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Direct inquiries to R.S. Lang, Director of Community Planning, Department of Municipal Affairs, Halifax; phone 422-7341, Ext. 312. Applications should be made as soon as possible; the closing date is April 11, 1968.

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How it started

The Desire to Live Won Out Over Obedience to Ho

By ALLEN BELL
Reprinted from THE UBSSEY
For centuries Vietnam has been a feudal nation. Between 1859 and 1954 it was a colony of France, except for a brief period during World War II when Japan controlled it. During the war the Viet Minh, a national communist movement led by Ho Chi Minh, stimulated the desire of the Vietnamese in general for independence, and the desire of the peasants in particular for an end of feudalism. These winning issues — independence and the overthrow of feudalism — earned so much popular support that by January 1946 in nationwide elections involving other nationalist parties the Viet Minh won an overwhelming electoral victory.

Despite the popular desire for independence, France attempted to regain her colony after the war. In 1946 fighting broke out between the French and the Viet Minh armies. In 1950 the U.S. began pouring money and equipment into the French effort to regain her colony, Indo-China — an effort which had hitherto been financed by funds diverted from Marshall Plan aid to France. That Indo-China should remain a colony was preferable in the view of America's leaders to its falling under communist leadership. By 1954, against overwhelming technological superiority, the Viet Minh had seized control of about three-quarters of Vietnam, and had defeated the French forces.

In July 1954 the great powers and the Indo-Chinese nations reached at Geneva a set of agreements directed towards the establishment of a peaceful and independent Vietnam. Article 6 of the Final Declaration emphatically states that Vietnam is one country, despite a temporary military demarcation line dividing the country at the 17th parallel. The French and their supporters, including about 900,000 Roman Catholics, withdrew to the Southern half, while the Viet Minh armies relinquished their control over large areas and withdrew to the Northern half of the country. Article 7 provides for "free general elections" to be held within two years to enable the Vietnamese to decide peacefully who should govern the reunified Vietnam. Article 2 prohibits the entry of foreign troops or arms into either zone of Vietnam. Article 5 prohibits both zones from joining a military alliance with a foreign power.

Although the U.S. was not a signatory to the Geneva Accord, it did sign an undertaking not to violate any of the provisions of the agreement. However, it was clearly unhappy about the Geneva settlement, and before the terms of the agreement had been fulfilled the U.S. decided that abiding by them was not in her interests. The U.S. wanted Korean-type settlement with a pro-western South Vietnam independent of a pro-communist North. Accordingly, the U.S. immediately set about building the southern zone into an independent state under the leadership of Ngo Dinh Diem.

Diem was an improbable man for an impossible job. The job was impossible because the Vietnamese wanted independence, and Diem's power resided in Washington, which had already compromised itself by backing the French. Many Vietnamese saw in America's policy a submerged form of colonialism. Furthermore, the Vietnamese, by and large, wanted a reunified country, and Diem was committed to two Vietnams. Finally, it fell upon Diem to reverse the agrarian revolution started by the Viet Minh. Thus almost immediately he ran afoul of Vietnam's most powerful group, the peasantry.

Diem had not only an impossible task, but he was the wrong man to attempt the impossible. He was a Catholic in a predominantly Buddhist country. He was a mandarin, or elitist, in a land where a peasant revolution was already underway. He had no standing as a nationalist because he had sat out the war of independence against the French in Paris and New York. He talked of remedying the worst abuses of feudalism by means of reform, but instead he applied force to keep the peasants under feudalism. He talked of achieving unity through various popular measures, but instead he went after his enemies with the military and the police. He used force to defeat the Binh Xuyen, the Cao Dai and the Hoa Koa, and he tried to force the mountain tribesmen, the montagnards, to assimilate.

Diem's worst mistakes were his treatment of the small peasants and the montagnards, and his recourse to terrorist techniques. Those who disagreed with him were 'communists' and were treated accordingly.

"This repression was aimed in theory at the Communists. In fact it affected all those, and they were many — democrats, socialists, liberals, adherents of the sects — who were bold enough to express their disagreement with the line of policy adopted by the ruling oligarchy. . ." (Phillipps Devillers, "The Struggle for the Unification of Vietnam," China, Quarterly, Nov. 9, 1962.)

Between 1956 and 1960 many small armed resistance groups arose. In 1960 these groups were unified

under the National Front for Liberation (NFL). The policies pursued by Diem and the U.S. involved them in violation of all the major articles of the Geneva Agreement. The very attempt to make the southern zone an independent state violated Article 6. American arms and military men flowed into the south, thereby violating Article 2. The U.S. and Diem formed a virtual military alliance, thereby violating Article 5. They agreed not to hold general elections, thereby violating Article 7. America's altruistic protestations notwithstanding, the U.S., on whose support Diem was dependent, encouraged Diem's violation of Article 7 because free elections would have resulted in a victory for Ho Chi Minh and the Sao Dong Party.

In his Mandate for Change Eisenhower writes: "I have never talked or corresponded with a person knowledgeable in Indo-Chinese affairs who did not agree that had elections been held, . . . possibly 80 per cent of the population would have voted for the Communist Ho Chi Minh."

This view is also expressed in the U.S. State Department's 1961 Blue Book on Vietnam, A threat to the Peace: North Vietnam's Effort to Conquer South Vietnam.

By 1956, Ho Chi Minh, deciding that elections were not going to be held, decided to settle for "socialism in half a country." He was certainly not happy about this, but he had committed himself to the Soviet global strategy of peaceful co-existence with the west. In the south, meanwhile, Diem's military forces were rounding up thousands of former Viet Minh supporters and killing them with portable guillotines. Gradually the desire to live



won out over obedience to Ho, and the communists in the south joined the resistance movements in the maquis. The rebellion in the south, it is fair to conclude, far from having been fomented by Ho's orders, was not fomented by Communists at all.

However, when the NFL was formed in 1960, Ho endorsed it, thus sanctioning a "fait accompli." He began to aid the rebellion by sending back to the south former southerners who had gone north in 1954. But it was not until an indigenous revolution in the south was well underway that the north became involved — not until long after the U.S. and Diem had made it clear that peaceful reunification was impossible.

Loyola cancels march

MONTREAL (CUP) — Loyola students called off their march on Quebec City Tuesday after the government pledged an emergency grant of several million dollars to bail the college out of a \$7 million debt.

Students had scheduled the march for Wednesday.

Lack of government grants for capital expansion caused the debt, and students feared fees would rise from \$580 to \$800 next year if it wasn't cleared.

At a Tuesday meeting with president Rev. Patrick Malone, faculty head Terry Copp and student president Graham Nevin, education minister Jean-Guy Cardinal promised an early decision on Loyola's academic status and a re-study of the college's operating grants formula.

He said the emergency grant, an unspecified amount but more than \$2 million, will be provided through an order-in-council by the end of the week.

Cardinal also promised Loyolans they would be considered university students when applying for government loans and grants.

He said he was not ready to recommend university status for the 69-year old Jesuit college, but assured the student, faculty and administration heads Loyola would not be turned into one of the province's new pre-university general and professional colleges (CEGEP).

A spokesman said after the meeting the minister had accepted most of their demands.

This likely included a request that Loyola receive operating grants of \$1,100 per student, a compromise between the classical colleges' \$550 which Loyola now receives, and the universities' \$1,500.

The government is reluctant to give Loyola a university charter as this would make three English universities in Montreal against one French.

On the other hand, Loyola's 4,000 students make it larger than two other universities in the province: English Bishop's in Lennoxville and French Université de Sherbrooke.

The nationalistic St. Jean Baptiste Society opposes university status for Loyola, but a spokesman said it would not oppose increased financial aid to the college. The society notes that 63 per cent of Montreal is French, but l'Université de Montreal is the only French university in town.

Cardinal recently announced a program for a second French university in the city. It will likely be a University of Quebec, a state university with satellites in surrounding towns and cities. It would offer degrees of its own but would also co-ordinate university education throughout the province, including that in existing universities.

Some Loyola students feared the college would become a pre-university CEGEP for English students who would go on to study at one of the three existing English universities. McGill and Sir George Williams are now making plans for their own CEGEPs beginning in 1969, which will eliminate the freshman year at university.

Loyola got into its \$7 million debt because of recent capital expansion which was not paid for by government grants. The college has received no capital grants since 1964.

Students at a rally Tuesday listened to president Malone's cancel-the-march suggestion. Student president Nevin assured them the government was providing the necessary help.

Fekete Does It Again

MONTREAL - (CUP) - John Fekete has done it again.

He has accused the McGill University senate committee on student discipline of producing "a dishonest and self-incriminating document."

The document in question is a report published by the committee reprimanding Fekete for his role in the McGill Daily - Realist affair last November.

A reprimand is one of the lightest penalties the committee could have given. Expulsion is the heaviest.

Fekete, who published the controversial "parts left out of the Kennedy Book in his column, said the committee did much more to lower the standards of discipline than he had.

"If the report of the senate committee is an example of the quality of the intellectual integrity operative in McGill's administrative processes, then McGill is guilty of a much more serious offense than alleged contravention of open (still undefined) standards of decency," he said.

He accused the committee of "failing to come to grips with any of the positions elaborated over the period of the last four months and at the three hour televised hearings on February 29."

"Never have so many labored so long for so little," he said.

Since November Fekete has been fighting the senate's claim to the right of disciplining him for the allegedly obscene article.

And he took the senate to court.

In December superior court judge Jean St. Germain said Fekete's allegations were "premature" as there was no proof the hearings would be conducted in an unjust and biased way. He also maintained his court had no authority over the university senate. The senate committee reprimanded Daily editor Peter Allnut and Flux editor Pierre Fournier earlier for "participation in the publication of an article which contravenes the standards of decency acceptable by and in this university."

Fekete was reprimanded for his role in publishing the article.

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