situation and above all if we compare it with that of people who have already achieved their economic and social evolution. We are apt to forget that it took the West more than 100 years, under far more favorable circumstances, to accomplish its industrial revolution, the origin of its political life and its economic standards which some of us envy. We also tend to forget that this standard of living was attained and improved upon, on the one hand, thanks to the persevering efforts of these people and, on the other hand, thanks to the sacrifices of underdeveloped countries — this directly in the form of colonial exploitation and indirectly by the sale of manufactured goods at high prices and the purchase of our raw materials at low prices.

If lack of experience and urgency for development render these clashes inevitable, if the modification of the economic and social structure demands severe readjustments, then the complete ignorance of our actual situation and the premature desire to enjoy the same living standards as in advanced countries will contribute to dividing the minds, to slowing down our efforts and, consequently, to limiting the nation's efficiency, especially at a time when Communism and its lackeys endeavor to harm us.

It is under those difficult conditions that the government of which I have the honor to be the head has been working. It is true that it has not accomplished everything perfectly because the all-providing state is nothing but a myth. Nevertheless it has contributed to a great number of achievements in all sectors and along the right lines.

### QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

**After delivering the statement, President Ngo Dinh Diem answered newsmen's questions and defined his programmes of action for the next 5 years in the fields of education, public health, social welfare, labour and economic development.**

**QUESTIONS :** *As the President of the Republic, you have acquainted us with the Government's achievements. For the benefit of our readers, would you, in your role of candidate, tell us of your future programmes ?*

**ANSWER :** To expound our programme, which covers all the branches of activity of the national life, will require many press conferences and many columns in the dailies to fully acquaint the public with it. At this time, I am going to explain thoroughly the main features of a few specific subjects.

## EDUCATION

During the past six years, in spite of political and financial difficulties, Vietnamese education has been expanding vigorously. We have recovered full independence in the field of education, improved its administration, trained more teachers and built more schools all over the country. At the same time, the ultimate objectives of education have been clarified with a view to channeling all cultural activities into a unique pattern, i.e., Personalism. Vietnamese education aims at producing free men conscious of their mission in the history of their nation and of the world, and capable of fulfilling it. With this end in view, Vietnamese education is based on the following principles : it is humanist, truly national and open to progress.

We have thus been able to lay, within only six years, solid material and spiritual foundations which are necessary to the continual expansion and improvement of education.

In the next five years, the elementary and secondary school curricula will be revised so as to be more practical and better adapted to child psychology and social requirements. Secondary schools will be fully staffed with teachers graduated from our Faculties of Pedagogy. Technical education will be intensively expanded and strongly supported in order to orient young people towards the fields of industry. Finally, in accordance with the principle adopted by the 1958 National Education Congress, the medium of instruction will be Vietnamese in those Faculties where foreign languages are still used.

The University Senates will decide on the successive steps to be taken towards this end during the coming school year.

From the social viewpoint, more scholarships will be granted for studies at home as well as abroad.

### **Primary Education**

The main task is to make the educational programme more practical so that those who are unable to go on with secondary education can benefit from their primary education in earning their living. For this purpose, the Department of Education has prepared a long-range programme of converting the present common primary schools into primary community schools with modernized curriculum and method of teaching.

Primary community schools will maintain the same standards as common primary schools, but will add to them some realistic activities contributing to the local economic and social development.

The method of training teachers for community schools has been experimented with for three years at the Basic Educational Centre of Long-An and has proved to be satisfactory. This method will be taught this year in pedagogy schools and training seminars so that reorientation can be achieved rapidly.

### **Secondary Education**

The main problem is the shortage of qualified teachers.

The training of high-school teachers, interrupted since 1954, was resumed only in 1957, and has been speeded up since 1958. It was necessary, therefore, in the first few years to meet this shortage. The situation has improved and the faculties of pedagogy are now in a position to train at least 300 teachers yearly.

In the meantime, the less qualified teachers, particularly language teachers, will receive special in-service training, so that the educational standard can ultimately be raised.



In the next five years, the Department will provide for the opening of a first degree high school in each district, in addition to the two-degree high school in the provincial chief town.

### **Higher Education**

#### **a) Saigon University :**

In the next few years, the University of Saigon will be gradually moved to the University City of Thu Duc alongside the Bien Hoa Highway. The students will find there a quiet campus and adequate facilities. Construction work will begin this year for the College of Pedagogy and the High School for Applied Sciences in the City. An annual allowance of 50 million piastres is provided for the moving of Saigon University.

The following works will be implemented :

#### *Faculty of Law*

- Creation of the Institute of Comparative Law and that of Business Administration.
- The Institute of Criminology and Comparative Penal Law.
- The Institute of Political Science and Diplomacy.
- Three Centres of Research in Civil Law, Public Law and Economics.

#### *Faculty of Pharmacy*

- Making practical the education programme of the Faculty.
- Promoting research work, especially on tropical diseases.
- Creating a medical centre with a 500-bed hospital for practice.

#### *Faculty of Sciences*

- Constructing new laboratories and research facilities for

different scientific departments : Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Physiology, Geology, etc..

### *Faculty of Arts*

- Creation of an Institute of Anthropology for special research and study in Viet Nam and neighbouring countries.
- Examinations for the Doctor's is Degree in Arts.

### *School of Architecture*

- Creation of a laboratory for architecture and construction materials.

A long-range training programme has been established in order to provide those Faculties and Schools with professors in sufficient number.

### *b) Hue University :*

Created in 1957, this University has developed rapidly and now comprises the Faculties of Arts, Law, Science, Pedagogy and the Institute of Chinese Studies.

These Faculties will be expanded and their teaching programme improved. The most important project is undoubtedly the creation and equipping of a Pharmaco-Medical School for Hue.

### *Technical Education.*

The Department of Education has prepared the following projects for developing technical education to keep up with the rate of economic development :

a) Strengthening of existing and *creation of new schools* ; 3 technical high schools have been built in Vinh Long, Qui Nhon, Da Nang, and will be inaugurated for the next school year. Two more will be built in Dinh Tuong and An Giang in 1964.

b) Expansion of the *Polytechnique School* of Phu Tho ; new courses for : Diesel motors, moulding, pottery, printing, lacquer, industrial drawing, construction, machine-repair, etc..

c) *Women's education* : 3 home economics sections of first cycle

will be created in technical schools of Vinh Long, Qui Nhon, Da Nang (1961) and one section of second cycle will be opened in the Polytechnique School (1961).

d) The professional school programs in the provinces will be reorganized in order to meet local needs with a view of promoting handicraft thus raising the living standard of the population.

e) *The technical schools* will include pilot studies for improved methods of production.

In regard to advanced technical education, efforts will be made to train more competent engineers. To date, 18 arts and crafts engineers have graduated from the National Technical Centre at Phu Tho. They are presently serving in the National Railroad Administration and in other government and private agencies. At the end of this month 25 electrical engineers will be graduated. Positions at the Da Nhim project and the National Power Development Office will be open to them.

#### *Development of Culture and Art :*

In implementing the educational policy, the Department deems it necessary to help young people acquire both traditional culture and new values from abroad.

## **HEALTH**

Owing to the governmental health policy aimed at building a health organization that is scientific and fully democratic, the governmental health programme in the forthcoming five years will centre on the growth of therapeutic and preventive installations from both qualitative and quantitative viewpoints :

Modern outfits will be purchased to equip medical installations, up to date therapeutic techniques not yet applied in Viet Nam will be practiced in hospitals.

We also aim at enlarging and pushing all medical activities in the whole country so that the entire people from rural and urban areas, poor or rich, will benefit equally from the scientific medical facilities.

The Health Programme for the next five years provides for the

strengthening of existing health and sanitation services, and particularly includes :

*The establishment of a national sanitation programme.*

The Department of Health is preparing an overall programme covering the sanitary works concerning houses, wells, ponds, food, waste, refuse, mice, insects, etc... In 1961 the Department will organize four training classes for public sanitation inspectors to convert the health assistants into technicians in the field of public sanitation. From 1962 on, the health assistants will be responsible for public sanitation in cities as well as in villages.

*Completion of the Cancer Institute.*

The second construction phase has been completed. The rest will be continued in 1961-1965. Starting April, 1961, powerful X-ray equipment will be used to detect and combat cancer.

By the end of this year, electronic equipment to measure heart and brain radiations will be used for diagnostic purposes.

In 1962 new equipment (especially a Caesium Bomb) will be put up in the Cancer Institute.

The 1963-64 programme consists of constructing a campus for patients and the surgery block for the Institute.

*Laboratory for water analysis.*

A national laboratory for water analysis will be created. More visiting nurses will be trained. Such nurses are now working in teams in the tuberculosis control programme. By 1962, visiting midwives will provide improved maternity care enabling mothers to leave clinics two or three days after their deliveries.

*Organization of Health Schools.*

This programme should be organized into a permanent system responsible for caring for the health of the pupils particularly with respect to disease prevention. In 1960 a health school was organised for primary school pupils. A similar school will be set up for the high school students in the city. The programme will gradually extend to the provinces.

*Converting of district health agency into health pilot district.*

In the Rural Health Service, a Health Pilot Programme for Districts has been set up. Some 85 such centres are now operating, each equipped with a dispensary, maternity ward, sanitation service and mobile health units.

At the end of 1963, all districts will have health services for the practice of therapeutic and preventive medicine.

## **LABOUR**

In the field of labour, participation of all labour branches in the National Economic Council is being considered. This year, seminars for delegates representing unions and business firms will be organized.

In 1962, joint commissions will be set up as a framework in which managers and workers can iron out their disputes.

More flexibility in prevailing union regulations is being considered. The government's policy also aims at strengthening the structure of the unions by conducting seminars to prepare labour representatives to better understand labour problems.

Programmes will be worked out to help workers acquire greater proficiency in their jobs so that they can produce more, earn more and, consequently, raise their living standards.

Next year a productivity centre will be established. In the meantime, manpower surveys will be conducted once, then two, three and finally four times each year, to produce an up to date assessment of manpower and prepare for better distribution of it.

Family allowances have been greatly expanded. In 1959 and 1960, workers who fulfilled their requirements were paid a total of VN \$ 700 million in allowances.

Activity in the field of agriculture has prominently included social programmes providing for the construction of houses, schools, libraries, clubs, maternity hospitals and theatres.

## SOCIAL WELFARE

In the field of social welfare, the emphasis this year is on training social workers at various levels and in different specialities. Part of the training will be conducted abroad with the aid of scholarship grants. This year, we will train 100 social workers and assistant social workers and will conduct two in-training service courses for the secondary level personnel and for social workers assistants.

Plans for a social security service are under discussion.

Two rehabilitation centres will be established, one in Saigon and one in Hue, to take care of deaf, dumb and otherwise disabled children. Each of these centres will accommodate about 100 youngsters.

Hostels and homes for the needy will be established in Saigon and the suburban area and the Government also will open two holiday rest houses in Saigon and Hue. Plans to build more villages for lepers are being considered.

Social welfare in the High Plateaus aims at improving the living standards of the tribal people in conformity with the collective advancement policy.

With this goal in view, people are brought together in easy-to-reach places with fertile soil. Such places are called resettlement centres and presently there are 86 of them. The Government distributes farm implements, seed and draft cattle and builds first aid stations, maternity hospitals and markets.

The need is to educate the tribal people to prepare them for modern life. Several vocational training centres have been created, among them the one at An Khe. In the effort to widely disseminate education, 191 schools and 45 student hostels have been built to accommodate tribal students.

The administrative cadre training programme has produced the following results :

- 3,788 administrative cadres,
- 1,561 social cadres,
- 1,614 information cadres,

- 656 youth cadres,
- 208 health cadres,
- 208 agriculture cadres,
- 292 teachers.

## **ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

I have, on several occasions, had the opportunity to acquaint you with our problems and projects in the economic field.

In the past years, we have concentrated our productive forces on agricultural activities. In the years to come, economic and social development will be accelerated with emphasis on industrialization which is even now taking place and will be expanded in the future. Increase in industrial production will be, in fact, all the more imperative since foreign aid is diminishing from year to year. We also will endeavour to increase fuel and power production and expand mining prospecting to exploit our hidden natural resources.

Simultaneously with this systematic industrialization, we will be obliged to increase agricultural production by improving and diversifying our crops and expanding the cultivated hectareage. This we must do to meet the growing population which increases by more than 2 per cent annually. We must place great importance on improving rural conditions as most of our compatriots make their living in agriculture.

This projected simultaneous development of agriculture and industry will alleviate the unemployment problem, if not solve it altogether, for the benefit of the working class.

In the past, we have succeeded in renovating and improving public services. They will continue to improve in the future both in rural and urban areas. Particularly, the equipment and organization of our land communication network, harbours and air bases will be improved each day until they possess the internal structure necessary for automatic development.

Within the framework of our social and economic development programme, the training of cadres and technicians is of first importance as in all countries undergoing rapid development. The training will be carried out according to experience acquired from industrially more advanced countries. This will prevent us from being stranded

because of a lack of specialized and qualified personnel, always an essential factor in production. Therefore, technical education will be developed to the fullest extent and the relationship between a well rounded education and technical education will be reassessed.

The education projects which I have mentioned testify to the effort already made to reach this goal.

Electric power development concerns not industrialists alone but the whole nation.

Thanks to the war reparations agreement concluded with the Japanese Government, the construction of the dam and power plant at Da Nhim has been started with an initial budget of US \$ 38 million.

Besides the Da Nhim project, others for the production of electric power will be undertaken within the next five years. At present, total power production in the country nears 100,000 KW or 300 million KW annually.

All of the projects to be implemented within the next five years — Da Nhim, thermo power plant at Nha Be, plants at Tourane and diesel factories in the provinces — will raise power potential to 230,000 — 340,000 KW, or an increase of 218 per cent, over the present output.

Thus, an individual in 1966 when Viet Nam's population is likely to reach 16 million, will be able to have 150 per cent more power than at present.

\*  
\* \*

As everyone knows, the Vietnamese Chamber of Commerce was created in 1957. Prior to this date, Vietnamese business interests were insignificant and there was no organization to serve them. There were only the French and Chinese Chambers of Commerce.

Thanks to the encouragement and guidance of the Government, we have progressed in all fields and the establishment of the Viet Nam Chamber in 1957 testifies to this.

As part of its programme for the development of commerce, industry and agriculture, the Government has given substantial assistance to producers through loan distributing institutions. The government itself has to borrow money to be able to finance these loans.



For example, the Vietnamese Commercial Credit Organization has invested in the manufacture of paper bags and gunny sacks. These are joint undertakings with the producers.

However, Vietnamese Commercial Credit, at the same time, granted loans to textile industries, aluminium and plastic factories. Altogether, the loans now total VN \$ 100 million while the organization's investments top VN \$ 250 million.

The late National Investments Fund, which was disbanded in 1957, granted loans totalling VN \$ 104 million to projects dealing with weaving, processing of rice and sugar and the production of bricks and lumber. The Industrial Development Centre, with funds from various contributions and American aid, loaned a total of VN \$ 332 million to industrial enterprises.

Today I have only touched on the main features of several subjects. I remind you that there will be other similar press conferences. I have taken enough of your time and I think that other questions can be raised at the future press conferences.

I stress that all my plans and all our activities are based on the principles formulated in my statement — respect for the human being, community development and mass advancement. These are the three foundations on which we will build the future.

*QUESTION N° 2 : In your statement over the radio, you refer to some shortcomings in the implementation of the Government's programmes. Could you elaborate on these shortcomings and the measures you're contemplating to remedy them ?*

**ANSWER :** I want to remind you that our country is an under-developed and divided country which has suffered much from the war against Communism. Another source of difficulty is the ignorance of some people of the necessities of our present situation.

During the past six years we have accomplished many things but have not been able to please everyone. A major shortcoming lies with the lack of cadres and qualified personnel.

As I stated over the radio, when I came to power the nation was undergoing trying ordeals and dramatic upheavals had to be expected. I inherited a critical situation. I did not have the indispensable skilled personnel that I needed. The problem of properly using men's competence has always concerned philosophers and wise men. The ancients said, « if it is difficult to make use of men, it is even more difficult

to get rid of them. » This problem is very difficult for leaders. One has to push and help the less competent to fill out their insufficiency and improve themselves. On the other hand, the Government's essential need to create new and more adequate structures requires qualified personnel.

The shortage of skilled men is due to the disorder generated by nine years of warfare. You know the education problem during those years. To remedy this situation, the Government has developed education and training programmes, but, despite unquestionable progress, we still lack qualified personnel.

Regarding civil servants who are found guilty of abuses or are lacking in desire to serve, the Government has always been determined to punish them.

As to corruption, we can say that we have obtained better results than neighbouring underdeveloped countries.

We are determined about this programme and the means to improve the moral level of our services.

The training of cadres is an education problem and of particular importance are the Administrative cadres for rural areas. To date education in the countryside has been available only to wealthy children and once they complete their training they want to go to the towns. Therefore, there are no competent cadres in the rural areas. To change this situation, one has to make life in the countryside pleasant, develop educational facilities which will give each one an equal chance to learn and to progress. This indeed amounts to a social problem. When life in the countryside is pleasant, capable elements will stay and the internal economic structure will be reinforced.

The administration, I have said, takes severe measures against corruption and mistakes. However, we are aware that some charges of wrongdoing are dictated by envy, bad will and subversion. If we rely only on these slandering charges and automatically punish because of them, there will be abuses. This, in fact, is a problem of protection of the rights of the individual.

*QUESTION N° 3 : by reporter from Luan Dan Chinese daily.  
You stated that Vietnamese agriculture is the most mechanized in Southeast Asia, could you give some figures ?*

*ANSWER : I said that individuals alone own 600 tractors ; this does not include those of the Government's mechanical equipment*

division. We are making efforts to buy, repair and maintain tractors and other machines for public works. All this is reported in the newspapers.

*QUESTION N° 4 : by reporter from Le Song (Reason for Existence) daily. Documents distributed by the other presidential candidates during the present election campaign charge that the number of students trained abroad is very small. Are there grounds for this charge and do the students trained abroad meet the needs of the country ?*

**ANSWER :** It is not only recently that the problem of training abroad has occupied my attention. Long ago — some 30 years ago — I was one of those who advocated learning in foreign lands. I collected funds to help students and many can testify to this.

Training abroad carries the problem of foreign currency. One has to see if the student or trainee will be useful to the country and if he is qualified to take advantage of his stay in a foreign land. We receive no benefit by supporting uselessly extended stays abroad. There is also the language problem for the student.

The Government has done a great deal to help students. Last year, money transfer for students abroad totalled VN \$ 77 million or, at the official rate, US \$ 2.2 million or F.F. 1,078 million.

As for scholarships offered by friendly countries, I assure you that all of them have been distributed to students and none left idle.

There is the special case of grants for technical training of civil servants who require rather a high level of skill. Some of these may not have been used, because the civil servants who should have taken advantage of them did not know the required foreign language or were retained by more urgent problems.

Also, the Government has to fight hard to snatch graduates from private enterprise. The training of a technician requires many sacrifices over long years ; these will be useless if the student does not return to his country after completion of studies. We have worked out guarantees that will insure the graduate's return to the country.

Furthermore, since our country is underdeveloped and devastated, communist agents never fail to spread their propaganda among our students. We, therefore, have to protect them.

**QUESTION N° 5 : You said that true democracy is that which gives everyone equal chance for success. Could you tell us what has been done toward this goal ?**

**ANSWER :** Three years ago when I opened the National Assembly, I stated that the establishment of a political democracy requires first the establishment of a democratic internal economic structure.

To this effect, the Government has implemented several large projects designed to create conditions suitable for the full development of the human being. One speaks of equality ; but equality of rights spells equality of material conditions of life. Without a basic income to assure the family's livelihood, how can an individual preserve his liberty ?

It is our goal in these large-scale projects to improve those conditions of life. I will use for example the Agricultural Credit and Development office. In the Central Area, each family had but a few square metres of land, not enough to guarantee a living. Therefore, the land development programme was launched to give these people needed property. I have prepared a map for you showing the achievements in this field.

You also know about the agrovilles ; they represent the beginning of a larger programme designed to create cities in rural environments.

The dissemination of technical knowledge, the development of crafts and the construction of medical facilities all contribute to the betterment of life.

Lastly, I want to mention the community development projects whereby the people volunteer their help in building up the country's economic structure. The communication network is an example.

In summary, improvement of living conditions, respect for the human person and mass advancement are the goals. One has to create conditions so that the individual may enjoy the rights and privileges of democracy.

**QUESTION N° 6 (by A CHAU daily representative) : Viet Nam is an underdeveloped country. Thanks to your leadership and the efforts of the nation, much progress has been recorded in the past five years. I believe, that at election time, foreigners must be invited to come to judge for themselves. However, I understand**

*that many of those who want to come are stranded because of certain difficulties. Is this true? Also 1961 has been proclaimed « Visit the Orient Year ». What are your plans along this line?*

**ANSWER :** Regarding tourism and entry to Viet Nam, you know that some regulations were in effect during the war years because some foreigners, on transit or short visits, indulged in exchange transactions and other illegal activities. But those regulations have been abolished.

Each day we receive a growing number of tourists. The development of tourism is on a par with the organization of the territory and the provision of pleasant facilities. In the course of my inspection tours, I have always recommended the development of sites for tourists.

As for your suggestion regarding an invitation to the foreign press to observe the election, this was done two weeks ago. Everything is being done to facilitate matters for news correspondents who want to come to Viet Nam.

**QUESTION N° 7** (from A CHAU daily representative) : *I had the privilege of being with you when you visited the land development centre at Binh Tuy last year. You then said to the press that you would welcome all constructive suggestions. This was very gratifying to us. If you are re-elected what will you do to enable the press to meet you more frequently?*

**ANSWER :** The invitation I formulated during my visit to Binh Tuy is still valid today.

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## **PROGRAMME OF ACTION**

(April 1, 1961)

During the press conference on March 23, I had the opportunity of recalling our achievements in the economic, social and cultural fields. I also presented the programmes of action planned for the coming years.

Now in this series, as I continue to present programmes scheduled for the other spheres of activity, I will stress particularly those features that are economically important.

### **NATIONAL DEFENSE**

After the Armistice agreement had been signed in Geneva, the French still claimed control over the general command of the armed forces in Indo-China. The National Army had not yet taken shape. Central supply installations were still in the beginning stage.

The Government immediately resolved the problem of the withdrawal of the Expeditionary Corps, then unified the armed forces, raised their morale, and thus succeeded in building up a real National Army.

An important reform was implemented when large units were created, by grouping former battalions into divisions and armies, and when all three branches and all military organizations were reorganized qualitatively as well as quantitatively.

The *Quartermaster Corps* has organized a Tailoring Center which can produce 1,300,000 uniforms annually, thus saving 70 million piasters. It has used only local food products, thus cutting the cost of each ration from 150 piastres to 46 piastres ; it has air-dropped an average of one hundred tons of foodstuffs daily down to remote military posts ; it has set up a great many reserve storage centers.

The *Ordnance Service* has issued about 50 million dollars worth of equipment to 150,000 men. Its workshops not only repair weapons and vehicles, but do complete overhaul work.

All units of the *Signal Corps* now have teletype machines and SSB (Single Side Band) sets which connect Saigon with every place in the country.

Combat units have also gradually developed possessing the most up-to-date equipment. Newly created commando units receive special training in anti-guerrilla tactics.

The Vietnamese *Navy* carries out its mission of protecting river traffic and guarding Viet Nam territorial waters along its 2,000 kilometer-long coast.

The *Air Force* has developed rapidly and now includes fighter wings, transport wings and helicopter squads. Vietnamese pilots are known for their precision and dexterity. The activities of the Air Force have increased 300 per cent within a period of three years.

The foremost objective of the army is the strengthening of the training program in order to give specialized skills to service men of all echelons and in all branches of the armed forces. The Army at present has fourteen schools and six training centers.

The Military School, which used to train officers of the army, has been changed into a National Military Academy with the same standards as those of military academies in foreign countries. The program of studies which has been extended to four years includes not only military subjects but also liberal arts. Enjoying more prestige nowadays, the National Military Academy has attracted outstanding elements among its cadets.

Four thousand military personnel of all ranks and all services have thus far been sent abroad for further training.

Our army is a revolutionary army which constantly mixes with the people and partakes of their daily life, thus playing a vital part in the national reconstruction.

Responding to the urgent needs of an underdeveloped nation, the army, conscious of its multiple responsibilities, has actively participated in the development of the country.

Our Republican fighters have made a major contribution to economic development, especially by helping improve agricultural

methods and by creating an economic infrastructure. Up to now, aside from the aid rendered to administrative organisms, the army has built nineteen new roads totalling 540 kilometers, repaired fifteen old roads which measure 225 kilometers, built 299 bridges totalling 5,781 meters, dug several canals and built twenty airfields to connect the capital with the most remote areas.

The army has also taken part in cultural development: it has built a number of schools and has always helped the people.

In addition, in its tasks of exterminating communist agents, the army has improved its techniques so as to adapt to a revolutionary war.

The Government has carried out necessary measures aimed at improving the material, social and spiritual life of the enlisted men and helping them attain a worthy position in the national community.

Ninety-one primary schools, 16 secondary school classes and ten libraries or bookmobiles have been set up to assist the army men in their thirst for knowledge.

Physical education has made rapid progress.

Numerous social programs have been implemented in order to raise the living standards of the soldiers and their dependents. Living quarters for army dependents have been provided to allow service men to enjoy home life and reduce their living expenses. Such commodities as rice and tea are provided amply while cooperatives sell them foodstuffs at low prices. The army's own civil affairs bureau has also been very active in helping the enlisted men and taking care of their children's education. Invalids, war veterans, war orphans and soldiers' widows enjoy the maximum care and assistance.

In the coming years, the Government will continue to ameliorate techniques to modernize the organization and to improve the training so as to enable the army to make more progress.

## **JUSTICE**

The Government plans to set up new courts of justice in Binh Long, Binh Tuy, Kien Phong and Chau Doc.

It also plans to organize district courts, wherein the justice of the peace will be instrumental in the mediation of differences.

The Department of Justice finally plans to organize many subsidiary



services : a notary public will be appointed in Nha Trang, officers of the court will be appointed in several provinces, and chief clerks will also be given the duties and responsibilities of notaries public.

Offices of notaries public and police record offices will soon employ new filing systems.

Personnel of the tribunals will receive intensive training. New judges will receive professional training from their more experienced colleagues, and will practice in court during a probationary period of two years.

Two committees of jurists will be named to draft a Civil Code and a Penal code with a view to unifying Vietnamese legal procedures.

## **PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION**

The improvement, begun in 1954, will continue in three respects : organization, control and training.

### **1. Organization.**

a) Rational use is made of resources that are common to several services, either central or local ; to define as clearly as possible the duties of each component part in each agency, from a Directorate General, Directorate, to a Service, Division, Bureau, Section.

b) Procedures are simplified : the Directorate of Civil Service and the Directorate of the Budget try through their control to avoid duplication, to expedite matters and to save public funds.

c) Agencies which are highly specialized and indispensable to a new nation are brought to perfection : this is the case with Commercial Credit, Agricultural Credit, Land Development, the Railroad System, the Directorate of Civil Aviation, etc.

d) The Tax Bureau, the Customs Office, the National Bank and the Directorate of the Budget use electronic machines to ensure accuracy and speed in accounting procedures.

### **2. Control.**

Seminars are organized to enable an exchange of ideas between various committees and various councils.

A system of inspectors is to provide strengthened control.

There will be inspectors within each Department (e.g. for Finances, Agriculture, Education, Health, Customs, Agricultural Development, Information, Military Expenditures and so on).

In addition there are nine Administrative and Financial Inspectors who are directly responsible to the President and who will provide overall control over civil servants.

Control committees may be appointed from time to time for specific assignments.

Inspectors have to be carefully selected for their educational background, specialized training, moral integrity and experience in their respective fields. (Under French rule no Vietnamese civil servant could fulfill the requirements for the position of an inspector).

### 3. *Training.*

The NIA (National Institute of Administration) has been established to train public administrators at the executive level and also to provide in-service training for civil servants in lower echelons.

The NIA students receive adequate training in military, political, administrative and financial subjects in order to become modern executives. To date the NIA has graduated eight classes comprising 294 graduates, most of whom were sent to the provinces. The present enrolment is 194.

The NIA has held eleven training classes for middle and low-ranking government employees.

It has been accepted as the clearing house for all information concerning public administration in Southeast Asian countries, and EROPA (Eastern Regional Organization for Public Administration) has charged the NIA with making a study of all political, administrative and economic problems in the area.

Advanced schools have been created to train technicians in such fields as Education, Agriculture, Forestry and Animal Husbandry, Architecture, Electricity, Industry, Health and Sanitation, etc.

One hundred and fifty-four training courses have been launched for some 16,500 government workers in all fields (archives, library, science, accounting, taxation, health, surveying, statistics, budgeting, etc.).

Government officials have been sent abroad for further training under programs of foreign aid (U.S. International Cooperation Administration, the Colombo Plan, United Nations Technical Assistance, and other programs offered by friendly nations). Countries of training number twenty three, spanning the continents of Europe, America and the neighboring countries in Southeast Asia.

Since 1956, there have been 1,575 participants. Government delegations have also been sent from time to time on observation tours abroad ; these study tours last anywhere from a few weeks to several months.

Thanks to the above-mentioned improvements, the government machinery in the Republic of Vietnam has been as efficient as, — if not superior to, — that of several other Southeast Asian countries. It has also inspired confidence so as to attract a large number of Vietnamese technicians educated and trained in foreign countries. Since the establishment of the Republic, there have been 325 Vietnamese students who elected to return home from overseas to serve their native land. These are graduates of well-known universities abroad, but a number of them have given up their employment with foreign firms to come back and work for their home country.

## **INTERIOR**

In order to help the development of all activities and particularly economic activities, this Department has created a number of new administrative units (ten provinces and fifty two districts).

### *A. — In-service Training for Civil Servants*

All the administrative personnel of middle ranks have taken part in in-service training programmes during the years 1957 through 1959. Administrative clerks in the provinces have also benefited from in-service training courses.

In the year 1959-1960 the Department of the Interior sent a large number of civil servants abroad for further training in the fields of finance and economics, and more will be sent in the future.

The Directorate General of Police and Security particularly has sent a large number of its staff members on study or observation tours abroad (USA, the Philippines, Singapore, Malaya, Hong Kong). The subjects covered included Police Administration, Border Police, Police Statistics, Traffic Police, Special Police, Emergency Measures,

**Investigations and Filing Procedures, Communications, Identification, Personnel Administration, Training Methods, Immigration, etc...**

The following figures show the number of police participants over the last five years :

1955 .....	21
1956 .....	55
1957 .....	78
1958 .....	90
1959 .....	101
1960 .....	95

This programme will continue.

Prior to 1955 there was no training school for the police force, except a small police school in Dakao where a limited number of Saigon policemen (a few dozen in each class) received elementary training. Since 1957 an elementary training school has been established in Rach Dua, a training center has been set up in Saigon, in addition to two elementary training schools in the midlands and Highlands of Central Viet Nam. The Rach Dua school provides its students with specialised background in legal methods, intelligence, marksmanship and military science. All the staff members have to attend this school, which so far has trained 3,250 members of the police force.

The Training Center in Saigon was opened to provide advanced and specialized training to the higher echelons. Thus far 600 members of the police force have graduated from courses in legal and investigating methods, counter-espionage, identification, filing, communications, foreign languages, laboratory work, traffic police, etc. The center also offers courses in psychology and techniques of command and administration.

More and more young men with a solid academic background (baccalaureate or licentiate) are being recruited by the police force. Advanced programmes in police administration are being planned, possibly at the National Institute of Administration or the University of Saigon.

The problem of offering risk allowances to members of the police force is under study.

### B. — *Training for Village Police Personnel*

The majority of village police forces have received training in administrative, fiscal and legal subjects in order to be able to discharge their duties adequately.

The number of village council members who have been trained and who have been graduated now reaches 7,022 — ninety per cent of the total number of village police forces. While this training programme is continuing, a number of alternate personnel have been trained, ready to take their place in cases of emergency.

### C. — *Establishment of More Training Centers*

In-service training programmes for the benefit of police personnel and civil servants will be strengthened through the construction of a fully-equipped auditorium at the Department of the Interior, of six in-service training centers in the provinces of Long An, Khanh Hoa, Phong Dinh, Thua Thien, Darlac and Bien Hoa, and 15 additional ones elsewhere.

The new programme includes the setting up of local councils. Youth members elected in the villages thus far number over half of the target figures to be reached in the near future.

The telecommunications service, which is part of the Department of the Interior, organizes and administers central signal installations, central and local signal offices as well as provincial and district stations and Civil Guard communication centres.

All citizens, male and female, from the age of 18 up, will each have a plastic identity card. The issuance of new ID cards has been completed in some provinces and is proceeding well in various districts of the capital. It is expected that all the ID cards will have been distributed in every city and town by the end of 1962.

## FINANCES

The Government's financial policies are based upon the following facts :

- Expenditures for national defense and police will increase as foreign aid is reduced,
- Investments need to be encouraged,

— Production increase is imperative if the shortage of foreign currency is to be met,

— Industrial investments (cement plants, coal mines, sugar mills, new industries, etc.) will require nearly five billion piastres both in local and foreign currencies.

Consequently, the objectives to be reached are :

a) — to save expenditures which are no longer necessary once a given activity has been improved,

b) — to improve taxation procedures so as to ensure equity, help the labouring and encourage investments,

c) — to find adequate economic resources for the nation without demanding excessive sacrifices from the people, and

d) — to achieve efficiency in tax collection.

To reach the above-stated goals, the following measures have been carried out :

First of all, taxes on locally produced items have been abolished or reduced, while duties on imported luxury goods have been increased, and entertainment taxes have been increased 40 per cent.

Secondly, all direct and indirect taxes are being reexamined with a view to determining better rates and better distribution. At present, the contribution of Vietnamese citizens to the national budget amounts to only ten per cent as compared with 12 to 30 per cent in several other Southeast Asian countries. Individual income tax equals 16 per cent, which is lighter than in other countries.

In addition, business and income taxes and tax on production as well as customs duties are being studied for possible revision. Regarding the business tax, taxation will be simplified if based on the firm's turnover and not levied according to the category, class and kind of business involved. Income tax, tax on salary and wages, and speed up collection possibly through withholding the taxes due on a pay-as-you-go basis. Duties on luxury items will be high, but newly established enterprises will be exempted entirely or assessed low taxes as an incentive for new investments.

Finally, electronic tax computation, besides being speedy and accurate, also helps eliminate tax dodging. The use of electronic equipment and the training and organization which it involves has placed

Viet Nam in the forefront in Southeast Asia as far as accounting procedures are concerned.

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The Republic of Viet Nam foreign policy reflects the three principles of personalism, community development and collective progress as applied to the area of international relations.

The Republic of Viet Nam supports the principles of independence and freedom for all people because we believe that only independence and freedom can help bring out their personalities and make possible economic progress toward collective progress.

This is the position that Viet Nam took regarding the Suez Canal problem. On the Algerian situation our position is the same. As a peace-loving nation we hope that the problem of independence of former colonies can be solved peacefully.

Our relations with the countries of the Free World are based on the same principles. I want to emphasize one particular point, and that is that we hope for a more equitable exchange of raw materials for manufactured goods or equipment.

## PUBLIC WORKS

In order to advance our country from its present state of underdevelopment we need to create basic conditions on which development programs will depend. The most important of these conditions is an effective public works program, including such projects as transportation, irrigation, electric power and other public utilities. Although such a program takes a long time to complete, it will have a decisive influence on the economic infrastructure of Viet Nam.

The five-year plan for public works will help Viet Nam improve its development rate — if not to equal the rate of the more advanced Western countries, at least that of the neighboring countries in Southeast Asia (India, Malaya, Thailand and Taiwan).

### A. — *Rural areas*

Programmes for the rural areas have been mapped out to reach the following objectives :

— To increase the output of cultivated areas by providing them with an adequate supply of water at the appropriate time.

— To diversify the crops in order to increase national income and individual revenues for the inhabitants of rich agricultural areas.

The implementation of the above programmes will be spread over the coming years :

This year studies are being made for several large-scale hydro-electric projects :

— The Thua Thien Basin Project : to control the floods during the rainy season and to control salt water during the dry season, thus increasing productivity over an area of 24,000 *mau*.

— The Sean (Kontum-Pleiku) Basin Project : to utilize the electric power produced in Yali, to store and pump water into a tillable area totalling 10,000 *mau* in various agricultural development centers in the provinces of Kontum and Pleiku.

— The Langa Basin Project : to control water level over the Tanh Linh Plains, thus helping the growth and raising the output of sugar cane and rice farms.

— The Phan Rang Project to be linked with the Danhim Project.

In 1962, work will begin in the Thua Thien and Langa Basins. Projects for the areas of My Phuoc (14,000 *mau*) and Quang Lo-Phung Hiep (400,000 *mau*) in Ba Xuyen province will be under study. The Phan Rang project for 16,000 *mau* will be started, using the water volume from Danhim and supplementing it with the Cai River volume with a view to expanding the cultivated area and increasing the output of farmlands already under cultivation.

During 1963, 1964 and 1965, the My Phuoc Project in Ba Xuyen will be started. Other projects — such as irrigation for Srepok, Ban-methout (16,000 *mau*) ; fresh water dikes for Ba Tri, Truc Giang ; fresh water from the Mekong and a system of dikes for Go Cong, Long An (50,000 *mau*) ; fresh water channeled through the Quang Lo-Phung Hiep Canal, and a system of dikes for Ca Mau, An Xuyen (20,000 *mau*) — will be studied and then implemented.

In addition, a project to control water levels in the *Plaine des Jongs* will be started after careful study.



## B. — *Urban centers*

Programmes for urban centers aim at (1) providing such public utilities as water, electricity, sanitation, etc., (2) constructing government installations, public buildings, hospitals, low-cost housing projects, etc., and (3) completing a minimum system of roads and canals as well as improving public transportation.

In order to reach the above objectives, the following implementation programmes are contemplated :

(1) electrification of fifty densely populated centers ;

(2) water supply programme for the Saigon-Cholon area to be started in 1961 and completed in 1964.

The water taken from the Donnai River and processed at Thu Duc will be distributed to the areas in and around Saigon, at the rate of 450,000 cubic meters per day, thus raising the consumed volume per capita from 70 liters to 250 liters a day (an increase of 250 per cent).

(3) water supply program for the provincial and district capitals to bring the volume consumed per capita per day to at least 100 liters.

(4) enlargement of the Saigon Bus Authority's bus fleet. The bus system will be extended from the suburbs of Saigon to Bien Hoa, Lai Thieu, Thu Dau Mot, Tan An, etc. — to reach new population centers within a radius of 30 kilometers. Passengers from Thu Duc, Lai Thieu, Hoc Mon, Go Den, etc., will only be fifteen minutes to half an hour from the Saigon downtown area.

## C. — *Transportation and communications*

1. *Roads and Bridges.* — Since 1955 roads damaged during the war have been repaired, and a number of new ones have been built. The programmes for the coming years include the widening and surfacing of present roads, the building of the My Thuan Bridge across the Mekong River, and the construction of an additional 2,000 kilometres of provincial roads.

2. *Sea transportation.* — During the coming five years, the Department of Public Works will emphasize the development of such natural harbors as Da Nang, Qui Nhon, Cam Ranh, Nha Trang, Dayot, etc. Such a programme will be carried out at the same time as the economic development of adjoining inland areas through the setting up of an industrial center in Da Nang, of an oil refinery in Nha Trang,

of agricultural development centers in the Sesan River Basin, in Kon-tum, etc.

3. *Railroads.* — After three years of effort, the Trans-Viet Nam Railroad System re-established service below the 17th parallel on August 7, 1959, thus marking an important step in the reconstruction of the economic infrastructure. Within five years, the Vietnamese Railroad System will double its activities, bringing the freight volume to 170,000 tons, and the passenger volume to 600,000.

4. *Post and Communications.* — Aside from reestablishing the mail system all over Viet Nam in 1955, Post and Communications has increased the number of automatic dial telephones, completed 41 radio lines within the country and 16 connections with foreign countries.

During the next five years, automatic telephone systems will be set up at 21 provincial capitals, and inter-provincial telephone communication by microwave as well as radio teletype communications between the capital and the provinces will be completed.

During the next two years, mail service will be expanded to the village level, and the mail system all over Viet Nam will be decidedly improved.

## AGRICULTURE

In the past few years all agricultural activities have aimed at two main objectives: increase of production to meet the urgent need for farm products and foreign exchange; and compilation of basic information necessary to a long-range development programme.

The abundance of agricultural products throughout the country and the volume of exports are eloquent evidence that the first objective has been reached.

Meanwhile we have gathered all the basic information for an effective agricultural development program, free from the do-nothing attitude of the old regime.

Besides, past experiences have taught us that the marketing of agricultural products constantly fluctuates; consequently farm production in such a small and underdeveloped country as Viet Nam must be very flexible to meet these conditions.

Under these circumstances our agricultural development program for the coming period will aim at increasing production, and making it flexible.

The programmes to be emphasized will be water control, crop diversification, increase of productivity, organization of farmers, protection of crops, protection of livestock, semi-industrial stock breeding, and reforestation.

The agricultural development programme will be continued, based on past experiences, with the objective of increasing the cultivated area and directing farm production to keep it as the mainstay of the national economy and to increase individual incomes.

An average of 70,000 *mau* of land will be cleared each year, the target figure being 350,000 *mau*. In the already cultivated areas, irrigation and two-crop methods will add another 200,000 *mau*. The added area will be used for rubber trees (100,000 *mau*), sugar cane, kenaf (20,000 *mau*), cotton (5,000 *mau*), lacquer trees (2,000 *mau*), tobacco (5,000 *mau*), corn, sweet potatoes, beans (120,000 *mau*) fruit trees, rice, coconut trees (11,000 *mau*), tea and coffee (2,000 *mau*).

Multiple crops will coordinate the demands of the nation's economy with the interests of the farming population.

Rice production will increase by 300,000 tons in a period of five years. With the present rate of population growth, 300,000 tons will be needed for home consumption, with the 500,000 to 750,000-ton margin slated for export. We shall try to go beyond the average production rate of two tons per hectare.

Although rubber plantations take from 7 to 8 years to begin yielding; it is hoped that, thanks to tremendous efforts and new scientific methods, the 1965 will be 15 per cent higher than this year's production. The gloomy prospect of production decrease which technicians advanced in 1954-1955 has been significantly dispelled. Despite the fact that corn consumption at home has markedly increased, we will have a 50,000-ton surplus of red corn each year. Secondary crops such as sweet potatoes, beans, etc., will be promoted in agricultural development centers, where settlers have to rely on them while waiting for profits derived from long-range operations in handicrafts or industries. The area reserved for fruit trees will be expanded with export possibilities in mind. By adding 11,750 *mau* to the present groves totalling 20,000 *mau*, the coconut program when completed will enable the country to export 26,000 tons of copra in addition to the similar volume consumed domestically. The agricultural development centers will grow an additional 20,000 *mau* of kenaf, thus eliminating the need for jute imports and allowing the annual export of some 10,000 tons of kenaf fibers. Cotton production, because of technical reasons, is expected to provide only 15 per cent of the total amount of raw cotton needed by spinning mills. Special attention will be given to

peanuts, tobacco and lacquer for which we have important outlets overseas.

Animal husbandry and fisheries are expected to help improve the diet of our population by providing more meat, more eggs, more milk and more fish, as well as to help increase foreign currency reserves by boosting cattle and fish exports two — or three — fold.

The Agricultural Credit Office plans to continue its low interest loans to farmers on the following scale :

	AMOUNT (in millions)	LOAN Recipients	AREA Cultivated (in hectares)
Up to the end of 1960	2,881	908,000	2,363,000
1961	1,000	300,000	620,000
1962	1,200	350,000	720,000
1963	1,400	400,000	750,000
1964	1,600	450,000	800,000
1965	1,800	500,000	850,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	9,881	2,908,000	6,103,000

## LAND REFORM

The land reform programme has made it possible for over 170,000 farming families to become landowners. The follow-up programme consists of loans from Agricultural Credit, farm tools, fertilizers, livestock and extension services.

Thirteen survey engineers and 53 land registration agents have become advanced technicians through their experience and training in the field. Over 500 non-status employees have received training through night courses to become competent technicians to work in the new programmes either on government payroll or as surveyors' assistants.

They will also cooperate with foreign firms presently engaged in map-making. Map-making projects are indeed indispensable to various rural projects — the Mekong River Project, the Danhim Project, the

irrigation projects at Phan Rang, Phung Hiep, agricultural development programmes, resettlement centers, key rural agglomerations (agrovilles), land surveys in each village, or surveys made on behalf of people who wish to enter the rubber, lacquer or kenaf industries. In addition to a number of technicians already trained abroad and ready to return to work on new programmes, others will be sent on scholarships with a view to training five engineers and ten agents each year, thus adding a total of 75 top technicians during the next five years. Reliable statistics on land ownership will be collected within five years to help map out further programmes for the rural areas.

World opinion has been favorable to the Viet Nam land reform programme. In 1960 alone, *The Burman* on January 20, the *National Press* on January 21, *The Strait Times* on January 27, the *South China Morning Post* on September 19, and the *Diplomatist* have praised the Vietnamese agrarian reform programme. Professor Jeremias U. Montemayor, Dean of the University of the Philippines Law School, on a visit last year, expressed his amazement at the tremendous progress of the Vietnamese land reform. Delegates to the Afro-Asian Conference on Rural Reconstruction held in New Delhi in January 1961 also recognized that the Republic of Viet Nam has carried out programmes which some other countries have not been able to implement.

## INDUSTRIALIZATION

A. Between now and 1964 the following plants will be completed :

- 2 paper mills
- 1 spinning and weaving mill
- 4 sugar mills
- 2 cement plants
- 1 rice bag plant
- 4 bicycle tire plants
- 1 soda plant (for the manufacture of soda, hydrochloric acid and calcium chloride)
- 1 plant for prefab houses
- 1 oil refinery
- 1 limestone plant (fertilizer), several pharmaceutical plants.

B. Industries planned for the period 1962-1965 :

- 1 urea plant
- 1 calcium carbide plant

- 1 manufacturing plant for artificial silk and pharmaceuticals
- 1 cannery
- 1 pulp and paper mill
- 5 rubber processing plants
- 1 cotton gin.

### C. Mines

In 1963 the annual production of the Nong Son coal mine will be increased from 150,000 to 250,000 tons.

The phosphate mine in Tay Sa will produce between 15,000 and 25,000 tons a year. Prospecting, conducted on a large-scale with the assistance of the U.N., will be completed in 1963, when the exploitation of iron, copper, lead, graphite and gold deposits will begin.

The Government plans to secure for the Industrial Development Centre an additional loan of 500 million piastres.

From 1965 on we will be able to save each year the following amount of foreign exchange :

Cloth and silk stuffs .....	US \$ 15,000,000
Rayon .....	— 4,000,000
Sugar .....	— 4,500,000
Paper and paper pulp .....	— 6,500,000
Cement .....	— 8,000,000
Fertilizers .....	— 6,500,000
Oil .....	— 2,500,000
Soda, chlorine .....	— 500,000
Tires and inner tubes .....	— 1,000,000
Iron goods and equipment .....	— 1,500,000
	<hr/>
	US \$ 50,000,000

## **ELECTORAL MEETING**

(City Hall, April 5, 1961)

### **STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT NGO DINH DIEM**

Dear compatriots,

During all these past weeks, all over the country, the election campaign has been operating in the climate of battle, with incredible violence among nationalists, a fight against a general resurgence of Communist subversion. In the light of these facts you no doubt can recognize objectively that the republican regime which, of all regimes, is the most difficult to bring into being even in peace time, is even more so when the Communists joining forces with the feudalists and colonialists, launch a widespread offensive against it. They seek not only to hinder elections but also to submerge us because of our lack of diligence.

You are fully aware now of the importance of your ballot in the present situation. Your choice should not aim at judging the past which is over anyway. Your ballot will decide the future of our country at a very dangerous turning point in its history. The man who is at the helm of the nation tomorrow is the one who must row it out of its present difficulties ; only then will it be possible to hold any hope of implementing the candidates enticing promises.

In so speaking, I am not thinking of myself. You all know so well that on the road of life, I am but a pilgrim without much luggage. I am only thinking of military, civilian and administrative cadres who are, day and night, fighting calmly and courageously against Communist invasion to assure your security and the future of the fatherland.

Imagine what the situation would be if these cadres, *disgusted* by



*President Ngô Đình Diêm, candidate of Slate I, meets with voters at the City Hall, April 5, 1961.*





our partisan passions, suddenly lost faith in their leaders? This suggestion is not a mere mental exercise meant to intimidate you. You surely have asked yourselves that question, I am just reminding you of your heavy responsibilities when you cast your ballot in a few days.

These responsibilities for the future must be borne by you, not the government. As for me, I reaffirm that the republican regime, based on personalism, community development and collective progress, is a regime which is irreversibly open and, because of its flexibility, adaptable to the real conditions of the country. Being sincere with you and aware of the exigencies of the present situation, I have never made promises which are unrealistic or which would be ineffective.

Revolutions in human history are fought not only thanks to man's generosity but also as circumstances may require.

Faced with the Communists and their active maneuvers to sabotage the elections and pervert a democratic choice for the leader of the nation, I ask you not to let yourself be carried away by political passions at the risk of damaging the national cause which is the very motive of the anti-Communist struggle fought by the whole population.

As long as the Communists continue to exist, the operation of our best democratic institutions may be ruined by their subversion. You see for yourselves this could happen in the present election campaign.

This is no reason not to implement the Constitution and achieve democracy. However, we must demonstrate greater clearheadedness and submit ourselves to a strict personal discipline. We must also be aware of what we can do now and of what we no longer can do, so that, in the forthcoming election, we do not have to bear the serious responsibility of having weakened, by lack of political understanding, the leadership of the country in an irresponsible way. This would give the Communists their most favorable opportunity to destroy us and the fine prospects of our democracy as well.

Before I answer your questions, I ask you to join me in complimenting all civilian and military cadres who are presently fighting with courage all over the territory, despite difficulties and dangers, and also despite the all-out propaganda campaign prejudicial to the national cause — the reason for their fight.

\*  
\* \*

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

*After delivering the statement the President answered questions from the audience with gracefulness and simplicity.*

*Asked to elaborate on the plans he envisaged to neutralize the Communists, Mr. Ngo Dinh Diem said first that one cannot overlook this complex problem through gratuitous and irresponsible affirmations. Indeed, he asserted, this amateurism prevails in nationalist circles and prevents each of us from finding solutions appropriate to our problems.*

*The principal need, he continued, is to reinforce the military might, including the police force, which, because of its present shortage of personnel, finds it impossible to control inaccessible areas where rebels hide.*

*Furthermore, the war the Communists wage against us and which is, in fact, a guerrilla war, requires from us that we reorganize the territory on a wide scale and open a greater communication network, the President said. The authorities have been devoting themselves to this task successfully during recent years. It is a question of protecting frontiers and assuring general security which, by the same token, promotes economic development, he declared.*

*The need for the total strength of the armed forces calls forth the problem of training military cadres, which cannot be solved overnight. Indeed, the President stated, it is much better not to have an army at all than have one which is badly trained and conducted.*

*All of this requires a large budget : the Government must have sufficient income to fulfill its mission well, President Ngo said.*

*He also recalled that the favorite weapon of the Communists is a deceitful propaganda programme designed to sow doubt and confusion among the population. The duty of each one, he noted, is to combat that kind of pernicious subversion, and closely to cooperate with the army in the common fight for the survival of the nation.*

*Many measures to remedy insufficient employment.*

*Is it true that unemployment has reached a very serious level in Viet Nam as Slaters II and III charged in their criticism of the present administration ?*

*To this question President Ngo first gave a brief analysis of the present state of the Vietnamese economy.*

Part of the commerce in town has slowed down somewhat, he said, and there are many reasons for this. First, the decrease of external aid has resulted in the limitation of the privilege of official rates for some imports. The policy which encourages local production has brought about a decrease in imports of products the local customers are used to having and which they easily bought. Some merchants, who are accustomed to the gains available under the former system, thus imagine that they are not doing business any longer.

As for the need for jobs, one has to say under-employment rather than unemployment, President Ngo said. Many farmers, who practice seasonal cultivation, work only three or four months each year. Great efforts have been made to enable them to find an occupation during the off season and thus increase their income. But this is only part of the remedy.

A wide agricultural irrigation programme has been implemented in order to double the number of crops for a given area of ricefield; animal breeding and the fishery industry have been promoted and developed; the agricultural development programme has made it possible to assure a stable life for some 190,000 people; the large construction and industrialization plan has provided work for thousands of people, who, by the same token, have acquired a specialized craft which they did not have before. Many people claim they are unemployed because, instead of putting themselves to work on the land, joining the agricultural development centres, for instance, they seek administrative occupations solely.

One cannot forget either that almost one million refugees from the North have been resettled in the South, the President said.

He added that Viet Nam's present population of 13 million is increasing by 300,000 each year. To meet the needs of this demographical expansion, it is necessary to explore more of the country and its resources. Full employment calls for industrial development and consequently demands professional and technical education.

The large plans contemplated for the years to come will provide job opportunities for a substantial working population and at the same time increase the buying power of the masses, President Ngo said. By multiplication and acceleration, the gains finally will reach an even greater number of interested parties: families, craftsmen, retailers, etc.

Among the big programmes which will be implemented in the immediate future, the President listed the establishment of industrial firms along the Saigon-Bien Hoa highway, the construction of the Da Nhim power plant, building of the university compound at Thu

Duc (this project is estimated at VN \$ 300 million and its first phase alone will cost VN \$ 60 million), and the 1962 international fair for which the physical facilities themselves will cost VN \$ 150 million.

### **The problem of democratic liberty.**

A voter wanted to know if democratic liberty is suitable for the Republic of Viet Nam which is threatened by Communist subversion.

President Ngo answered that the question does not lie in the selection of a certain regime of liberty or certain regime of dictatorship from those enforced in other countries. In fact, he said, underdeveloped countries find themselves faced with the choice of a regime of discipline, determined and capable of speeding up economic and social progress, or a regime which makes use of this discipline to hinder progress.

We live in an underdeveloped country which, furthermore, is in a state of war.

Even without a subversive war, an underdeveloped country which wants to emerge rapidly from this state must have recourse to country-wide planning. But planning means discipline, President Ngo declared.

The problems, therefore, amount to limiting this indispensable discipline, he said.

It is not so much liberty which is presently lacking, the President concluded, but the sense of discipline and this within the very administration of the State.

The President then was asked several questions concerning the welfare of workers, public health and education. He answered them even though he said he had explained his programme on those very problems in articles published in newspapers and during a recent press conference.

### **Can the administration of President Ngo be charged with nepotism ?**

Asked to comment on the nepotism charge against his Government made by Slates II and III, President Ngo said that in carrying out his functions, he has taken into consideration no family, party or religious ties.

His duty, similar on this point to that of all leaders, is, he said, to use the services of any one person or group determined to, and capable of, reconstructing the country and fighting effectively against

*Communism without any conditions attached. The question is to know whether the person or group is capable and disinterested.*

*The President quoted Pandit Nehru, who was blamed for seeking the cooperation of his sister, Mrs. Pandit, and of his daughter, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and who said he couldn't see why one has to be deprived of the services of competent people just because they are akin. President Ngo, not without high spirit and even with humour, analysed in detail the gist of the criticism of the Government's adversaries, that is, his so-called nepotism.*

*His brother, Ngo Dinh Luyen, a highly qualified engineer, was an ambassador long before the President came to power. In fact, he is the oldest of Viet Nam's diplomatic representatives.*

*Also, if Mr. Ngo Dinh Nhu, a graduate of the Ecole des Chartres, a trade unionist leader and head of the Labour Party, is a political advisor at the Presidency, it is because of his experience and his widely recognized competency and not because he is akin to the Chief of State.*

*As for Msgr. Ngo Dinh Thuc, he owes nothing to the President either. He holds his high rank in the Catholic hierarchy from the Holy See.*

*The President also mentioned the many slanders which have been spread about his sister-in-law, Madame Ngo Dinh Nhu, charging her with illegal transactions. No one has ever been able to produce the slightest evidence in support of the charges, the President pointed out.*

*Incapable of attacking the Government on its programme, its enemies have found nothing else but slander — their sole weapon against the Government, the President asserted.*

### **The President expresses his solicitude for destitute and humble people**

*After he had answered various minor questions, President Ngo, in a voice deep with emotion, spoke of his particular concern for destitute and humble people.*

*He recalled that when his father resigned from the Government to remain faithful to his patriotic ideal, his family had in all only five piastres. He and his brothers then had to till the land like poor peasants. If they continued their studies, it was at the cost of great sacrifices and hardship accepted by his whole family.*

*Later, while he conducted the underground fight for the independence of the country, President Ngo said, humble peasants and modest soldiers brought him very small amounts of money, which he dared not refuse lest they might be hurt, as tokens of their solidarity and confidence in him and to contribute in their way to his fight.*

*This is the reason, President Ngo said, why « I always have great respect and such special fondness for workers and the small people whose patriotism and sense of sacrifice I appreciate so much.*

*« In my functions, » he said, « I remain above all concerned with the task of speeding up the advancement of the masses ; each time an idea comes to me, which seems useful for the good of this crowd of small people, I do not spare any effort to try to materialize it, » he concluded.*

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*President Ngô Đình Diệm holding a press conference at Independence Palace, April 7, 1961.*





## PRESS CONFERENCE

(April 7, 1961)

### STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

As the campaign enters its decisive phase and passions threaten to break loose in a regrettable way, I hope that my last press conference before the election will not be an opportunity for propaganda but an invitation to the press to kindly join me in a general appeal for moderation and respect for the Constitution.

I wish in particular to ask those who have kindly supported Ticket I to provide an example of fair play and of respect for the human being.

During all these weeks, each candidate has been able to express clearly everything that he had to say to the country.

Let us now unite against the attempts at sabotage by the Communists so that we can be sure of the best conditions for all to vote in a free election.

### QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

*After delivering his statement, President Ngo Dinh Diem kindly answered the newsmen's questions.*

#### **Communist Subversion Problem.**

*Asked by Mr. François Sully of the « Extrême-Asie » weekly if the government is considering to increase its military forces and seek the aid of friendly countries, President Ngo enumerated the factors which must be considered in coping with Communist guerrillas.*

*Naturally, there is a need for increasing the regular armed forces and the police forces if the remotest areas are to be controlled : areas which are inaccessible and are used by the Viet Cong as bases for their sabotage and terrorist activities.*

*The permanent presence of the troops will also result in giving confidence to the civilian population, who thus will no longer be forced, as in a number of cases, to cooperate with the rebels.*

*As a prerequisite, the installation of basic facilities, above all a communication network, is necessary to ensure rapid transport of appropriate equipment and military personnel responsible for the protection of the lives and properties of the population in the smallest hamlets. This substructure, of course, must at the same time favor the exploitation of the country's resources.*

*There is lastly the need for training, maintaining and providing troops with weapons and equipment fit for anti-guerrilla warfare.*

*All of this requires important financial means, and in this matter the assistance given to Viet Nam by friendly countries could be increased.*

*Another aspect of the problem is the treacherous propaganda of the Communists who disseminate false information to throw confusion among and demoralize the population.*

*Referring to this point, President Ngo asked the press, whose mission is to guide public opinion, to refrain from publishing news which is groundless or grossly distorted, or prejudicial to the morale of the troops and of the civilian population alike.*

### **Communist Sabotage Hindered Economic Progress But Damages Have Been Repaired In Time**

*Answering a question from Mr. Pierre Chauvet, of AFP, the President recognized that Communist sabotage has to a certain extent hindered the country's economic progress. But what had been damaged was rapidly rebuilt or repaired gradually, while in their destructive activities the Viet Cong suffered heavy losses.*

*It is difficult, the President said, to prevent all the sabotage attempts because of the perfected means of destruction which are presently available. However, thanks to the diligence of our intelligence and security services, many Communist sabotage attempts have been frustrated in time.*

*Furthermore, one must not forget the conditions which preceded the Communist clandestine activity.*

*During nine years of war, the French expeditionary corps controlled but a few major highways, some large cities, and a few provincial and district towns leaving to the Viet Cong the opportunity to get settled in the remote areas where they organized themselves, trained their agents and set up their clandestine networks.*

*If the Viet Cong resort to destructive activities it is because they are concerned over the rapid progress of the country, which — let's not forget it — recovered its independence only six years ago.*

*With the installation of basic facilities and the completion of the land development programme, which consists in filling the vacuum in areas to date desolated, one can be sure that within two or three years, the Communists will have no ground to stand on.*

*Therefore, the President noted, the government continues to push ahead the programmes for the exploitation of the country's resources alongside with its fight against Communist subversion.*

*President Ngo asserted that if all the conditions he enumerated at the beginning of the press conference were fulfilled, especially the strengthening of the military forces with an additional contingent of 20,000 or 30,000 men, the Viet Cong could be neutralised within less than a year.*

### **Is the Vietnamese Government Relying On SEATO Aid ?**

*Is the Vietnamese government relying for military aid on the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization which has expressed its concern over the situation in Viet Nam and Laos? Mr. Warren Unna, of Washington Post, asked.*

*To this question, President Ngo said that Viet Nam, which is not a member of SEATO even though it is an area covered by the treaty, did not participate in its debates on military problems.*

*However, the Communists, the President stressed, never give up their aggressive designs to rule the world. Thus it is the whole Southeast Asian area which is the target of their aggressive strategy, not one or two countries alone.*

*SEATO has considered peaceful solutions and military measures. But once a plan is adopted it must be implemented to give positive results.*

« We must know what we want. »

Furthermore, the desire for peace is not enough to safeguard peace. The Munich policy did not prevent the Second World War, but the contrary.

Finally, firemen and arsonists must not be confused. The policy of appeasement toward aggression is not conducive to peace either.

### **Conditions For An Eventual Participation Of Viet Nam In The International Conference On Laos.**

Asked by Mr. James Wilde, Time-Life magazines, to comment under what conditions Viet Nam would contemplate a participation in the 14-nation conference on Laos, President Ngo said that such a conference would only be successful if the freedom and independence of Laos were assured.

The minimum requirement is the immediate withdrawal of foreign forces of aggression from Lao territory. If this is not done, then it will be but idle talk.

### **Secretaries Of State To Appear Before National Assembly.**

Under the presidential regime now adopted in Viet Nam, as in other countries, the Secretaries of State are in liaison only with the National Assembly committees.

Some modifications may be envisaged so that in the future the Secretaries of State could provide explanations to the Assembly's plenary session.

President Ngo made this statement in reply to a journalist, Mr. To Van, of Saigon Mai daily, who wanted to know of the structure of relationships between the Legislative and the Executive during the next presidential mandate.

### **Constructive Ideas Must Be Taken Into Consideration.**

Slate II and III candidates who have made criticisms against the government during the campaign may obtain a number of votes on the election day April 9.

In case he is re-elected, will President Ngo take into consideration some of these criticisms? And will he call for the collaboration of

the candidates of these two slates, the delegate of Buoi Sang daily asked.

To these two questions, President Ngo declared that it is the government's task to take into consideration all sound and constructive ideas wherever they may come from.

As for the choice of the people in the government, only the criteria of competence and moral virtue are considered.

To another journalist, Mr. Peter Smart, of Reuters, who referred to the problem of legal opposition, President Ngo stated that in an underdeveloped country determined to rapidly emerge out of its miserable and humiliating situation, all that contributes to hinder its economic and social progress must be discarded. Apart from this vital imperative, there could be a legal opposition.

### **The People Remain Confident.**

Asked by Mr. Hewett, of Minneapolis Star and Tribune, to say whether the abortive November 11 coup had had any impact on the morale of the troops and the civilian population, President Ngo said « No. »

This rebellion was staged only by a very small group of officers — animated with foolish and childish ambitions — who had succeeded in fooling the troopers by urging them to storm the Presidential Palace in order to deliver the Chief of State allegedly held in captivity by his personal guard. Awakened to reality, these men refused to obey their commanding officers.

Furthermore, when the Chief of State called in only a battalion to quell the rebellion, all the units stationed in the surrounding areas spontaneously rushed to his rescue.

The President also answered many other short questions. In his reply to a question as to which decree he thinks marks the most important stage of the history of Viet Nam, the President said :

« The most important text of law, which I have prided myself in signing — because it best answers my aspirations as a revolutionary militant and the ideals of the nation — is the decree proclaiming the Republic. »

## **RADIO ADDRESS TO THE NATION**

(April 7, 1961)

Dear Compatriots,

On Sunday you will go to the polls to elect the Chief of State, thus fulfilling a historic task which recurs once every five years and, at the same time, you will exercise the right of a citizen of an independent and free country : the right to vote.

These last weeks you have heard different candidates speak. Everyone recognizes the fact that it is only in South Viet Nam that a free election campaign can take place, a passionate and hard-fought campaign.

The criticisms, sometimes carried to extremes and even to a point of defamation and slander in regard to public authorities, have been uttered freely during the public meetings, broadcast over the national radio and published in the press. Such a political fight carried out in a similar atmosphere of liberty has never been seen before in our country ; no doubt, it cannot and will never take place in the North under the dictatorial communist regime. This is a convincing evidence of our democracy but other facts have occurred which will not fail to draw your attention.

Some have taken advantage of the democratic freedom not to bare the real situation of the country to the voters and starting from this truth, submit a positive and appropriate program of public welfare and national reconstruction ; instead they have used their freedom solely to propound fallacious promises, utopian solutions and inappropriate measures which meet neither the present development requirements nor the deficiencies of an economically underdeveloped country, which is located at the forefront of the Free World and is the foremost target in Southeast Asia of the communists in their maneuvers to subvert and invade.



*President NGO DINH DIEM fulfills his civic duty in the presidential election on April 9, 1961.*





This liberty, some have used not to condemn the nation's enemies—colonialists, feudalists and communists — and to denounce their evils, but, on the contrary, to echo and amplify the tendencious propaganda slogans of these enemies, their slandering charges designed to discredit the regime and to weaken the prestige of the State.

This liberty, they have used, carrying out orders from Russian and Chinese imperialists, neither to tell you why the communist rebels have intensified their destructive maneuvers in South Viet Nam as well as in Laos, in Korea, at the Chinese-Burmese and Chinese-Indian borders, in Africa, in the Middle-East... nor to urge you to join your efforts in the fight against aggression and sabotage but, on the contrary, to glorify the communist forces and activities and, at the same time, to minimize or detract from the deeds and sacrifices of our soldiers, our civil guards, our village militia, and all our civilian and administrative cadres.

Except for these systematic disparagers, no one can question the progress that we have made during the past six years. I do not repeat here the figures and statistics. You only need to look around you to see the many signs of improvements of the people's living standard.

However passionate the election campaign may be, one can neither ignore reality, forget the supreme interest of the nation, nor unconsciously echo the charges of the enemy of the people. In systematically denying all the achievements beneficial to the population, those who disparage are indulging in slander and charges aimed at creating confusion and internal discord so as to weaken us, to split us and destroy our will to fight and our efforts to rebuild, all with a view towards making our territory and our population easy prey for Red imperialism.

To save the country from falling under the communist yoke, to live in freedom and prosperity, we must, on the one hand, fight the forces of evil and, on the other hand, toil for the common good.

To fight against the forces of evil means to neutralize the communists who plunder the villages, extort paddy and properties from the people and indulge in barbarous acts of piracy, assassination and kidnapping.

To fight against the forces of evil means also to erase the traces of colonialism and feudalism, to eradicate communist spies who infiltrate into our ranks.

To fight against the forces of evil means to repress corruption, abuses and malpractices which weigh on the population.

To fight against the forces of evil is not enough. One has also to draw rational plans to promote the common good.

To promote the common good is to complete, in the near future, the agrarian reform, continue the agricultural credit programme and aid to farmers, to develop industry and handicraft, to build dams, establish factories, to exploit mines, to grant new loans for investment purposes.

To promote the common good is also to dig canals, build roads and bridges to facilitate traffic and make transportation faster and less costly and trade more prosperous.

For it to be fully profitable to the population at large, any programme whether it be in the political, economic, public health, national education or social welfare field, must aim at this double objective : labor advancement and collective progress.

During a recent press conference, I fully expounded my programme which has already been published. Within the framework of the present talk, I only wish to emphasize some major points.

I am determined to defend the country against the communist aggression and sabotage and to restore order and security in the countryside.

I am determined to continue the work of social renovation and economic development so that Viet Nam may rapidly emerge from its state of underdevelopment. At the same time, I am determined to raise the standard of living and to initiate a new life for the people together with the new society.

I am determined to perfect democracy for all, to defend liberty, to unify Viet Nam, to give to all citizens equal opportunities for full personal development on the material, moral and spiritual level.

To be frank with you and grateful to the combatants who gave their lives for the fatherland, I would not keep it from you that the only way to progress which is available to an underdeveloped country is to make sustained and continuous efforts.

I would not deceive you by asserting gratuitously that in a few weeks, or a few months, I shall bring wealth to you all, prosperity to the whole nation and that all the difficulties inherent in a country ruined by warfare and undermined by the communist will disappear by themselves.

The struggle against the Communist rebels requires a continuous

drilling of military forces, training and educating rural cadres, building of roads, bridges, canals and airfields. This struggle does not concern only the soldiers, civil guards and village militia, but also the administrative and technical cadres in all fields. It calls for the participation of all the people — men and women. To conceal elements essential to success, ignore the conditions required for a victorious struggle, to lull our compatriots with treacherous explanations and demagogic promises is to lack in sincerity and fidelity.

I would not advise you to run after immediate and insignificant interests at the expense of major interests to come. History teaches us that without sustained sacrifice and effort, one can neither claim brilliant successes nor enjoy lasting results. The examples of our heroes, Tran Hung Dao, Le Loi, Nguyen Cong Tru, Thoai Ngoc Hau, are still fresh in all memories. Today we must all together stamp out acts of sabotage and defend ourselves against aggressive maneuvers. We must fight our enemy and, at the same time, dig canals, build dikes and roads, establish factories, erect schools and hospitals — so many difficult tasks and hardships weighing heavily on our shoulders.

But united in our efforts as well as in our hardship, moved by the same faith and the same will, frustrating all treacherous and subversive propaganda, we will destroy all obstacles and enable the country to go through this decisive phase of its history.

Dear Compatriots,

I am convinced that your ardent patriotism and your clear-sightedness will guide you in your choice on election day.

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*After the elections*

## **STATEMENT TO THE PRESS**

(April 11, 1961)

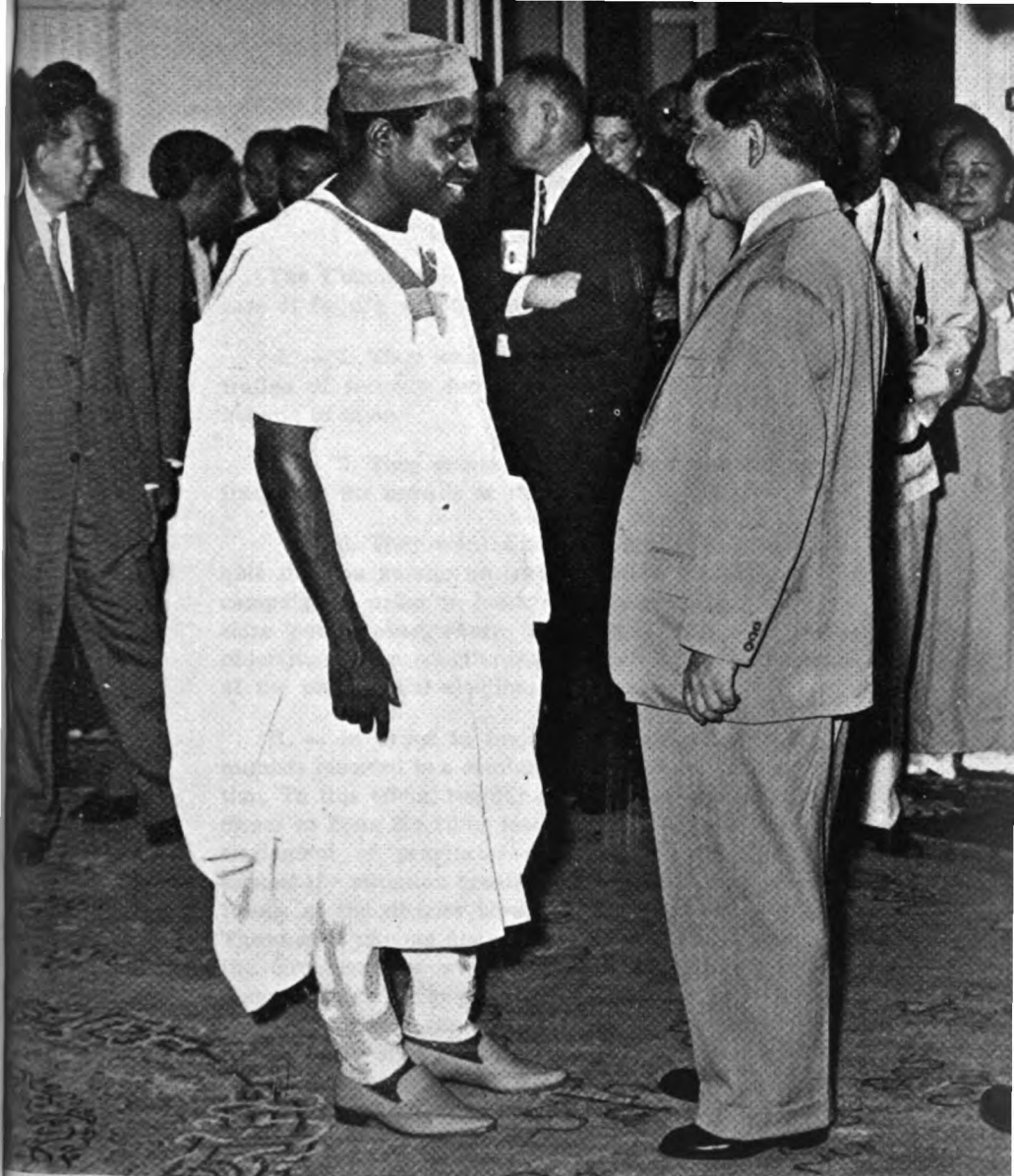
Now that the elections are over and that partisan feelings have more or less calmed down, we can state positively that in the final analysis, reason and discipline triumphed.

Indeed, Ticket I, elected by an overwhelming majority, has been chosen on a platform of austerity and discipline which promised nothing but new efforts toward accelerated economic and social progress and the struggle against communism on every front. By voting for Ticket I, the Vietnamese people have proclaimed that they are fully conscious of the necessities of our situation and ready to accept new sacrifices in order to face that situation. The Vietnamese people have thus shown a truly remarkable political maturity.

Moreover, the communists' general offensive aiming at sabotaging the elections, creating disorder and seizing power has utterly failed, and the voice of the people has been able to express itself through the excellent percentage which we all have noticed. This fact constitutes another aspect of the victory of the whole people.

It is also the concrete evidence not only of the negligible appeal which the communists have among the masses, but also and chiefly of the great discipline backed by an unshakable will of all the cadres and the population.

The success of these elections must without any doubt be credited to the cohesion of the nation. Let all those who have contributed to that success be thanked. And let them be proud of it, for they have certainly fought for freedom and for the future of our Fatherland!



*President NGO DINH DIEM talks informally with foreign correspondents covering Viet Nam's presidential election following the announcement of his re-election April 11, 1961.*



## Note on the Communist plan to undermine the election

The Communist plan aimed at seizing power and, in case of failure, sabotage of the elections.

I. — 1. They wanted to take advantage of the concentration of security forces around the polls and the roads leading to them.

2. They wanted to take advantage of the concentration of the crowds at the polls.

3. They wanted to take advantage of the inevitable division among the nationalists in the course of the campaign in order to launch a general insurrection and to seize power everywhere including Saigon. The strategic objective of the communists, then, was to take advantage of the presidential elections to seize power.

II. — In order to implement their scheme, the communists resorted to a combined political and military operation. To this effect, regular troops were ordered « to move closer to Zone B » (thus leaving the jungle area for an encirclement of provincial chief-towns) and be ready to exploit the situation created by the *dia phuong quan* (local troops at the district level) and the *du kich* (guerrillas). These « *dia phuong quan* » had a double assignment : where the circumstances were favorable, to concentrate with a view to attacking the provincial chief-towns with the support of regular troops, and where the circumstances were not favorable, to split in order to assist the village guerrillas and gather the population to force them to march against the provincial chief-towns.

The communists also attempted to sabotage highways and roads, isolate the chief-towns and seize them one by one.

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## APPENDIX

### *Validation Committee announces final election returns and victory of slate I*

In a communique issued on April 24, the election Validation Committee officially proclaimed the victory of President Ngo Dinh Diem and Vice President Nguyen Ngoc Tho at the recent presidential election.

It also announced the final returns for each slate of candidates as follows :

— Slate I (President Ngo Dinh Diem and Vice President Nguyen Ngoc Tho) .....	5,997,927 votes
— Slate II (Messrs. Nguyen Dinh Quat and Nguyen Thanh Phuong) .....	268,668 —
— Slate III (Messrs. Ho Nhut Tan and Nguyen The Truyen) .....	457,125 —

In the same communique the committee noted that it held several consecutive meetings from April 19 to 23 to examine the files received from the National Assembly. These files included the reports on the election, submitted by the Prefectures of Saigon, Hue, Da Nang and Dalat and by all the 38 provinces, and also complaints from candidates.

The election, the committee ruled, took place under the forms and conditions provided by the law.

The president of the Validation Committee is Mr. Vu Tien Tuan, first chairman of the Cassation Court and the members are the chairman and all the counsellors of the Constitutional Court.







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