

PRG, long-time colleague Huynh Tan Phat, judged Kiem more valuable as a readily available assistant than as director of the PRG's foreign policy, a post which would have required his spending most of his time in Paris.

Tran Buu Kiem has been called the NFLSV's "resident intellectual," a subtly pejorative characterization which is probably unjustified. He played an important role in the organization of the NFLSV-PRGRSV apparatus and has been active in communist front organizations in Viet-Nam for almost 30 years. He is probably, though not certainly, a member of either the North Viet-Nam Workers Party or its Southern branch, the People's Revolutionary Party.

Nguyen Van Hieu

The PRG's chief delegate to the Consultative Conference with GVN representatives to discuss the future configuration of South Vietnamese politics in the Paris suburb of St. Cloud is Nguyen Van Hieu, reputed to be one of the best minds in the NFL. Born in Ca Mau, the southernmost tip of Viet-Nam in 1922, he won his spurs in the resistance before becoming an NFL diplomatist and ideologue.

While his family background is not known, it can be assumed from his having gone to the universities in both Hanoi and Saigon that he was raised in a substantial middle class provincial home. Allegedly a school teacher in 1945, he is said to have participated in the General Uprising in Ca Mau which established it as something of a Viet Minh center. Hieu then became one of the Viet-Minh's senior propaganda cadres in the southern delta, and subsequently a publicist for the enlarged Lien Viet front in Saigon-Cholon working on the magazine Giai Phong (Liberation) the precursor of the NFL's rarely published paper of the same name. He may also have been a Viet-Minh training officer in Saigon until his short-term arrest by the Diem government in 1958. His wife, Ma Thi Chu, daughter of a Ca Mau pharmacist and herself a graduate of the Saigon University School of Pharmacy, was arrested at the same time, and like Hieu has subsequently held diplomatic posts for the NFL.

Hieu served as secretary general of the NFL in 1962-1963, also being listed as secretary general of the probably non-existent Radical Socialist Party on whose rolls the NFL ascribed those of its younger intellectuals who were not in the Democratic Party of Phat and Kiem.

As NFL secretary Hieu began his series of propaganda tours in 1962, visiting Russia, Eastern Europe and Cuba, and subsequently headed several trade delegations. His most important diplomatic assignment prior to 1973, however, seems to have been to Phnom Penh which he first visited in 1965 along with Tran Buu Kiem. Phnom Penh seems to have been his base for several years thereafter. He was a key man in the NFL's relations with the then head of state Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who was persuaded to let Viet Cong and North Vietnamese troops, and indeed COSVN itself, maintain their sanctuaries on Cambodian territory.

Infrequently heard of in the late 1960's and early 1970's, Hieu was identified as an NFL Central Committee Presidium member for the first time in a series of Liberation Radio broadcasts by NFL leaders which followed a joint meeting of NFL-VANDPF-PRG leaders in November, 1972. He was appointed a PRG Minister of State in March 1973 when he was named to head the PRG delegation to the Consultative Conference. He is unlikely to again be out of the limelight for a protracted period.

Nguyen Van Trieu

Nguyen Van Trieu, perhaps the PRGRSV's leading economist, was born in 1917 in the Saigon suburb of Gia Dinh. He became a minor civil servant in the French colonial administration of Cochinchina (South Viet-Nam) and worked in the Bank of Indochina in Saigon. His family background is unknown, but it appears that they were not sufficiently well-to-do to afford Trieu much more than a high-school education, probably in Gia Dinh.

Trieu's official biography, issued by the PRG and the NFLSV in June 1969, is virtually the only source of information about him. It notes that he participated in the "seizure of power in Gia Dinh"

in August 1945. His part in the uprising resulted in his being appointed to the Go Vap District People's Committee (Go Vap is an urban district of Gia Dinh Province and is actually a part of the Saigon-Cholon-Gia Dinh metropolitan area). He was concurrently named to head the Viet Minh Frontline Supply Board for Gia Dinh Province.

In 1946, with the French once more in control of the Saigon-Cholon-Gia Dinh area, Trieu was appointed as a member to the Viet Minh Gia Dinh Provincial Resistance and Administrative Committee. He held this position until 1950.

In 1951, Trieu became a Vice-Director of the Nam Bo Economic Office. One of his fellow Vice-Directors was Tran Buu Kiem, now Minister in the President's Office in the PRGRSV. In addition to this position, Trieu was a member of the Economic and Financial Affairs Committee of the Viet-Minh's Eastern Nam Bo Zone.

Trieu's biography states that, "since 1954, he has continued to perform economic and financial functions for the revolution." Despite his long participation in revolutionary activities, Trieu was not one of those elected to the NFLSV Central Committee. He is said to be a member of NFLSV's satellite Radical Socialist Party.

In 1964, Trieu was appointed head of the Economic and Financial Affairs Committee of the NFLSV's Saigon-Gia Dinh Zone. He held this position until mid-1969, when he became Vice-Minister of Economy and Finance in the newly-formed PRGRSV. The Minister was Cao Van Bon, a French-trained electrical engineer who had been active in anti-GVN circles and who joined the Viet-Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces when it was formed in April 1968. In view of the reported attitude of the NFLSV leadership toward the VANDPF "intellectuals", Trieu's appointment as Vice-Minister may have been intended to provide the Ministry with some revolutionary substance. Cao Van Bon died in 1970 and no successor appears to have been named, leaving Trieu as Acting Minister.

A rallier who worked in COSVN in the late 1960's identified Trieu as "former Chairman of the Military Region 3 Party Committee," and in September 1969 a Liberation Radio broadcast called him Chairman of the Saigon-Cholon-Gia Dinh People's Revolutionary Committee. But it is his presumed expertise in economic and financial affairs which is the basis of Trieu's prominence in the PRG.

Nguyen Van Tien

Nguyen Van Tien, current head of the PRGRSV's "Special Representation" in Hanoi, is something of a shadowy figure even among the leadership of the COSVN-NFLSV-PRGRSV apparatus in South Viet-Nam. It is not even known for certain whether Tien is a northerner or a southerner. Some reports claim that he was born in the North in 1922, although his official NFLSV biography reports that he was born in My Tho, in South Viet-Nam's Mekong Delta, in 1919.

Tien apparently took at least part of his studies in Hanoi and taught school in that city, probably in the early 1940's. Although NFLSV sources have characterized him as a "devoted professor", it is suspected that this academic title is honorary.

Virtually nothing is known of Tien's activities in the 1940's and the early 1960's. It can be reasonably assumed that he was active in the revolutionary movement, at least during the later period. He was first publicly noted in early 1962 when, at the NFLSV's first formal congress, he was listed as a member of the NFLSV Central Committee. In May 1963, he went to Cairo as the NFLSV's representative to the Permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization (AAPSO). In January 1964, he became Chairman of the AAPSO's Committee for Aid and Assistance to the South Vietnamese People. Tien has attended AAPSO and related conferences in a number of countries, including Cyprus, Guinea, Ghana, Algiers, China, the Soviet Union and Cuba.

Tien was recalled to Viet-Nam in October 1966. One source attributed his replacement to his having been too close to the Chinese in Cairo. When an NFLSV "permanent mission" was formally established in Hanoi in December 1966, Tien was named its chief.

The exact functions of the head of the permanent mission of a group already effectively subordinate to its host through other channels has not been adequately defined. Tien made frequent appearances at anniversary celebrations, at receptions and banquets for visiting foreign dignitaries, and gave receptions on NFLSV holidays and anniversaries. In return, visitors to Hanoi paid courtesy calls on Tien. He has also led delegations to a number of countries and attended conferences in support of the NFLSV.

When the PRGRSV was officially formed in June 1969, the NFLSV mission in Hanoi became the PRGRSV "Special Representation", with Tien at its head. However, in late June or early July, 1969, Tien left Hanoi for Paris as deputy chief of the PRGRSV's delegation to the peace talks. It has been speculated that Tien went along to act as something of a political officer to Nguyen Thi Binh, who had replaced Tran Buu Kiem as head of the South Vietnamese Communist negotiating team. At least one Western observer came away from a meeting with Tien with the impression that Tien, not Mrs. Binh, was the real force within the PRGRSV delegation.

With the signing of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet-Nam at the end of January, 1973, Tien returned to Hanoi to resume his role as head of the PRGRSV's "Special Representation". There was evidence of a disagreement between the DRV and some members of the PRG as to the acceptability of the peace terms then being negotiated. Tien had never relinquished titular leadership of the "Special Representation", despite his infrequent recorded trips to North Viet-Nam during the 1968 to 1973 period. Tien has resumed in 1973 an activity pattern not markedly different from that of his 1966 to 1968 period as head of the NFLSV's "Permanent Mission" in Hanoi.

An American journalist who several times interviewed Tien in Paris characterized him as, paradoxically, a charming and urbane man, and a "hard-line" dogmatic communist. These qualities may well have been the basis of the PRG's proposing in April 1973, that the United Nations accept Nguyen Van Tien as its official observer.

Tran Bach Dang

Tran Bach Dang, the NFLSV-PRGRSV expert on youth affairs, along with Tran Buu Kiem, was born in 1925 in the Mekong Delta of South Viet-Nam. Nothing is known of his family or educational background. One assumes that he received at least a middle school education.

In 1945, at the age of 20, he worked on the newspaper Saigon Moi (New Saigon) and was reportedly active in anti-French movements. Dang apparently remained in Saigon after the French had reasserted their authority there in late 1945. At least by 1948, he was a member of the Viet Minh. His activities on behalf of the Front led to his arrest by the French that year. He was imprisoned, but escaped at the end of 1949 and, presumably, took to the maquis.

Probably in 1950, Dang was appointed Assistant Director of the Information Office of the Saigon-Cholon Resistance and Administrative Committee, and probably was closely associated with the future PRGRSV President Huynh Tan Phat. Phat was at that time Director of the Nam Bo Regional Committee Information Office and, like Dang, a member of the Saigon-Cholon Resistance and Administrative Committee. Dang is also reported to have been active during this period in an unidentified anti-French youth group, very probably a successor organization to the Thanh Nien Tien Phong (Vanguard Youth), the original Viet Minh youth movement in Cochinchina (Southern Viet-Nam.)

Dang's experiences in the early 1950's almost certainly resulted in his joining the Communist Party. With the signing of the Geneva Agreements and the end of the war in 1954, he did not curtail his participation in revolutionary movements. By 1957, Dang was editor of the clandestine, anti-Diem publications Nhan Dan Mien Nam (The Southern People--a play on the name of the North Viet-Nam Workers Party's daily newspaper Nhan Dan, or the People) and Ngoi Sao Nhan Tao (The Man-made Star--an apparent reference to the gold star on the Vietnamese communist flag). He is reported to have been director of all propaganda and training activities for South Viet-Nam. It is unlikely that such a position would have been given to a non-Party member. He was, therefore, presumably working under the direction of Nguyen Van Cuc at that time.

Dang probably played a part in organizing the NFLSV's foundation conference in late 1960. He is said to have attended the VWP's Third National Congress in Hanoi in 1960 and received training and instructions for the work of the NFL. At the NFLSV's first formal conference in February 1962, he was named a member of the NFLSV Central Committee Presidium as head of the NFLSV's "mass" Liberation Youth Association. In 1964, Dang was further identified as Chairman of the NFLSV Central Committee's Information, Cultural and Education Committee thus formalizing his position as chief of propaganda for the South. So far as is known, Dang continues to hold all of these positions within the NFLSV structure.

Dang is reported to be a member of the People's Revolutionary Party. At least one source has identified him as head of the PRP's Youth League. Most youth-oriented activities are programmed through the NFLSV's Liberation Youth Association of which Dang is also Chairman, or Tran Buu Kiem's Federation of School and College Students for Liberation.

Dang is also believed to have been one of the founding members of the Central Office for South Viet-Nam (COSVN), when it was established in 1961. Initially chief of its propaganda and training section, he was appointed in the mid-1960's to COSVN's top decision-making body, known as the Current Affairs Committee, according to one report. Together with five or six other leading Communist military and political figures he thus became responsible for shaping and executing Communist strategy in the southern half of South Viet-Nam COSVN's area of responsibility throughout the height of the war.

In the wake of the Tet 1968 offensive, as COSVN personnel were assigned to other parts of the communist command structure to make up for cadre losses, Dang took on still another vital assignment, becoming "secretary" of the Saigon City Party Committee. He has been able to mobilize a great deal of high-level support and effort behind his operations in the capital. The repulse of the North Vietnamese Army-Viet Cong thrust towards Saigon in 1972 deprived Dang of an opportunity to show whether or not his Saigon underground was an effective organization. It was not called into play.

Dang is said to be an advocate of low-level, protracted war tactics, combining political and military struggle with a heavy dose of subversion in the major urban areas. During his tenure as chief of the Saigon Party Committee, the security section responsible for highly specialized espionage and counterespionage operations has been expanded and the Communists have stepped up their efforts to penetrate and subvert the labor and intellectual groups that make up such an important part of Saigon's political mosaic.

Like Nguyen Van Cuc, the COSVN Current Affairs Committee's Deputy Secretary for Party matters, Tran Bach Dang stands to become a more important figure if large-scale military activity is de-emphasized in South Viet-Nam for any long period of time. If the "political struggle" takes on increased importance, the opinions of COSVN's military experts may become subordinate to those of the political experts with long-time experience in the South, like Tran Bach Dang. He is the youngest PRP-COSVN figure of any apparent importance. Unlike his seniors in the southern Party apparatus all of whom are products of the rural-based Viet Minh "resistance", Dang's specialty is urban covert organization. In a society now heavily urbanized his presumed skills may acquire increasing importance in the minds of his superiors.

Dang is said to be married to Nguyen Thi Chon, a member of the PRG delegation to the Consultative Conference with the RVN on the future format of South Vietnamese politics.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE PROVISIONAL
REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT

President	Architect Huynh Tan Phat
Vice-President and Interior Minister	Dr. Phung Van Cung
Vice-President and Minister of Education and Youth	Prof. Nguyen Van Kiet
Vice-President	Mr. Nguyen Doa
Minister of the Government's Presidency	Mr. Tran Buu Kiem
Minister of Defence	Mr. Tran Nam Trung
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Mme Nguyen Thi Binh
Minister of Economy and Finances	Engineer Cao Van Bon *
Minister of Information and Culture	Composer Luu Huu Phuoc
Minister of Public Health, Social Affairs and War Invalids	Dr. (Mme) Duong Quynh Hoa
Minister of Justice	Mr. Truong Nhu Tang
Vice-Minister of the Government's Presidency	Mr. Ung Ngoc Ky
Vice-Ministers of Defence	Messrs Dong Van Cong and Nguyen Chanh
Vice-Ministers of Foreign Affairs	Messrs Le Quang Chanh and Hoang Bich Son
Vice-Minister of Home Affairs	Prof. Nguyen Ngoc Thuong
Vice-Minister of Economy and Finances	Mr. Nguyen Van Trieu

Died in 1973

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE P.R.G. (Cont'd)

Vice-Ministers of Information and Culture	Writer Hoang Trong Quy (Pen-name Thanh Nghi) and Writer Lu Phuong
Vice-Ministers of Education and Youth	Prof. Le Van Chi and Mr. Ho Huu Nhut
Vice-Ministers of Public Health, Social Affairs and War Invalids	Dr. Ho Van Hue and Prof. (Mme) Bui Thi Me
Vice-Minister of Justice	Engineer Le Van Tha

[The above list is reproduced from Vietnamese Studies No. 23 "South Viet-Nam; From the NFL to the Provisional Revolutionary Government," Nguyen Khac Vien editor, Hanoi, 1970, pp 417-418. PRG titles are as noted in that publication.]

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE ADVISORY COUNCIL
OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH VIET-NAM

President of the Advisory
Council

Lawyer Nguyen Huu Tho, President of
the Presidium of the Central Committee
of the South Viet-Nam National Front
for Liberation

Vice-President

Lawyer Trinh Dinh Thao, Chairman of
the Central Committee of the Viet-Nam
Alliance of National, Democratic and
Peace Forces.

Members

Mr. Ybih Aleo, President of the Movement
for the Autonomy of the Nationalities of
Tay Nguyen, Vice-President of the
Presidium of the NFL Central Committee.

Mr. Huynh Cuong, representative of Khmer
nationals, member of the NFL Central
Committee.

Superior Bonze Thich Don Hau, former
chief representative of the Viet-Nam
Unified Buddhist Association (Van Hanh
section) and Vice-Chairman of the Central
Committee of the Viet-Nam Alliance of
National, Democratic and Peace Forces.

Reverend Huynh Van Tri, representative
of the Hoa Hao Buddhists.

Mr. Nguyen Cong Phuong, veteran
revolutionary in the central part of Central
Viet-Nam.

Engineer Lam Van Tet, patriotic personality,
Vice-Chairman of the Viet-Nam ANDPF.

Mr. Vo Oanh, patriotic personality, member
of the NFL Central Committee.

Professor Le Van Giap, Chairman of the
Saigon-Cholon-Gia Dinh Committee of the
Viet-Nam ANDPF.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE ADVISORY COUNCIL
OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH VIET-NAM (Cont'd)

Members (cont'd)

Major Huynh Thanh Mung, Vice-President
of the Tay Ninh Committee of the Cao Dai
Organization for Consolidating Peace and
Peaceful Co-existence.

Mr. Lucien Pham Ngoc Hung, representative
of the Patriotic Catholics of South Viet-Nam,
standing member of the Saigon-Cholon-
Gia Dinh Committee of the Viet-Nam ANDPF.

Mme Nguyen Dinh Chi, Professor, Vice-
President of the Thua Thien-Hue People's
Revolutionary Committee and Vice-Chairman
of the Hue Committee of the Viet-Nam ANDPF.

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Provisional Revolutionary Government," Nguyen Khac
Vien editor, Hanoi, 1970, pp 419-420. PRG titles
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PERSONS REPORTING TO JANUARY 8-10, 1973 SESSION
OF PRGRSV COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

[Hanoi in Vietnamese to South Viet-Nam, 0330 GMT 18 January 1973]

After President Huynh Tan Phat finished reading his political report, the ministers and vice ministers took turns reading complementary reports.

Mr. Le Chan representing the South Vietnamese PLAF command and the National Defense Ministry, read a military report.

Mr. Tran Buu Kiem, Minister in the President's Office, read a diplomatic report.

Mr. Ung Ngoc Ky, Vice Minister in the President's Office, read a report on the recent struggle movement of the Saigon people from all walks of life.

Mr. Luu Huu Phuoc, Information and Culture Minister, read an information and culture report.

Mr. Nguyen Van Trieu, Vice Minister of Economy and Finance, read a economic and financial report.

Mrs. (Dr.) Duong Quynh Hoa, Minister of Health, Social Action and Disabled Soldiers, read a medical report.

Messrs Le Van Chi and Ho Huu Nhut, Vice Ministers of Education and Youth, read a report on education and youth.

P. R. G. SPECIAL REPRESENTATION IN THE DRV

Chief	Nguyen Van Tien*
Deputy Chief	Nguyen Phu Soai
Members	Truong Cong Dong
	Le Khoan Hong
	Phan Lac Tuyen
	Mrs. Nguyen Khanh Phuong
	Mrs. Nguyen Ngoc Anh
	Le Ngoc Anh

*[Tien, first head of PRG Special Representation in Hanoi in 1969, where he had previously headed the NLF delegation, was designated Deputy Chief of the PRG Paris Peace Talks delegation in late June 1969. He was called back to the Hanoi post from Paris in November 1972. Soai, who had been formed "Acting Chief" became Deputy Chief].

PRG DELEGATION TO PARIS PEACE TALKS

Mme Nguyen Thi Binh	Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam, Chief of the Delegation (spokesman)
Nguyen Van Tien	Deputy Chief of the Delegation (spokesman)*
Dinh Ba Thi	Deputy Chief of the Delegation (spokesman)
Mme. Nguyen Thi Chon	Member of the Delegation
Tran Van Tu	Member of the Delegation
Dang Van Thu	Member of the Delegation
Duong Dinh Thao	Member of the Delegation
Ly Van Sau	Advisor to the Delegation
Vo Anh Minh	Advisor to the Delegation
Trinh Van Anh	Expert, Secretary of the Delegation, Liaison Officer

*[Tien was reassigned by the PRG to head its Special Representation in the DRV in November 1972 according to a Liberation Radio broadcast of November 29]

PRG DELEGATION TO "CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE
OF THE TWO PARTIES IN SOUTH VIET-NAM"

[Liberation Radio in Vietnamese 10 March 1973]

- Prof. Nguyen Van Hieu, Minister and Delegation Head
- Mr. Dinh Ba Thi, Ambassador and Deputy Delegation Head
- Mrs. Nguyen Thi Chon, Delegation Member
- Mr. Ly Van Sau, Delegation Member and Delegation Spokesman
- Mr. Nguyen Phong Vinh, Delegation Member

LEADING BODY
OF THE SOUTH VIET-NAM NATIONAL
FRONT FOR LIBERATION

(Central Committee elected at the Second
Congress, held January 1-8, 1964)

PRESIDIUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

PRESIDENT

- Nguyen Huu Tho, patriot without party affiliation (now President of the Advisory Council of the Republic of South Viet-Nam). *

VICE-PRESIDENTS

- Ybih Aleo, a patriotic Protestant sprung from the Ede minority nationality, President of the Movement for the Autonomy of the Nationalities of Tay Nguyen (now a member of the Advisory Council of the Republic of South Viet-Nam) *

- Phung Van Cung, doctor of medicine, a patriot without party affiliation (now Vice-President and Interior Minister of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam). ***

- Vo Chi Cong, President of the People's Revolutionary Party. *

- Huynh Tan Phat, architect, Secretary-General of the Democratic Party (now President of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam). *

- The Venerable Thich Thom Me The Nhem, a Khmer Buddhist patriot (died 1966).

- Tran Nam Trung, representing the South Viet-Nam People's Liberation Armed Forces (now Defence Minister of the Provisional Revolutionary Government). **

* Position confirmed Liberation Radio, Dec. 1972

** Position confirmed Liberation Radio, Nov. 1972

*** Position confirmed Liberation Radio, April 1972

MEMBERS

- Mme Nguyen Thi Dinh, President of the Women's Union for Liberation, Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the South Viet-Nam People's Liberation Armed Forces. *
- Tran Bach Dang, President of the Youth Federation, Secretary-General of the Association of Former Resisters. *
- Venerable Thich Thien Hao, President of the Association of Luc Hoa Buddhists of Viet-Nam. *
- Tran Buu Kiem, President of the Federation of School and College Students for Liberation (now Minister to the Presidency of the Provisional Revolutionary Government).
- Nguyen Van Ngoi, a high-ranking Caodaist dignitary of the Tien Thien Sect. *
- Phan Xuan Thai, President of the Federation of Trade Unions for Liberation. * (Several later sources give his name as Phan Xuan Thai).
- Nguyen Huu The, President of the Association of Peasants for Liberation. *
- Dang Tran Thi, Vice-president of the Federation of Trade Unions for Liberation.

SECRETARIAT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

- Huynh Tan Phat, Secretary-General
- Le Van Huan, professor, Deputy Secretary-General.
- Ho Thu, chemist, Deputy Secretary-General.
- Ung Ngoc Ky, journalist, Deputy Secretary-General of the Democratic Party, Secretariat Member NFL Central Committee (now a Vice-Minister to the Presidency of the Provisional Revolutionary Government). *
- Ho Xuan Son, journalist, member.

* Position confirmed Liberation Radio, Dec. 1972