

The Relationship between the State of Vietnam and the Roman Catholic Church at the Present*

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ABSTRACT: *In this paper, the author provides an overview of the history of the relationship between the State of Vietnam and the Roman Catholic Church. Despite many ups and downs since the late 1950, the two sides have been making important steps toward mutual dialogue and understanding, and setting up full diplomatic relations.*

The Roman Catholic Church, also known as the Roman Holy See or the Catholic Holy See, is called in its short form the Holy See. The Roman Catholic Church is also understood as the Latin Church. Article No. 1, the canon law 1983** reads: “Articles in this canon only rule the Latin Church. The reason why the Roman Catholic Church is called the Latin Church is that official documents released by the Church are all in Latin.”

The Roman Catholic Church consists of all believers under the direct government of the Pope who is considered the successor of Saint Peter. Article No. 204, item No. 2 reads “This church is established and organized like a society in the world; it exists in the Catholic Church; and is governed by the successor of Saint Peter and bishops who are in communion with Him.”

The ultimate powerful institution of the Church is the Holy See. Because this institution locates in Roma, it is also called Roman Holy See. Article No. 361 indicates that The Holy See or Apostolic See is understood as the Pope and Roman Curia. “Roman Curia, by which the Father often solves works of the universal church, executes missions on His behalf and of His authority to benefit and serve the church. The Roman Curia includes the Secretary Department, The Council of External Affairs, ministries,

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** . In order to make it short, from now on I only cite by “articles” or “sessions”. Please note that they are all from the canon law (1983).

the Court and other institutions; all have been determined by a particular law regarding its establishment and authority” (Article No. 360).

The *Vietnam Catholic Church – Yearbook 2004* defines that “Roman Curia is a system of central executive institutions authorized by the Pope to serve the Vatican and local churches.”

Since the 4th century, this system was just the Holy See’s high chancellor office which was responsible for composing and notifying important edicts and documents. It was then gradually upgraded into special commissions led by archbishops and prelates. Since the 16th century, the Curia has been formed nearly like what it is at the present. The Curia has existed near its present form since the 16th century.

Since 1963, Pope Paulus Paul VI had asked for a research to be done to re-organize the Curia. After 4 years, he issued the *Regimini Ecclesiae Universae* (18 August 1967) to reform the Curia. Pope Joannes Paulus John Paul II also issued an Apostolic constitution named *Pastor Bonus* (28 June 1988) to adjust some points in this reformation. Since 1 March 1989, the Roman Curia has consisted of the Secretary Department, nine ministries, 3 courts, 3 offices and 1 commission. Ministries were considered executive organs, the court was the organ of justice, the commission was the organ of encouragement and offices were organs of professional services.¹

Discussing the Roman Catholic Church, we must not neglect the Vatican. The Vatican nation is the descendant of the “Nation of the Great Holy See”. Land for the nation established by donation of the kings, lords or purchased from them, includes the North and Middle of Italy since the 8th century. After many historical ups and downs, this great land was occupied by the French (1798-1815), and the Italians (1859-1870). Popes gradually left secular power and territory to just only hold the Vatican City. The Lateran treaty (1929), signed by between the Pope and Italy, recognized the Vatican City as an independent nation according to the International Conventions.² The Vatican is ruled by the Pope, and its Constitution is based on the canon law. In cases outside the canon law is out of its reach, the Civil Code of the Vatican City will take effect.

The Pope, therefore, is both the leader of the Roman Catholic Church and the head of the State of the Vatican. However, these are still remain separated entities. This is shown very clearly in the Vatican’s diplomatic ties. “When representatives for the Pope become official ambassadors to a nation or a government, they are called “nuncio” (envoy). Because of the long history of international relations, the envoy in some countries will act as the head of diplomatic corps. If representatives don’t have any diplomatic mission, but act as representatives of the Pope for the local Church, they will

be called “delegates” of the Holy See. Beside the Vatican City, there are ambassadors from different nations and organizations which have established diplomatic relations with the Holy See.”³

According to the Vatican’s *Year Book 2003* (p. 1133-1284), among 192 countries in the world, the Holy See has established official relationships with 175 countries, with big large organizations such as EU or the Russian Federation, and with other international organizations.⁴

In Vietnam

After 300 years of carrying out mission work, only not until 20 May 1925 did the Roman Catholic Church set up a Resident Superior Head Office of the Vatican in Vietnam (for overseeing Vietnam, Thailand, Cambodia and Laos altogether). At first, the head office, located at in Huế next to the Phủ Cam Cathedral, was called Indochinese Resident Superior Head Office. The first resident superior was an Italian bishop named Constantino Ajuti. The head office was moved to Hanoi in 1951. At the end of 1950, the Vatican chose Monsignor Dooley to be the resident superior of the office.

On 9 November 1951, Resident Superior Dooley chaired a meeting with bishops (both international and Vietnamese) and issued a Catholic Epistle which aimed at fighting against the Vietnamese Communist Party. It reads, for example, “We are aware of our responsibility to remind brothers and sisters to be alert and to fight against the great danger of Communism at present. You are not allowed to join the Communist Party, to cooperate with the Communists, or to do anything that may help the Communist Party to be in power.”⁵

In 1959, the Head Office was moved to Saigon. The last represent superior of the Vatican, Henri Lemaitre, left Vietnam in August 1975.

In Vietnam, representatives of the Pope were supposed to supervise the local Holy See’s activities yet in reality they carried out political affairs against the Communist Party while it was leading Vietnamese people to fight for national independence and to build a new society.

On the Vatican’s side, during the two Vietnamese wars of resistance against the French and the Americans, the Pope stood out of the game. Paul VI’s attitude toward the wars in Vietnam was considered “vague, if not closed to supportive of the Americans.”⁶ The author of *Thập giá và lưỡi gươm* (The Cross and the Sword) also

gave assessment on this pope: “It seems that he was too much concerned about Cabotlot’s word, the former American ambassador in Saigon, and also the ambassador extraordinary special envoy of R.M. President Nixon beside to the Vatican, despite the fact that the US has no official relation with the Vatican.” Thus Pope Paul VI’s “appeal” to treat American prisoners of war in the North of Vietnam humanely revealed the one-sided consideration of the Pope for “hundreds of war criminals” while neglecting “some hundreds of thousands” of Vietnamese who were tortured in prisons that were built and controlled directly or indirectly by the Americans.” The author of the book then questioned, “Did not Cabotlot take on the role of a mind reliever as B52 jets poured down thousands of tons of bombs onto the Vietnamese people, meanwhile persuading the Pope to stand silently by as millions of those were massacred?”

While Nixon, Cabotlot, Banco, etc. were free to have an audience with the Pope each time they went to Rome, ministers from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam or the Provisional Revolution Government of the Republic of South Vietnam could not do the same thing. Only when the US signed the Paris Agreement with these above governments did Pope Paul VI officially receive Minister Nguyễn Xuân Thủy of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and minister Nguyễn Văn Hiệu of the Provisional Revolution Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. This was a very rare event when the head of the Vatican treated the two Vietnamese officers. Not until 20 years later did the same official event happen again, but the host was the Pope that we will discuss later.

Although the Pope declared a neutral attitude, it was then considered a “biased neutrality”. The author of “the Cross and the Sword” commented: “Is this true? Could Jesus complete his mission if He had intimate talks with Philat or Herode Pilate or Herod? It is a best luck for the human beings, He was received by those two only once, and people know how He was recieved...”⁷

Despite the position of the Roman Holy See, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was consistent in the policy of respecting religious freedom for its people, which had been written in the Constitution in 1946.

For nearly a year after the Geneva Agreement was signed, despite being overloaded with work, Vietnam put the religious issue on top of its priorities. On 14 June 1955, the president of Democratic Republic of Vietnam issued a decree concerning the religious issue. Article 13 of the decree reads: “The government will not interfere into a religion’s internal affairs. For Catholicism, the religious relation between the Catholic Church and the Roman Catholic Church is its own internal affair”. The second phrase of Article 13

only was an especially important decision, for it showing an open policy and a long-term strategy of the State of Vietnam. As we know, its neighboring country, the People's Republic of China, did not do the same when it established a Catholic organization that was separate from the Roman Holy See.

This also released away the Vatican's worry about the Vietnam Nationwide League of Catholic Patriots, in short as also known as the Nationwide Catholic League, an organization set up by Catholic patriotic dignitaries and believers. According to the decree, this organization wouldn't be separated from the Vietnam Catholic Church and wouldn't be a Catholic organization that stayed away from the Vatican.

Basing on the Constitution of 1946 and the *Decree regarding the religious issue*, Vietnamese Catholicism operated normally. There was no prohibition on this religion or revenge taken on Catholic dignitaries, believers or laymen although, for different reasons, they had been against the revolutionary government.

However, from 1954 to 1975, when the Southern region was being liberated and Vietnam was becoming a united country, the relation between the State of Vietnam and the Vatican was still "frozen" except for Paul VI's reception mentioned earlier, and when Vietnam's vice-president Nguyễn Thị Bình was received by a prelate in Rome in 1971.

From 1975 to 1989, the official relation between the two sides took made no progress. There were many reasons for this, but the biggest was the problem of "Catholicism vs. Communism" which was a heavy obsessive in the past. Although this problem became less serious with time, new factors were yet strong enough to act as a wind of change.

At this time, there were two prominent events; the former is of the State of Vietnam, the later is of the Vatican. On 19 June 1988, the Roman Holy See ordained the title of "saint" for 117 Vietnamese witnesses (these are often called 117 martyrs in Vietnam). This was a sensitive problem. This ordainment had not been discussed between the Vatican and the State of Vietnam, thus Vietnam had grounds for legal action. This event created a negative impact on the relation between the two sides. The second event was when the 6th National Congress of the Vietnamese Communist Party decided to carry out a universal reform in Vietnam, including reform in religious policy. Since then that time the State of Vietnam began to consider diplomatic ties with the Vatican.

The milestone was placed on 1 to 13 July 1989, when Cardinal Roger Etchegaray, representative of Pope John Paul II, came to Vietnam. This was the first time since 1975

that a high-ranked officer of the Vatican had come to visit the Vietnamese Catholic Church. Beside religious activities, the cardinal also made contacts with Vietnamese institutions which were responsible for religious issue. Cardinal Roger Etchegaray said that he came to Vietnam as a messenger of peace. The visit of the Vatican's head of the Department of Justice and Peace helped open the diplomatic ties between the State of Vietnam and the Holy See. Until March 2007, there have been 13 working visits paid by the Vatican's officers to Vietnam.

The first visit took place on 7 November 1990, with a delegation from the Vatican led by cardinal Etchegaray, and including Monsignor Claudio Celli, the under-secretary for foreign affairs, and Monsignor Banabe Nguyễn Văn Phương from the Ministry of Missionary Works. This was the first time that the Vatican's delegation had come to officially work with the Vietnamese government. The delegation began by talking about issues of the shared interests. The two sides signed an agreement, which said:

- The Holy See would inform the Vietnamese Government of any issues related to the Vietnam Catholic Church, and it would only issue a decision after having negotiated with the government. These included the Vatican's policies, ordainment of cardinals and bishops, and other issues that concerned both sides.

- When different opinions arise, the two sides will meet directly for discussion.⁸

At the *second visit*, on 14 January 1992, the Vatican's delegation led by Monsignor Claudio Celli arrived in Hanoi to work with the Vietnamese government.

On the *third visit*, on 1 February 1993, the Vatican's delegation was also led by Monsignor Claudio Celli, who came to Vietnam Hanoi to work with the Vietnamese government.

On the *4th visit*, the Vatican's delegation paid a working visit to Vietnam in March 1994. The two sides discussed these issues:

- The two sides cooperated in dealing with the vacancy of bishop in some parishes in Vietnam.

- According to preposition of the Vatican, the Vietnamese government agreed about the personnel at the Hồ Chí Minh city parish. The two sides agreed to let Archbishop Nguyễn Văn Bình stay with full responsibility and authority. The Vietnam delegation asked the Vatican to cross out the title of "Giám Quan Tong Toa" (manager) of Bishop Huỳnh Văn Nghi in the parish of Hồ Chí Minh city. About the replacement for Bishop Nguyễn Văn Bình, Vietnam asked the Vatican for a successor who should carry out the way of "living a good religious life" as bishop Nguyễn Văn Bình had done.

- Besides this, the two sides worked on the question of if Vietnamese bishops or priests are allowed to participate in political activities.⁹

The 5th visit. In 1995, the Vatican's delegation came to work with the Vietnamese Government.

The 6th visit. From 14 to 18 October 1996, the Vatican's delegation, with Archbishop Claudio Celli, Monsignor Celestino Migliore and Monsignor Nguyễn Văn Phương came to Vietnam to work with the Government. In this working visit, the Vatican suggested aid for Vietnam in education, healthcare and agriculture. The Vietnamese government highly appreciated this support "as long as it comes with no condition". Regarding the issue of personnel, the two sides made no specific progress.

The 7th visit. In February 1998, the Vatican's delegation came to talk about unresolved issues, and upon which the two sides seemed to have many shared viewpoints. After the delegation came home (28 February 1998), on 9 March 1998, the Vatican's press department announced that Pope John Paul II had appointed two archbishops, Phạm Minh Mẫn and Nguyễn Như Thế. This helped clear the difference of opinion between the State of Vietnam and the Vatican.

The 8th visit. From 15 to 19 March 1999, the Vatican's delegation led by Celestino Migliore, the under-secretary of foreign affairs had paid a working visit to the Vietnam Government Committee for Religious Affairs. The two sides on one hand reviewed regulations gained before, and on the other hand discussed appointments for some parishes without bishops or where the incumbents had become too old. At this time, there were three parishes without bishops: Hưng Hóa, Lạng Sơn and Hải Phòng. The delegation also discussed with Nguyễn Dy Niên, the Vietnam under-secretary of foreign affairs, about the diplomatic ties between Vietnam and Vatican. Initially, the two sides agreed that there should be more meetings and contacts to exchange ideas regarding this matter.¹⁰

This contact showed that the issue of personnel for the Vietnam Catholic Church had been no longer a tense issue which affected the two sides' consideration. The issue of lacking personnel was gradually solved. Soon after the contact, by the approval of the Vietnam government, the Vatican carried out the appointment of three bishops for 3 parishes of Lạng Sơn, Quy Nhơn and Long Xuyên. This appointment was considered to be easier than any previous events.

The 9th visit. In 2000, the Vatican's delegation came to Vietnam to discuss some issues concerning personnel who had been approved by the State of Vietnam.

The 10th visit. On 11 June 2001, the Vatican's delegation included Monsignor Celestino Migliore. This was a working visit within a periodical framework. According to the Fides News Agency of the Vatican, there had been an agreement between the both sides regarding the appointment of bishop of Bùi Chu parish, vice-bishop of Phan Thiết parish and assistant bishop of Hồ Chí Minh city parish. Consequently, on 14 July 2001, Pope John Paul II officially appointed 3 new bishops for the Vietnam Catholic Church. They are Priest Paul Nguyễn Thanh Hoan, aged 69, the official priest of Hàm Tân parish, Bình Thuận province, to be vice-bishop of Phan Thiết parish; Priest Jesus Hoàng Văn Tiêm, aged 63, the Don Bosco order, lecturer at the Hanoi Grand Seminary, to be the official bishop of Bui Chu parish; and Priest Juse Vũ Duy Thống, aged 49, lecturer at Sài Gòn grand seminary, to be assistant bishop of Hồ Chí Minh city parish.¹¹

The 11th visit. The Vatican's delegation came to visit Vietnam from 10 to 16 October 2002. The delegation consisted of Celestino Migliore, under-secretary of foreign affairs, and Monsignor Barnabe Nguyễn Văn Phương, a member of the staff of the Ministry of Missionary Work. The main issue discussed was appointment of bishops.¹²

As usual, after the visit, the Vatican announced personnel appointed: Giuse Vũ Văn Thiên to be the new bishop of Hải Phòng parish, and Stephano Tri Bửu Thiên to be the new bishop of Cần Thơ parish.

Until this period, only Hưng Hoá parish of the Vietnam Catholic was without a priest. This was solved on 5 August 2003, when Pope John Paul II appointed Anton Vũ Huy Chương, lecturer at Grand Seminary Thanh Quy (Cần Thơ), to be the bishop of the Hưng Hóa parish.

The 12th visit. From 27 April to 2 May 2004, the Vatican's delegation led by Monsignor Pietro Parolin, Vatican under-secretary for foreign affairs, paid a working visit to Vietnam. Members of the delegation were: Monsignor Barnabe Nguyễn Văn Phương, foreign affair officer and on staff of the Ministry of Missionary work, and Monsignor Luis Mariano Montermayor, counselor of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. On Vietnam's side, Mr. Ngô Yên Thi, the head of the Government Committee for Religious Affairs, had met and received the delegation.

The two sides exchanged the matter of bishops needed at some parishes, and activities of the Vietnam Catholic Church such as grand seminaries, orders, appointment, priest secondment and other domestic and international issues of common interest.¹³

On 12 June 2004, the Vatican decided to appoint priest Giuse Nguyễn Chí Linh, lecturer at Sao Biền Grand Seminary (Nha Trang), to be bishop of the Thanh Hóa parish.

On 30 September 2004, the Vatican announced that Pope John Paul II had approved the resignation of Paul Nguyễn Minh Nhật, the bishop of Xuân Lộc parish, and appointed Dominican Priest Nguyễn Chu Trinh, the official representative of the Xuân Lộc parish, to become the new bishop of Xuân Lộc.

The 13th visit. The delegation led by Monsignor Pietro Parolin, Vatican under-secretary for foreign affairs, paid a working visit to Vietnam on 5 March 2007. The visit took place in a new situation: Vietnam Prime Minister Nguyễn Tấn Dũng had just paid a visit to the Vatican and met for an exchange of views with Pope Benedict XVI. Issues discussed were not only Catholic dignitaries, but also other important questions, including necessary preparation to establish a full diplomatic relation between the two sides.

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Besides 13 visits as said above, we must count the visit paid by Cardinal Crescenzo Sepe, the Minister of the Vatican Missionary Works to Vietnam on 28 November 2005 at the invitation of the Episcopal Council of the Vietnam Catholic Church. On 29 November 2005, the ceremony to ordain 57 priests, chaired by Cardinal Crescenzo Sepe took place at the Hanoi Cathedral. This was the first time in Vietnam a cardinal from the Vatican chaired a ceremony to ordain Vietnamese priests.

During his visit in Vietnam, Cardinal Crescenzo Sepe had working sessions with Vietnamese Vice-Prime Minister Vũ Khoan and leaders of several localities to understand more on the situation of religion and religious politics in Vietnam.

This time, delegations representing both sides paid working visits to each other. However, the Vietnamese delegation made more trips.

The first visit was the presence of the Head of the Vietnamese Government Committee of Religious Affairs, Vũ Quang, at the Vatican in June 1992, where memorandum of the last visit was reconsidered.

On 27 May 2000, Archbishop Jean Tauran, the Vatican's Minister of Foreign Affairs, worked with Vietnamese Minister of Foreign Affairs Nguyễn Dy Niên in Rome. The two sides discussed matters that related to the Vatican and Vietnam including the lack of dignitaries in three parishes.

Five years later, the Vietnam Government Committee for Religious Affairs led by Mr. Ngô Yên Thi paid an official visit to the Vatican from 27 June to 2 July 2005. During the visit, Mr. Ngô Yên Thi and the delegation had met and worked with the Vatican's Minister of International Relations (archbishop Glajolo); Minister of the Missionary Ministry (C. Sepe), the Voice of the Vatican and some other officers. The two sides agreed to boost up contacts for more understanding and solutions for issues of concern, and to improve the mutual relationship.

In the spirit of contacts and gained results, with the international relation policy of "close the past, look for the future" and "Vietnam would like to make friends with all nations", the relations between the Vatican and the State of Vietnam had come to an important turning point. This is shown in the visit to the Vatican on 25 January 2007 by the Vietnamese Prime Minister, Nguyễn Tấn Dũng. The Prime Minister had met for an exchange of views with Pope Benedict XVI. In the meeting, "Father Benedict XVI had complimented Vietnam on becoming an official member of the World Trade Organization. The Pope not only considered Vietnam's economy the fastest growing in Asia, but also highly appreciated Vietnam's policy regarding religion and believed that the policy is a model for ensuring freedom on religion and beliefs."¹⁴

Besides this, the Prime Minister Nguyễn Tấn Dũng also had a meeting with the Vatican's secretary, Cardinal Tarcisio Bertone.

If the contact in July 1989 by the cardinal Roger Etchegaray is taken in account, by 2007, the contacts between representatives of the State of Vietnam and the Vatican has been going on for 20 years. Mainly positive results are recorded, yet both sides are also aware of obstacles.

According to Vatican's secretary Casaroli, the initial reason for the Vatican's contact with the State of Vietnam was "the present Communist generation had been different and because of a Church that 'is still in the cage'." The Secretary meant that the Vietnamese Catholic Church had still not yet enjoyed freedom, and was at times restrained by the State of Vietnam. The secretary used the phrase "in the cage" as one way of playing with words, because in the Common Letter of 1980, the Vietnamese Archbishop's Council had defined a policy to go hand in hand with the nation as "To live the gospel within the heart of the nation to serve the people's happiness."

In the fourth visit (March 1994), despite some progress, some issues needed to be solved regarding religious freedom under the viewpoint of the Vatican. The Vatican puts that: "Religious freedom does not mean the freedom of worship only. The Vietnamese Catholic Church is not refused this right. Yet religious freedom includes a

wider reality. For example, religious freedom also means the freedom to establish Catholic association, to run organizations of education or charity, etc. In reality, religious freedom also means the Church is entitled to develop all of its dimensions, and can actually complete its mission” and “must be free to ordinate its dignitaries”.¹⁵ This viewpoint of the Vatican has widened the two sides’ position.

The sixth visit (October 1996), there was no progress regarding the issue of personnel. Back at the Vatican, Archbishop Claudio Lelli said that “The Vietnamese Catholic Church is still in a cage”. And that “we acknowledge that when we suggested the issues of religious freedom, the Vietnamese government and the Vatican would not talk on the same wave.”¹⁶

In another affair on 28 September 2003, Archbishop Phạm Minh Mãn, archbishop of the parish of Hồ Chí Minh city, was upgraded to cardinal by Pope John Paul II. This event was not discussed by the Vatican with the State of Vietnam. Despite the fact that in the first visit (November 1990), the two sides had signed in an agreement saying that “The Vatican should inform the Vietnamese government about any issue that relates to the Vietnamese Catholic Church. Only when an agreement with the Vietnamese government is gained should the Vatican issue a decision. The decision may be the Vatican’s policy, the ordinance of cardinal or archbishop and other tasks that concern both sides”. The affair was then satisfactorily solved.

In a press conference held by Vietnamese Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 2 October 2003, the spokesman Lê Dũng, said that “It is good news for the Vietnamese Catholics to welcome the new cardinal. For the first time in the history of the Vietnamese Catholic Church there exist two cardinals at the same time.”

There has been progress in the relationship between Vietnam and the Vatican. Although the official relation has not yet been established, there are delegation exchanges, as well as many permanent contacts by the Vietnamese ambassador in Rome with the Vatican, to discuss issues that relate to the Catholic Church which concern both sides. Via these contacts, understanding and mutual respect between the State of Vietnam and the Vatican are more and more strengthened.¹⁷

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The relationship between the State of Vietnam and the Roman Catholic Church has witnessed many ups and downs. Yet in general, it is always in progress and from the beginning of the twenty-first century, the upward direction of the relationship becomes more and more visible. This is because of the fact that Vietnam has always been patient in dialogue while managing to overcome dissimilarities and head toward true consensus. Issues that concern both sides are being discussed for proactive solutions. These are for the interests of both the Vatican and the Vietnamese people. The consensus itself has created favorable conditions for Vietnamese Catholics to “live a good religious life”.

The Vietnamese Prime Minister Nguyễn Tấn Dũng’s trip to Rome at the end of January 2007 was considered “Vietnam’s imprint in world politics”; “the new stage of development showing both Vietnam and the Vatican’s goodwill to strengthen mutual dialogue and understanding, and at the same time preparing for full diplomatic relations between the two sides”.

Reference:

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 - ². *Ibid.*, p. 110-111.
 - ³. *Ibid.*, p. 112.
 - ⁴. *Ibid.*, p. 112.
 - ⁵. Priest Trần Tam Tinh, *Thập giá và lưỡi gươm*, Trê Publishing House, 1988, p. 93.
 - ⁶. *Ibid.*, p. 164.
 - ⁷. Priest Trần Tam Tinh, *Ibid.*, pp. 164, 165, 166, 167.
 - ⁸. *Công giáo và Dân tộc (Catholicism and the Nation Weekly)*, No. 952, 3 April 1994.
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