bev deepe 101 cong ly saigon

buddhist-1 sept. 3, 1964

SAIGON-Willingly or unwillingly, the Buddhist movement in South Viet Nam today is openly and obviously sidimuntha a teol of the Communists.

Some middleclass Saigonese and Western diplomats argue that Buddhist leaders are simply allowing themselves to be used by the Communists. DTLEAST

Others argue that some amminum -if not all-of the decision-making Buddhist leaders are simply Communist agents.

Others look at the branches and the effects of their policies and conclude they are overt Communist cadre.

But the almost unanimous opinion of Western diplomats-and more important, the impressions among Saigonese-is that the Buddhists are manuscription in one way or another helping the Communists.xx

As the Buddhists (Mars) have become the dominant political force in Viet Nam, the military war against Communist guerrillas i conducted with aid of 18,000 American advisors—has waned into significance.

"If we won a clear out military victory against the Communist guerrillas," said one Western diplomat, "we could still lose this country in five minutes through political subversion."

(More)

American officials—and some of the press corps—who openly sympathized with the Buddhists in their fight against the Ngo Dinh Diem regime last year are now obviously inked at the troubles the Buddhists are creating. Officially, however, American officials maintain that the Buddhists are simply manuevering for more political power in the upcoming government, but they are not Communist agents.

"It's stupid to ask if the Buddhist leaders are
Communist or not," said one Vietnamese bearing.

"You have to check the bearing the policy they are making. They are making the government so week it can not fight the Communists—and this is the exact policy of they our Communist enemies."

(More)

"The Communists have infiltrated the movement and the real monks can not do anything about it. If we (the Vietnamese government) does not put them back to a position as a religion—and keep them out of politics—we will never finish with them."

A Western diplomat agreed with the Vietnemese official.

"The record of the Buddhists over the past year is stepping from one slippery stone to another jockgying for position.

They've taken advantage of every concession we've (the government) made them—animomome each of their final demands they have been broken the next day."

Another Vietnamese, where closely watches the political scene, a said, "I'm not ashemed to say that I was wrong.

I was for the Buddhists last year when they were fighting Ngo Dinh Diem and his family. I did not think the Buddhists were dominated by the Communist party. I thought maybe the high level Buddhists at the high levels and the low leves levels had the same goals of the Communists—to get rid of Diem. Bud now I think the Communists have infiltrated at all levels, particularly the middle class level."

WHO

He explained the pyremid-type hierarchy of the Buddhist organization as "sort of another government." He said the bored broad-base at the grass roots required bein begins in the the villages and city precints, rising to the district level, then the provinces, regions and then to major in Buddhist biterature in Saigon.

In Saigon, the nationwide organization spexes to

the chief priest of the Buddhist movement, the Venerable Thich

Late 705

Khiet. Feeble and week in his 80°s, he's considered
a figurehead. Distribution He heads the Buddhist

Institute for Clerical Affairs, but the power man is Secretary

General, Sai the Venerable Thich Tri Quang, who was the principal strategist of last year's campaign against the Ngo Dinh Diem regime.

A small, elfish looking priest, he sought and was granted refuge in the American Embassy last year after Ngo Diem regime cracked down on Buddhist pagodas. An increasing number of Vietnamese intellectuals are now calling him a Communist

cadre. But the highest ranking government officials (Informatively General Khanh) say that it can not be proved.

Other governmentofficials argue "Well "we'll never know if Tri Quang is a Communist—but he's acting exactly according to Communist policy./ (more) "We can never check or find out if he's a Communist," he continued. "You can look and look for a Communist Party card on him, but you will never, never find it."

Paralleling the Se Clerical Institute is the Institute for Secular Affairs, headed by the Venerable Thich Tam Chau.

Chau, a refugge from North Viet Nam, has made anti-Communist public embourcements, statements, has may talked with the American Embassy and the Vietnamese government and generally represented the "softline", moderate view of the Buddhist position. Few believe he is a Communist agent, but admits that he is Communist comit dominated.

As Chau has made promises and compremises with the government,
the Nar "hard-line" monks around Tri Quang have & broken them.

"It's all a game they play," said one Vietnamese official.

"Two monks make an agreement with the government and the others then say no. They form a committee for the stage—
for just for laughing. It's what you Americans call a comedy."

(More)

Tellon

But the main work of the Institutes is delegated to

commissioner-generals for specialized affairs—such as youth,

information, religious affairs. This is termed the middle-level

of the Buddhist organization, and most Vietnamese observers

believe these morks—almost distribute accordance assisted by

Buddhist layment—are operaty Communist cadre, though some

of them may be covert members of the Communist organization.

Most observers believe the delirious pace of events during past weeks is the Communist reaction to the Tonkin incidents and the machine American bombing of North Viet Nam. It is the reaction for which te American backed Vietnamese government was least prepared for. Origina Immediately following the American bembing in North Viet Nam, the threat appeared to be a North Vietnamese ground invasion or aerial attacks, backed by Communist China. If when this did not materialize, the government feared an all-out military campaign by Viet Cong Communist guerrillas, with regimental-sized attacks against provincial capitals and important installations.

deepe buddhist-7

But instead, the Communists stepped into the political arens first to weaken the enticommunist forces in the Vietnamese government and armed forces, and then to maneuver for a pro-Communist government during the coming months.

The battle is clearly one which the inticommunist

must deal with. Informed sources here believe moritant

additional American advisors, American military supplies—

even further American retaliations against North Viet Nam
will not be able to solve the inevitable confrontation

between the Buddhists and the anti-Communist governormal forces in Viet Nam-