

# VIETNAM

MONTHLY



# COURIER

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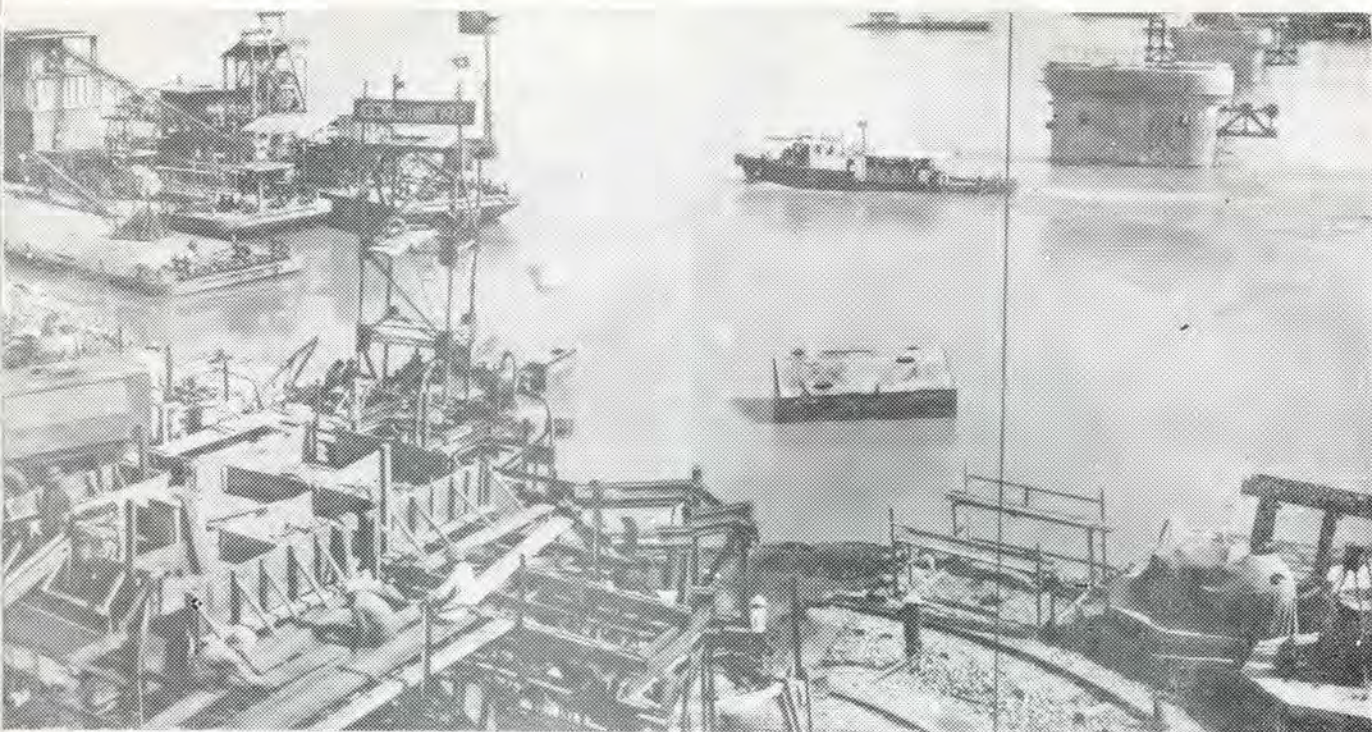
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*At the Thang Long bridge construction site*

## HANOI



*Combating the Red River floods in Thanh Tri district in the suburbs of Hanoi.*

*The 11th competition of excellent weavers at the "March 8" Textile Mill.*



# Our Monthly Comment

WITH his visits to Malaysia and Singapore Prime Minister Pham Van Dong completed his friendship tour of ASEAN countries. As Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore said: "Until today, our knowledge of each other was limited to second-hand reports... I have learnt more about Vietnam and her distinguished Prime Minister from our two-hour meeting this afternoon than if I had read two books on the subject." We are confident that the ASEAN countries, and those of Southeast Asia generally, have understood and approved of the consistent policy of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam: to build and strengthen relations with all her neighbours in the region on the basis of complete respect for each other's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and right to determine its own political, economic and social system; to refrain from the use or threat of force and from interfering in each other's internal affairs; to solve all disagreements and differences by peaceful measures, through negotiations conducted in a spirit of equality, mutual understanding and mutual respect.

One of the major wishes of the Southeast Asian countries is, in the words of Prime Minister Datuk Hussein Bin Onn of Malaysia, "not to be involved in or be dragged into big-power rivalries and conflicts." It is to be regretted that one of the major powers has been trying to drag Southeast Asian countries into its attempts to win hegemony. A prolonged conflict between Kampuchea and Vietnam would have been inconceivable had it not been for Peking's expansionist designs. Peking has been trying to poison relationships between Vietnam and the other countries in Southeast Asia by picturing her as a "Trojan horse", an "agent" of the "social-imperialist power" which China regards as her number one enemy.

Vietnam nurtures no illusions and her policy has never been to hamper other countries multiplying and expanding their foreign ties. But she is firmly confident that her own relations with the countries of Southeast Asia will evolve very favourably in the coming period. The Prime Minister of Singapore remarked in his talks with the Vietnamese Prime Minister: "Your statements in Bangkok, Manila, Jakarta and Kuala Lumpur that Vietnam will not directly or indirectly support subversion in those countries were not solicited by the leaders of the countries you visited. This makes the statements all the more significant."

Because public opinion in Southeast Asia and the world at large demands that all differences and conflicts be resolved through peaceful methods, on September 27 last, the head of the Phnom Penh administration, Pol Pot, in an attempt to escape isolation, issued the solemn and rather sensational pledge that he would "immediately sign a treaty of friendship and non-aggression with Vietnam in Phnom Penh, Hanoi or any other place." Naturally this "peace proposal" met with warm acclaim from Peking. But its value was soon shown to be equal to nil, for Pol Pot set the pre-condition that "Vietnam should immediately end her aggression" and "forsake her strategy of annexing Kampuchean territory". In fact, any aggression has come from the Kampuchean side with the important support of Peking, and the victim of aggression, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, has long ago put forward fair and reasonable proposals for negotiations (5 February and 6 June 1978) which Kampuchea has so far ignored.

While pretending a concern for peace, Peking and Phnom Penh have jointly launched a campaign of slander against Vietnam, accusing her of imminent assault on Kampuchea. Ieng Sary went to the length of declaring

before the United Nations General Assembly that "Vietnam's plan is first to annex Kampuchea then to broaden her expansion to other countries of Southeast Asia." Teng Hsiao-ping also told Thai journalists: "Vietnam is planning a major dry-season offensive aimed at topping the Phnom Penh regime."

What are the facts? The undeniable facts are that Peking is sending more and more weapons and war equipment as well as tens of thousands of military advisers, including whole contingents of blue-uniformed soldiers styling themselves "road-builders", to Kampuchea in order to prop up the sagging Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique and allow them to massacre more Kampuchean people and escalate their aggression on Vietnam. Meanwhile along the China-Vietnam border in the North, the Chinese authorities have engaged in ever more brazen provocations and perpetrated crude violations of Vietnamese territory. From dozens of intruders each day in July this year, the figure has now risen to hundreds. Chinese vessels and aircraft have repeatedly infringed the airspace and territorial waters of Vietnam. More Chinese divisions have been brought up to the frontier where an increasing number of machine-gun emplacements, fieldworks, observation posts and military roads have been built. Tens of thousands of people of Chinese extraction, formerly residing in Vietnam and recently deceived or coerced into leaving for China by the Chinese authorities, are being massed at the frontier in readiness for a "re-entry into Vietnam."

By building up pressure at the southern and northern frontiers of Vietnam which is absorbed in the difficult task of healing the wounds of war and overcoming the sequels of serious natural calamities, Peking thought it could subdue this country or force her to enter its great-power orbit. But the Chinese rulers are mistaken. Vietnam, while respecting other countries' independence and sovereignty, will resolutely oppose anyone infringing her own independence and sovereignty.

American leaders have learnt a bitter lesson in Vietnam. Have they given their new ally the benefit of their experience?

October 25th, 1978

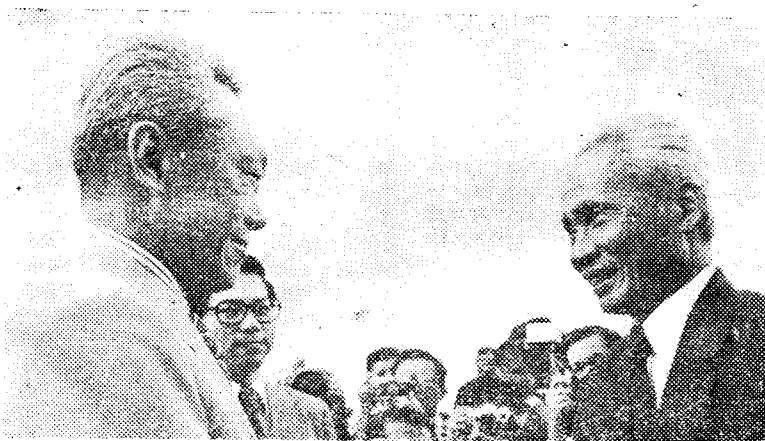
## Prime Minister Pham Van Dong Visits Southeast Asian Countries



*Signing of the Malaysia-Vietnam joint statement.*

**C**ONTINUING his tour of Southeast Asia, Prime Minister Pham Van Dong made official friendship visits to Malaysia (October 12-16, 1978) and Singapore (October 16-17, 1978). During the visits the Prime Minister held talks and signed joint statements with Malaysian Prime Minister Datuk Hussein Bin Onn and Prime Minister of Singapore Lee Kuan Yew. He also visited a number of production bases and industrial and agricultural research centres in those countries. The Prime Minister invited the leaders of the two host countries to pay official visits to Vietnam. The invitations were accepted.

An agreement on air-traffic between Vietnam and Malaysia was also signed.



*Prime Minister Pham Van Dong Welcomed by Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew.*

## Vice-President Nguyen Huu Tho in Africa

**C**ONTINUING his tour of Africa, Vice-President Nguyen Huu Tho of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam made official friendship visits to Algeria (Sept. 25-27, 1978), Angola (Oct. 3-7, 1978), Equatorial Guinea (Oct. 7-11, 1978), Benin (Oct. 14-17, 1978) and Congo (Oct. 25-28, 1978). During the visits the Vice-President held talks and signed joint statements with the leaders of the host countries.

An agreement on cultural and scientific cooperation between Benin and Vietnam was signed during the Vice-President's visit to that country.

## **MORE CHINESE ENCROACHMENTS UPON VIETNAMESE TERRITORY, AND THREATS TO VIETNAM'S SECURITY**

*Statement of October 12, 1978 by the spokesman  
of the SRV Ministry of Foreign Affairs.*

**P**URSuing a hostile policy against Vietnam, the Chinese authorities have for several months now intensified armed intrusions into Vietnamese territory, threatening her security in areas bordering China.

In July this year, Chinese armed forces encroached on eight places in Quang Ninh, Cao Lang, Ha Tuyen and Hoang Lien Son provinces. These encroachments involved 58 Chinese soldiers, armed police and militiamen. In August, 323 members of the Chinese armed forces made 24 intrusions into 11 places in Cao Lang and Ha Tuyen provinces.

In September, 723 members of the Chinese armed forces made 47 intrusions into 27 places in five provinces along the Vietnam — China border from Quang Ninh to Lai Chau.

Chinese armed forces have intruded ever deeper into Vietnamese territory. The scope of their intrusions has constantly widened. The intruders carried out provocative and truculent actions. They opened fire and killed a number of people, disrupted the life and work of the Vietnamese population in the border areas, encircled Vietnamese militiamen and security men on duty on Vietnamese territory, threatened security and disturbed social order along Vietnam's border with China. The fact should be noted that after the Chinese side temporarily adjourned the negotiations at deputy foreign minister level between the two countries on the Hoa issue, Chinese armed forces on September 27, 28,

29 and 30 and on October 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, and 10, repeatedly intruded into Vietnamese territory all along the border, and carried out a number of hostile acts: using mines to destroy the fishing gear of Vietnamese fishermen (off the coast of Tra Co commune, Mong Cai district, Quang Ninh province), building 1,400 metres of road from 30 to 50 metres inside Vietnamese territory (between border-posts 132 and 136 in Koc Pang commune, Bao Lac district, Cao Lang province). More serious still, about 1,000 Chinese armed police, soldiers and militiamen crossed border-post 23 and intruded into Bao Lam commune, Van Lang district, Cao Lang province, threatening Vietnam's security (October 9); Chinese jet fighter aircraft violated Vietnam's airspace over Tung Chung Pho commune, Muong Khuong district, Hoang Lien Son province (October 4 and 5). A large contingent of Chinese soldiers and armed police opened fire in an attempt to intimidate Vietnamese local militiamen on duty in Lung Tan area, border-post 22, in Duc Long commune, Thach An district, Cao Lang province (October 4).

These actions prove that the Chinese authorities are escalating their encroachments on Vietnam's territorial integrity, threatening her security, and **causing** tension along the Vietnam-China border.

The SRV Ministry of Foreign Affairs energetically protests against and severely condemns these insolent actions of the Chinese authorities, and demands that they respect Vietnam's territorial sovereignty and not allow such actions to recur.

# NATURE POSES NEW TRIALS

THE weather has been highly unpredictable this year in Southeast Asia and in Vietnam in particular. The rainy season came too soon, and it was already raining heavily in May, causing the Red and Thai Binh rivers, the two biggest in northern Vietnam, to rise very fast. In late June, a typhoon, the second in the season, hit the central coast, causing property damage and deaths in the area of Nghia Binh province.

The fourth typhoon, slamming in at a velocity between number eight and nine on the Beaufort scale, hit the two neighbouring provinces of Nghe Tinh and Binh Tri Thien on August 12, bringing heavy rains and floods in its wake. Once past the Truong Son range, the typhoon caused big rainstorms in central and lower Laos, in northern Thailand, and in Kampuchea in the middle of the same month. Consequently the Mekong river delta was flooded late in August, with hundreds of hectares of paddies submerged, and hundreds of thousands of people driven out of their homes.

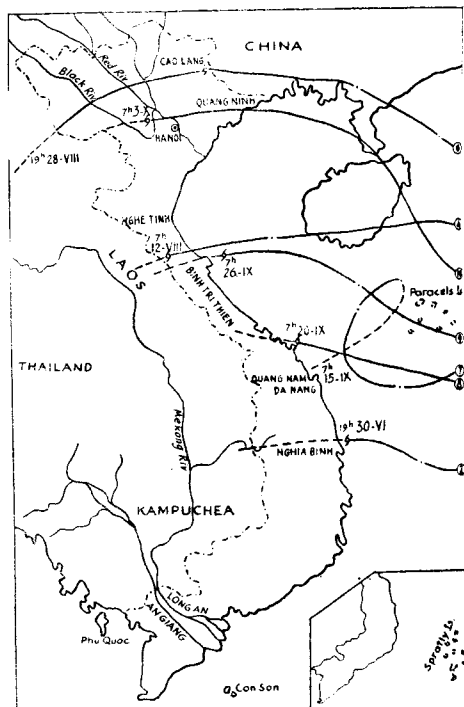
The seventh typhoon bearing down on the coast at southern Nghe Tinh and northern Binh Tri Thien on Sept. 15 ran into a cold front moving down from the north and an east-bound heat wave. The results were moderate or heavy rainstorms all along the central coast and in lower Laos, and the overflow of the Mekong again.

To make things worse another typhoon, the eighth in the season, landed on southern Binh Tri Thien and northern Quang Nam—Da Nang on Sept. 20. Though a small one, it combined with a wind from the northeast to cause extensive, sudden rains in the southern part of the northern delta and the upper part of the central coast. Several hundreds of thousands more people were threatened by flood waters. In the lower half of Laos it also rained heavily, and the Mekong overflowed again.

Hardly had this storm calmed down when another typhoon struck southern Nghe Tinh and northern Binh Tri Thien on Sept. 26, bringing some 600 to 800 mm. of rain. The water rose quickly in all rivers in the region, exceeding all known limits. Dykes in Nghe Tinh, which had withstood previous tests, were submerged, as were tens of thousands of houses. Most of the areas under rice and a great part of the areas under subsidiary food crops were flooded. In Binh Tri Thien, more crops were ravaged and more houses destroyed.

As a result, the Mekong river delta suffered the greatest flood ever in twenty-five years. Water covered most of the provinces of Dong Thap, An Giang and Long An. The flood is expected to last until November and to spread to the lower reaches.

On Oct. 2, a new typhoon blasted away at Quang Ninh province on the northern coast, and a very heavy rainstorm ravaged the



northern uplands and delta. Rivers swelled and fields were flooded in the provinces of Bac Thai, Ha Bac, Vinh Phu, and in the suburbs of Hanoi and Hai Phong.

Because of the great frequency of storms and rains, rainfall throughout the country in September exceeded the average by from 700 to 1,300 mm., a record in eighty years. This also accounted for the great extent of flooded lands, because most dykes had been designed to cope with a less severe situation.

Heavy damage was done to food crops, as the rice area had been expanded to as many as three million hectares, and hundreds of thousands of hectares of other food crops had been planted.



*Medical care for the inhabitants of flood-stricken areas in the province of Dong Thap.*

In the whole of Vietnam 935,000 hectares were flooded, 660,000 of them totally ravaged. In addition 355,000 hectares were devastated by pests. All told, 1,290,000 hectares of crops were lost.

First estimates put the losses at 2,600,000 tons of food crops, 4,100,000 persons were affected, 2,700,000 of them being in need of immediate relief. 550,000 houses were submerged or swept away. Losses to the cattle herd were placed at 10 or 20 per cent depending on the situation in each region.

Mention should also be made of damage done to irrigation works, which must be repaired in time for the winter-spring crop, to roads and bridges, agricultural and industrial establishments, capital construction projects, warehouses, and especially stocks of seeds, fuel, fertilizers, insecticides, timber, etc.

In a word, the disaster has seriously affected the overall development of the economy, and in particular the implementation of the 1976-1980 five-year plan.

At the first signs of danger soldiers and civilian volunteers (factory workers, office personnel) were mobilized, and all available means — aircraft, ships, motor launches and sampans — were used in rescue missions. Soldiers and members of the security forces linked arms to form living lifelines, and braved the elements to salvage the ripening crops. In areas where the water was too deep, reapers had to dive for each ear of rice. No less strenuous efforts were made in protecting major irrigation works, the power grid, communication lines, and stores.

Mutual aid became a watchword among the population. Foods and medicines were rushed from relatively safe areas to where losses were heavier.

One government mission led the efforts in the North, another was sent to the South, each headed by a vice-premier. Fact-finding missions were also dispatched to the provinces by the Ministries of Public Health, Foods, Transport and Commu-

nications, Agriculture, Supplies, Home Trade, and Power and Coal. By Oct. 8 rail transport had resumed throughout the country.

On Oct. 7 the Government Council issued a circular calling for a "movement to step up food production and combat the consequences of floods and typhoons". It requested all-out efforts to do away with the aftermath of the disaster, promote production, and bring life back to normal. The most immediate things to do are to resume production as soon as the flood recedes, plant short-term crops to provide against famine, make the best use of reserve supplies, encourage mutual assistance, and take preventive measures against epidemics. The circular stressed that vegetables and subsidiary food crops must be planted wherever possible, by agricultural co-operative, public offices, army units, schools, factories, and that one-third of the office personnel must take part in agricultural

production and in consolidating the commune and district structures in this winter-spring crop. Finally, instructions were given for a more economical use and better distribution of food, and for severe punishment of hoarders and speculators.

**T**HE difficulties created by the disaster are too great for Vietnam to cope with single-handedly, although our Party and Government have made it a practice to solve all problems by our own efforts. What with the almost permanent food shortage, now made even more acute, Vietnam is faced with the urgent task of normalizing life in the stricken areas. Relief must be provided to 2,700,000 persons for six months. This will require 300,000 tons of starch food, 20,000 tons of dietary supplements, 13,500,000 metres of fabrics, 30 million dong's worth of medicines, 20 million square metres of roofing, and large quantities of sugar, baby powder, kerosene, insecticide, diesel oil, seeds for short-term rice and vegetables, and many other necessities.

On Sept. 30 — Oct. 1, a tour of the flooded Mekong river delta was organized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the diplomatic corps and representatives of international organizations and foreign journalists.

Many government and international and national organizations have expressed sympathy with Vietnam over its misfortune, and provided it with emergency aid. In the days to come friends of Vietnam are expected to make still greater efforts to help tide the country over this time of trial.

P.A.

## Nghe Tinh Province in Face of Natural Calamities

**N**GHE TINH has put up a good fight against the biggest flood in the history of the province.

Within the space of ten days in late September, two typhoons (numbered 8 and 9 by our meteorological service) successively landed on the southern part of the province, causing heavy rains in almost the whole of the province. Not only was there an enormous amount of rainfall but the rains were very intense (in many areas as much rainfall in those ten days as for an average year, 700 millimetres in one day for some places). The waters of the Lam and La rivers rose and combined with the tide they caused submersion over a large area. The water level in those rivers was from 4 centimetres to 1 metre higher than the peaks ones recorded in 1954 in Nghe An and in 1960 in Ha Tinh.

Although the people had been warned and preparations had been made to strengthen the main portions of the dykes, leakage and erosion occurred in many places because enemy bombings during the war had weakened the dykes.

From the beginning leading cadres of the province were present at key places and emergency supplies and equipment were despatched by the Government to help the local population.

At Hung Loi, Trung Luong, Bau Sen and Phuong Ky the fight against flooding was especially hard. The people who were strengthening the dykes were racing against the rising waters. At times, the difficulties seemed insurmountable. But in the end thanks to the combined strength of all the provincial departments and services, the determination of the workers, the armed forces and the population, the help of the central government, the result was a fundamental victory over flood-

ing. The three main portions of the dykes along the La river, the No. 42 dyke, the Phuong Ky dyke, the Ke Go reservoir and other big reservoirs were successfully consolidated. Had these water control works burst, the lives and properties of millions of people would have been endangered. Loss of life was reduced to a minimum. The Ke Go reservoir, the Vach Bac and Tra Son canals though not yet completed had been very effective. They were the result of two years' efforts in water control work. Besides, it was also thanks to the movement of moving dwelling houses onto hillslopes and devoting more land to cultivation that hundreds of thousands of households had escaped disaster.

Nevertheless, the typhoons and flooding have caused great damage to production and the life of the population, at present as well as for the future.

Two-thirds of the area under rice and subsidiary food crops are inundated. 80 per cent of the winter crops have been lost. In such districts as Thanh Chuong and Hung Nguyen almost nothing remains of the crops. In many communes all the crops have been destroyed. Thousands of draught animals, tens of thousands of pigs have been washed away and there will be a shortage of draught force, manure and meat, which will require a long time to overcome. Hundreds of co-operatives have been flooded. Over 7,000 tons of rice seeds were ruined; many stables, fertilizer store-houses, lime-kilns, brick-kilns, schools, crèches, plant nurseries were destroyed.

Big waves knocked down or weakened sea dykes, auxiliary dykes and local dykes. Four medium-size reservoirs and 223 small-size ones burst. Irrigation canals and pumping stations



were destroyed or damaged, and this means danger for tens of thousands of hectares of rice and subsidiary food crops in the coming winter-spring cultivation season. Millions of cubic metres of earth will have to be moved to strengthen the dykes.

Many roads and portions of railroads remain flooded, and in some areas embankments have been eroded. A landslide in Mount Vom Coc hampers traffic on the Lam river.

Many industrial establishments, chiefly brick works, were heavily damaged.

Thousands of families are homeless as a result of the floods. About one million people suffer from food shortages. There is a danger of epidemics and epizootics, and insect-pests for the crops.

After two consecutive years of bad harvests due to prolonged drought (except for last year's fairly good winter-spring crops), Nghe Tinh province is thus once again heavily affected by natural calamities. A large province with a dense population having great economic potentialities but few material and technical bases, Nghe Tinh is now facing numerous difficulties and has to solve urgent problems.

While fighting against the typhoons and flooding, the leaders of the province have worked out plans to cope with their sequels.

The cadres and population are to be fully informed of the damage suffered so that they may face hard facts and the country's difficulties. With one

mind, they will bring into full play their spirit of collective mastery and self-reliance. The aim is to again reach the normal rate of production and construction. Pessimism, passivity, and egoistic calculations will be severely criticized for they hamper the élan of the masses. Cadres and party members must stay close to the masses, work together with them in the fields. The production movement in the whole province must be pushed forward.

A drive has been launched with a view to increasing agricultural production all-sidedly, especially cereals and other food crops. Efforts should be made to restore the damaged crops and get enough rice seeds. We must win great successes in the coming winter-spring harvest to make up for the losses we have suffered. The most urgent task now is to grow vegetables and subsidiary food crops which will supply us with food in two or three months' time. The target is to plant 20,000 ha with vegetables, 20,000 ha with maize, 25,000 ha with sweet potatoes. Members of still flooded co-operatives will go to upland areas where they may grow subsidiary food crops and vegetables, with borrowed draught animals or tractors.

"Everyone must be engaged in productive work, no land should lie idle, no plot should be left fallow"—that is the order of the day. It is a punishable offence to let land lie fallow. Any service, any co-operative, which does so shall be penalized.

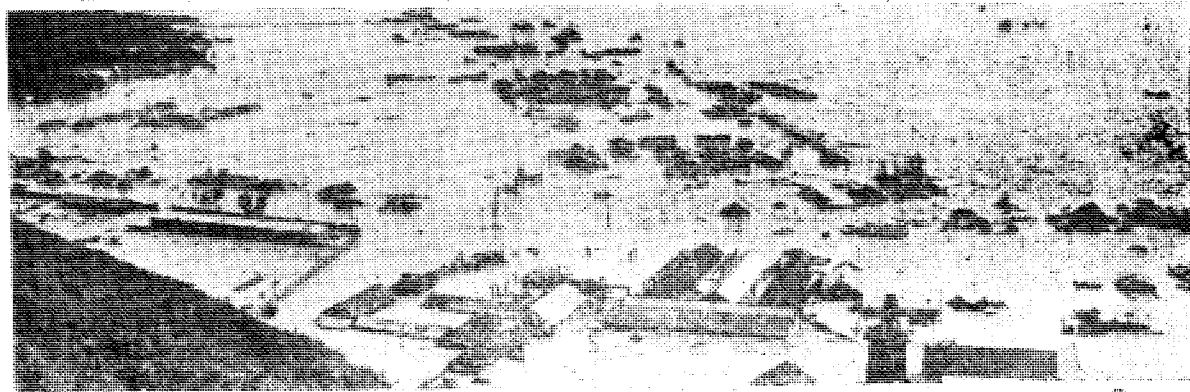
All administrative offices, schools, factories, army units, etc. must grow subsidiary food crops and vegetables, and obtain at least 100 kg of vegetables and 50 kg of starchy food per capita on an average.

After the floods, cattle and pigs should be given adequate care. They must be properly fed and measures must be taken against epizootics.

The season of floods and typhoons is not yet over. We must continue our efforts to strengthen the dykes and keep vigilant watch... Sea dykes, local dykes, and irrigation canals must be repaired so that the winter-spring crops will be properly irrigated and protected. All this must be done simultaneously with the completion of the Ke Go and Vuc Mau projects. The restoration of roads and ports must be done immediately, together with industrial enterprises serving agricultural production. Preparations should get under way to build new projects.

In order to stabilize the people's life after the floods, a task force has been set up. Cadres have been sent to the communes to investigate the situation and give guidance to the people in rebuilding houses, schools, health stations, providing relief for needy families, preventing and treating diseases, and taking care of the children's education. Preparations have also been made to receive and distribute relief materials and equipment.

T.V.K.



*The port of Ben Thuy (Vinh City) during the flood.*

## *Letter from Hanoi*

**I**N this October, after the torrential rains, the sun has the upper hand again. A mild breeze blows across Lake Hoan Kiem (The Lake of the Redeemed Sword). Women workers are covering the shores of the lake with a new green lawn. The notes of the Post Office clock chime out in the clear, blue sky.

A scene of peace, but the weather is not set fair. The people of Hanoi watch with anxiety the course of Typhoons Nos. 11 and 12. The latest downpours have resulted in shorter rations. At the greengrocers' the queues are getting longer as vegetables, usually plentiful, are distributed sparingly.

The queues in front of the news-stands are longer, too. In fact, the menacing movements of the political barometer are much more important to the people of Hanoi than the typhoons. There are echoes of Chinese 130-mm guns on the south-western border, and the sound of Chinese boots and news of fresh border violations in the North. The Vietnamese people long for a lasting peace to heal the wounds of war and restore their heavily ravaged economy. Yet, Peking's propaganda machine is trying to describe them as blood-thirsty aggressors. It accuses them of provoking their giant neighbour and of nurturing hegemonistic schemes over Southeast Asia. Hasn't the recent tour of SRV Prime Minister Pham Van Dong, which highlighted our foreign policy of peace, friendship and international cooperation, been condemned as a Trojan horse in the area? For serving the interests of "social imperialism"? As if the Vietnamese people would happily sell off their independence, gained at such a high price and in conditions of which everyone is well aware.

Once again the Vietnamese people, and the Hanoi population in particular, are to face hard trials.

The capital's People's Committee has just held its 7th session. In its resolution, it calls on the population to step up production in factories, handicraft workshops and farming co-operatives (the peasants in the outskirts should especially increase the cultivation of fast-growing vegetables, and public servants should take part in food production), to undertake military training, organize worker and peasant militia, ensure order and public security, and be vigilant and ready for all emergencies.

This is far from being a jingoistic appeal with ulterior motives as some Western sources may insinuate. There is no doubt that the resolution enjoys the support of the whole population who are trying to translate it into deeds.

In the factories, while setting up self-defence forces — some the size of the regiment in large enterprises — the workers are doing their best to overcome the shortage of raw materials in order to fulfil the production plan.

On the construction site of the Thang Long bridge, destined to double the capacity of the present single bridge over the Red River, the Vietnamese technicians who have replaced the Chinese experts recalled in June, have just succeeded in pouring the concrete of pier No. 9 in 19 hours, a delicate piece of work as it is right in the middle of the river.

The work of enlarging Hanoi harbour is being done rapidly. Nine wharfs have been planned so that nine 8,000-ton ships can be handled simultaneously. Wharfs Nos. 2 and 3 will be ready next December.

Sports and games are in full swing. The 5th annual cross-country event has taken place under the auspices of the Hanoi Moi (New Hanoi) daily. Before that 65,000 young people and members of the self-defence forces followed training courses in all the districts and sub-districts of the city, 32,000 of them carrying arms. National athletic competitions were held at the city stadium with 142 athletes taking part. The young Hanoi girl Bui Thi Phuong beat the 800-m women's national record. Five 1977 records have been improved.

Lovers of art have been able to attend the opening of more than one exhibition of paintings and sculpture. 130 works by 70 amateur artists — workers and other people of the capital — were on show. At the theatres, historical pieces are favourites. The stories of national heroes presented on the stage provide true lessons in patriotism and are a source of comfort.

The calm displayed by the population of Hanoi in the face of new trials derives from their just cause, from their present efforts and from the sympathy and support of progressive people everywhere as well as from their glorious past.

This month they commemorate the 24th anniversary of the liberation of Hanoi. On October 10, 1954 the last contingent of the French expeditionary corps left the city. Well before them, in the 13th, 15th and 18th centuries, occupation troops of the northern feudal rulers were driven out of Hanoi by national heroes Tran Hung Dao, Le Loi and Quang Trung in turn.

In the streets of the capital foreign visitors, coming to Hanoi in large numbers, meet people who are calm but vigilant though far from keyed-up.

V.Q.V.

# Peking's Solicitude for Hoa Capitalists

**H**OWEVER speciously the Chinese side may argue to the contrary, it has become crystal clear to public opinion in both Vietnam and the world at large that the slander campaign launched by China to accuse Vietnam of "ostracizing, persecuting and expelling Chinese residents" is essentially aimed at creating difficulties and obstacles to the socialist transformation and construction in Vietnam. It is part and parcel of the great-nation hegemonistic and expansionist design against Vietnam's sovereignty and independence. The Chinese authorities have been doing all they can to help the Hoa capitalists in southern Vietnam, whom they call "victimized Chinese residents", evade socialist transformation, by raising a hue and cry against "the Vietnamese authorities persecuting Chinese residents and robbing them of their property". What are the facts? Let us see how a bourgeoisie of Chinese extraction has developed in southern Vietnam and why it is enjoying such solicitude from the Chinese authorities.

★

**O**VER the past centuries, large numbers of Chinese from Fukien, Chao Chou, Kwangtung, Hainan and other provinces of China came and settled in Vietnam. Some were Ming followers fleeing persecution by the Manchus following the collapse of the Ming. Other left because Vietnam promised them a better life free from the continual turmoil and harsh oppression of Chinese feudal society. More recently during the US aggressive war against Vietnam, a number of Chinese were brought over from Taiwan to serve the US imperialists and subsequently stayed in the country.

Those Chinese, who had settled in Vietnam long ago, were subjected to the same exploitation

and oppression by the imperialists and feudalists as the Vietnamese were. They gradually became Vietnamese. The majority of them were working people. But a number of them collaborated with the imperialists and colonialists in exploiting the Vietnamese people and became wealthy. Taking advantage of their kinship ties with the other Hoa\*, they exploited them mercilessly. They formed the Hoa bourgeoisie. They acted as sales agents and collectors of raw materials for Western capitalists. The Western imperialists regarded the Hoa bourgeoisie as their "efficient assistants" in the exploitation of their colony. To get a firmer grip on the colonial economy, Western imperialism used "yellow foreign capitalists" (the Hoa bourgeoisie) to assist "white foreign capitalists" in exploiting the people and tapping the natural riches of Vietnam, checking the development of "indigenous capitalism" and preventing the Vietnamese from regaining mastery over their own country. To liberate themselves, the Vietnamese people had to struggle not only against the imperialists and feudalists but also against the Hoa compradore capitalists. This struggle, therefore, assumed the character of both a class struggle and a struggle for national liberation.

The French colonial administration accorded many economic privileges to the Hoa bourgeoisie. Many Hoa became big compradore capitalists and zealously served the interests of the French colonialists in Vietnam.

Later, US neo-colonialism created in southern Vietnam a stratum of big compradore capitalists politically reactionary and economically monopolistic, who controlled an important segment of the economy. The history of their immense fortunes is indissolubly linked with the history of US neo-colonialism and the US war of aggression in southern Vietnam. Their interests were

bound up with those of the US imperialists and the Saigon puppet government.

To meet the needs of their aggressive war and their colossal expeditionary corps the US imperialists made use of the relatively developed trade and service network of the Hoa capitalists. The fact that the Hoa lived concentrated in relatively small areas (according to their original homes in China: Chao Chou, Fukien, Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Hainan) made it easier for them to provide urgent and secret services to the occupiers and their puppets. This was a golden opportunity for the Hoa bourgeoisie to get rich. They made good use of their assets in capital and technique. All through the US war of aggression, the Hoa bourgeoisie, by relying on US "aid", expanded not only their trade and service activities but also their operations in other fields. They controlled almost all key sectors of the economy, especially the processing industries and distribution and credit operations. By the end of 1974 the Hoa bourgeoisie controlled more than 80% of the food, textile, chemical, metallurgical, engineering and electrical industries, and held virtual monopoly in wholesale trade (100%), retail trade (over 50%), and import and export (90%). They completely monopolized the purchase of rice, obtained up to 80% of all loans from south Vietnamese banks, owned 42 of the 60 major companies with a yearly turnover exceeding 1,000 million piastres (Saigon currency) and as a rule accounted for two-thirds of total annual investments in southern Vietnam. They operated in many branches: industry, transport, banking, import-export, commerce and service, with extended ramifications and a close-knit business organization based on kinship ties and grouping Hoa people with long-standing experience in trading activities.

\* Hoa is a generic term designating people of Chinese extraction.

The Hoa bourgeoisie in southern Vietnam also owed their power to the economic and political backing accorded them by the United States, Taiwan, Hong-kong and Chinese capitalist groups in Southeast Asia. Particular mention should be made of the assistance provided by the Chinese capitalists in Taiwan. The latter preferred indirect investments in southern Vietnam through the medium of the Hoa bourgeoisie to direct investments in the shape of machinery, technical know-how and specialists. They were the link between the Chinese communities in Southeast Asia and the Hoa bourgeoisie in southern Vietnam.

Hence the emergence of Hoa capitalists who ranked among the wealthiest and most powerful figures in pre-liberation southern Vietnam: Ly Long Than had assets of tens of billions of piastres in 18 major enterprises such as VINATEXCO (textile), VINATE-FINEO (dye-works), VICASA (steel works), NAKYDACO (edible oil), the Ly Long Than Real Estate Company, the Asia Insurance Company and in 16 banks including the Bank of China, the Banque Nationale de Paris, the Agricultural Bank and the Agro-Industrial and Commercial Bank.

The other business "kings" included:

Ma Hy and Chau Dao Sanh (rice), La Nghia (wheat flour), Ly Sen, Ly Long, Truong Dong Luong (scrap metals), the Kim Thanh corporation (gold), Thach Kham (paper), Dao Mau (gourmet powder), etc.

There were, besides, thousands of lesser capitalists operating in nearly all branches of activity such as Luu Trung (farming machine importer), Loc Sanh Duong (rice husking factories), Tang Van Tai (transport) and Truong Di Nhien (importer and producer of pornographic films).

Thus, the two hundred-odd Hoa compradore capitalists and a few thousand Hoa industrialists and traders held such control over the economy of southern Vietnam

that they became major power holders in the US-puppet regime.

**They controlled almost all branches of production**, especially those catering for the daily needs of the people such as rice, milk, edible oil, textiles, wheat flour, gourmet powder, and other necessities. Their huge materials supply system ensured maximum support for whatever they were engaged in producing, and deliveries to the market were calibrated so as to ensure maximum profits. This was the case for textiles, wheat flour, gourmet powder, chemicals and construction steel. Commodities they were not producing, they sought to control them through their grip on the supply of raw material and on transport and distribution. This was the case with cement, sugar, cigarettes, household utensils and electrical appliances.

They were able to **control the market and prices** through their import-export and transport systems and the network of big and small retailers of Chinese stock, who acted as their store-house keepers and providers of economic information. They were able to decide the prices of goods at their very origin, i.e. their cost prices, thanks to their hold on the supply of raw materials. They could also fix their prices during the distribution process thanks to their close connection with the US "aid" missions, the practically unlimited credit they enjoyed and their powerful and effective purchasing and transport systems.

They used a **very effective strategy of control** through many subtle methods: acting in collusion with the US army and the puppet administration, bringing men in power; exerting economic and political pressure by turning to account the support given them by foreign countries; planting their men in the puppet national assembly and municipal councils and building crucial connections for later use. In particular, they took every precaution against possible changes on the political scene: while giving all-out support to the anti-communist policies of the US and its puppets and establishing official relations with Taiwan, they did not forget

to build "communications" with mainland China. When the time came for the "white-sun and blue-sky" (Kuomintang) flag to be lowered they would hoist the five-star red flag and replace the portraits of Chiang Kai-shek by those of Chairman Mao. When their guardian angel from Taipeh departed they would welcome the tutelary spirit from Peking. Their about-face was to be very quickly executed.

They founded in the former Saigon a **separate world** of their own based on kinship ties governed by strict discipline, with a closeknit system of "congregations" each with its own leader, which allowed them to avoid all direct interference of the local administration. Each "congregation" had its own budget, school, hospital, newspaper, meeting hall and graveyard. Each held the monopoly of some branches of economic activity.

It was really "a state within a state". Whoever happened to visit Cholon before liberation could see a multitude of import-export companies, modern high-rise buildings, plush hotels and restaurants offering the choicest delicacies, and banks interested in all kinds of business, owned by the Li or Wu families. Cholon was the scene of opulence and endless revelry. By spending enough money, one could be "king for a night" in any of its night-clubs. It was a centre of racketeering and depravity which led many young men and women to their ruin and also the headquarters of innumerable reactionary political rings. But in Cholon itself, Hoa working people continued to live in hovels and toil in sweatshops. Whether they worked for Ly Long Than at the VICASA steelworks or for Ly Sen at the engineering plant, they were mercilessly exploited and brutally repressed whenever they raised their voices to demand better living conditions.

**F**OLLOWING the liberation of southern Vietnam, taking advantage of the innumerable difficulties facing the revolutionary administration and the inevitable loopholes in economic and social management, the compradore



bourgeoisie and big businessmen, most of them of Chinese extraction, turned to account their stocks of merchandise, money and gold reserves and monopolistic organizations. They feverishly engaged in hoarding and speculation, provoking great disturbances on the market, seriously harming production and the people's life and causing great damage to the economic rehabilitation and development programme of the government. Their main tactics consisted in competing with the State trading service in purchasing goods, scattering and concealing their stocks, especially precious and rare commodities, selling their goods in small quantities at exorbitant prices, continually raising prices and bringing about incessant fluctuations. By subtle methods they bribed government employees into supplying them with goods and materials from State factories and warehouses, with which they would produce commodities for the black market and evade taxation. They also manufactured false merchandise, including medicaments and foodstuffs, and they organized the systematic spreading of false rumours aimed at sowing alarm and creating artificial shortage of goods in order to raise prices. Besides being very active in the domains of commerce, supply of materials, communications and transport, and some industrial branches, some of them continued to maintain connections with counter-revolutionaries, with whom they planned anti-government actions and organized illegal departure from the country.

These capitalists had amassed their fortunes through ruthless exploitation of workers, both Vietnamese and Vietnamese of Chinese origin.

**I**N order to restore and develop the economy and proceed to socialist construction it is impossible not to abolish the class of compradore capitalists and not to carry out socialist transformation of private capitalist industry and commerce, whether in Vietnamese or Hoa hands. This is a law which any country advancing to socialism must obey. Basing our action on the practical situation in southern Vietnam and the humanitarian traditions of the Vietnamese people, we have applied a very humane policy of abolition and transformation. We have only abolished the mono-

polistic business system of the capitalist class including the Hoa capitalists and their capitalist way of doing business.

With regard to the compradore bourgeoisie we have confiscated their property i.e. their means of production and business but we have left them the necessary means to earn a living and reform themselves. We discriminated between the top men and their associates, between the employers and their agents, between the capitalists themselves and their families. Those with scientific and technical know-how could stay and work and are given the chance to contribute to the economic rehabilitation and development of the country.

With regard to the capitalist traders, we purchased their means of business and stocks of goods at reasonable prices and helped them to use their remaining property and their labour to contribute to national construction and to become working people in the process. Even with regard to those who held sway over the market we sincerely helped them to reform themselves into new men. They and their families have been well treated. There has been no such thing as "robbing the Hoa of their property" or "arresting, killing and wounding Chinese residents" as claimed by the Chinese authorities.

The socialist transformation in southern Vietnam has brought and is bringing fine results to the life of the working people including those of Chinese extraction. The latter experienced misery and humiliation under the rule of the US aggressors and their puppets. Like the rest of the south Vietnamese people, they were ruthlessly exploited by Hoa capitalists. After the liberation of southern Vietnam, together with the other people of the South, they have risen from slavery to collective mastery over society. They took part in the elections to the National Assembly and the People's Councils at all levels and many of them were elected to these organs of power. The revolutionary administration has step by step provided them with decent housing and jobs for the unemployed. Government-run schools and hospitals have been founded and State-run department stores opened right in Cholon to replace the former capitalist-owned shops.

Who are benefiting from these if not the Hoa, who account for the majority of the Cholon population? How much change to the better has happened to the Hoa. They have found a meaningful and happy life in the great family of socialist Vietnam. As for the capitalists, those of them who have listened to reason have accepted transformation and many have of their own free will switched to productive activities.

Only the reactionary capitalists, who are used to exploiting the labour of others and who closely collaborated with the imperialists and the puppet administration, have frantically opposed socialist transformation. They have resorted to every trick and manoeuvre to evade it. Many scattered and concealed their property, and refused to declare their assets. They refused to engage in productive activities, and many of them left the country illegally. This came as no surprise to us because socialist transformation of the bourgeoisie is a bitter class struggle. What surprises us is that those people in Peking who style themselves socialists have openly come out in defence of the Hoa capitalists in Vietnam and helped them organize themselves to oppose socialist transformation. Peking describes the Hoa capitalists undergoing transformation as "victimized Chinese residents". The purchase of their property by the Vietnamese socialist State is described by Peking as an act of "spoliation" and those Hoa who have switched to productive activities are called "victims of expulsion". Why should the socialist revolution stop before the wealth of the Hoa capitalists? Should we exempt the Hoa capitalists from socialist transformation on pain of antagonizing Peking and provoking its anger, outcries and slanders? Should Cholon remain a "concession", a Hongkong in the midst of a socialist country?

We wish to ask this question: What class stand are the Chinese authorities taking when they come out in defence of the big compradore capitalists of Chinese extraction who until quite recently were "subjects" of Chiang Kai-shek and henchmen of the US imperialists and who are now resisting socialist transformation?

TIEN LAM

## DANGER OF GENOCIDE IN KAMPUCHEA

**N**EVER in history has a people faced such a great danger of genocide as the Kampuchean people. The crimes committed by the Nazis in the past and by the racists in South Africa and Rhodesia at present cannot compare with those committed by the butchers in Phnom Penh, if one considers the ratio of the number of people killed to the population of that country. According to many Western sources the number of people killed in Kampuchea is put at 2 million or more. If the figure is correct the ratio is one to four, that is one-fourth of the Kampuchean population have been killed during the last three years.

The victims of genocide were:

Those who served in the Lon Nol army and administration. Those who served in the Sihanouk army and administration, including supporters of the Government of National Union of Kampuchea and relatives of the former Head of State of Kampuchea. Those belonging to exploiting classes: landlords and bourgeois. Intellectuals, college students, pupils and all those who had a certain level of instruction. Leaders of Buddhism, a religion which has been completely abolished. People of ethnic minorities, especially the Cham.

Foreigners or people of Vietnamese and Chinese origin. Those blacklisted as suspected of having connections with Vietnam.

Former city-dwellers, assigned to the 3rd category for having collaborated with the old regime. And all those who, in one way or another, did not sympathize with the tyrannical regime which styles itself "pure communist".

Altogether there are ten categories of people listed as targets of this campaign of extermination.

Only one category of people is spared. They are called "pure citizens", that is poor peasants — the basic force of the Pol Pot-type revolution. But it is the peasants who are condemned to hard labour by the barrack-like regime of Pol Pot.

In order to carry out a system of poor peasants' communes, the Phnom Penh rulers have abolished all forms of so-called capitalist economy or private property in general. They have banned all kinds of marketing and exchanges of commodities, and have excluded money from economic life. The people are not allowed to have private property, to have a private house or to take meals at home. Marriages are decided by Angkar (the Organization). Family life is denied. The pillars of the State machinery are the army and the intelligence service. Power is in the hands of the nepotic regime of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary and their wives, two sisters. That is what they call democracy.

Under such a terrible socio-economic system and coercive machinery the Kampuchean cannot earn his living once thrown out of the commune. Those in power keep their hold over the stomach of the citizen, they also hold tight the sword and, in consequence, the minds of the people, who can be killed at any time and for any reason.

This bizarre model of society runs counter to the laws of evolution of human society. It is in opposition to the interests of the Kampuchean nation.

By bringing their people to the disaster of genocide, the rulers in Kampuchea have turned themselves into the tools of the great-nation expansionists. Their country has been turned into a new-type colony, worse than the previous Lon Nol — Cheng Heng regime.

However it is certain that a people who have struggled for a century for independence, and freedom will turn the tables on the enemy. Freedom- and justice-loving people everywhere are on the side of the heroic Kampuchean people.

THU HUONG

## Kampuchea:

### An Unfinished Diary

**A**N illiterate Kampuchean civilian refugee once showed me a note-book with frayed edges filled with hasty scribble. It had been entrusted to him by a man named Sok Kun. "I don't know his real name, but people called him Sok Kun. He lived in no fixed place. Once before starting out on a journey, he asked me to keep this book for him." I examined the note-book: It turned out to be the diary of a man who was once a member of the Kampuchean Communist Party.

Here are some excerpts from it:

One Saturday afternoon (in 1972 — Ed.) I went to the home of Ieng Sary to discuss with his wife our plan for next week's work. Ieng Sary himself was then away in Peking. The war was raging. The dull explosions of US bombs came from the distance.

Ieng Sary's wife didn't seem to like my presence at that moment. She was sitting comfortably in an arm-chair. Her hair was carefully combed and smoothed with oil for she wished to look younger than her forty-odd years.

On a mat spread on the ground some musicians were playing their instruments and singing.

Whenever the singing pleased her she would chuckle and the folds of flesh on her cheeks would quiver. Then she would take a handful of sweets and spread them on the table. This was her reward to the entertainers. "Comrade, would you finalize the resolution of the Party cell?" I asked.

# The Uprising of Patriots

*Editor's Note: The following story has been pieced together by Pham Hong, correspondent of the Quan Doi Nhan Dan (People's Army) newspaper, from interviews with a cross-section of Kampuchean military and civilian cadres who have sought refuge in various border provinces of Vietnam.*

"Take it back with you and do as I instructed you to when we last met."

That made my blood boil. Was she deliberately refusing to listen to reason? Ieng Sary is all the time in Peking and rarely attends meetings of the Party cell, giving carte blanche to his wife here.

I am a mechanic and can repair various kinds of simple equipment, so they sent me to this office. The Party members here elected me secretary of the Party cell. Both Ieng Sary and his wife are members of the cell.

Ieng Sary's wife is an alternate member of the Party Central Committee and is in charge of both internal and external propaganda. Her maiden name is Khieu Thirit. She has a sister named Khieu Ponary, who is Pol Pot's wife. Ponary is even higher placed than her sister in Party hierarchy. The two sisters hold unlimited power in the resistance zone. This is known to everybody.

A communique from the general staff has said that the Lon Nol army supported by American airpower is launching a powerful counter-offensive along the Mekong river. Meanwhile, in Vietnam the 1972 summer campaign of the liberation forces has started from Loc Ninh to Quang Tri. Right on Kampuchean soil, Vietnamese cadres and combatants are giving all-out assistance to the young revolutionary Kampuchean army. The blood of our Vietnamese comrades mingles with the water of our big river.

One day she introduced a very young girl to me and said: "She is a Party member, take her into our cell." I asked for the girl's

background documents and introductory letter as required from any Party member seeking admittance to a cell. But Ieng Sary's wife said curtly: "The Central Committee has given its approval, don't make a fuss." I spoke no more but promised to myself to investigate the matter. The girl was entrusted by Ieng Sary's wife with educating the youth in the office according to a document labelled "Kampuchea's Cultural Education Programme."

One day the girl was away on some mission. I was assigned to replace her temporarily in the "educational" job. I leafed through the document and was startled to find that it advocated the simultaneous carrying out of the national democratic revolution and the cultural revolution. The document said: "The wheel of Kampuchea's history is turning. It will crush anyone and anything standing in its way." This reminded me of the recent extermination of twelve families in the resistance base, including babies and old people. Was it because they had stood in the way of the wheel of "Angkar" (The Organisation)?

My office now receives more and more Khmer cadres who have been trained in Peking. They have been dispatched by Ieng Sary to replace cadres of the older generation, who were sent to "the field". Very few of them have since returned or even been heard of. Have they died, in combat or from other causes?

The Peking-returnees often tell us about the "earth-shaking" Cultural Revolution in China. One of them once put it rather candidly: "Our deaths in the revolution are nothing compared

to theirs in the Cultural Revolution."

I still remember this sentence in the "Kampuchea's Cultural Education Programme": "On the cultural front, we must pay particular attention to the bastards (sic) who have studied in Hanoi." The words are crude and leave no doubt as to the intention. I do not agree. The revolutions in Vietnam and Kampuchea being closely bound together in both peoples' fight for national liberation, why should we attack Vietnam at this moment? At a meeting of the Party cell I asked Ieng Sary's wife point-blank:

"Who wrote the pamphlet on cultural education?"

"Secretary Pol Pot did. You seem to make light of him."

"I don't, but I do think that it is not right to write such words for they mean a betrayal of the militant solidarity between the two fraternal countries."

A bitter debate ensued. One comrade angrily thumped the table wondering with tears in his eyes where such a line would take the Kampuchean revolution. Another comrade asked Ieng Sary's wife why should the Party Constitution include such strange assertions as "even one member can be the Party" or "even one man can be Angkar". "How dangerous such statements are!" he exclaimed. Unable to answer these questions, Ieng Sary's wife frowned:

"Well, I'll soon go to Peking for consultations and we shall then examine your qualifications as Party members."

Since that day we have lived in agony. We are Communists who know that the very essence of their Party has changed, at

a time when the fight against the Lon Nol clique of traitors has become more and more arduous and complicated. We feel ashamed of our leaders, a group of ambitious men who are using the cover of the Kampuchean resistance to deceive the peoples of the world. Pol Pot has given himself the very gentle Vietnamese name of "Hai Thien"; likewise Ieng Sary calls himself "Tu Rau" or "Tu Thong". Both use these Vietnamese names in their correspondence with Vietnamese leaders. I don't know if they use Chinese names when corresponding with Peking.

\* \*

Ieng Sary's wife has now left for Peking, accompanied by one of her aides, who was to look after her comfort during the travel.

Not long after her arrival in Peking we received the startling news of the death of Son Ngoc Minh. Son Ngoc Minh is a member of the Party Central Committee. For some time he had developed high blood pressure and so had wished to take some rest in Vietnam before returning to his post in the resistance base. But Ieng Sary, in his capacity as a member of the Standing Committee, decided that he must go to Peking for treatment.

We wept as we were told of Son Ngoc Minh's last moments. His death happened on the morning of December 22, 1972. Son Ngoc Minh had invited some of his foreign friends to his home for a farewell party before he left for Kampuchea to take part in the leadership of the resistance. At one point, he felt a little dizzy and asked his wife for his usual bottle of medicine. His wife said it was in the medicine-chest in an adjoining room. He took the medicine and went directly to his bed where he was later found dead.

Ieng Sary ordered his body to be cremated in Peking and big memorial ceremonies to be held at home throughout the resistance base. Son Ngoc Minh's sudden and mysterious death was

a great grief to us. Not surprisingly we soon learnt that Ieng Sary had considered us "no longer fit to be members of the Kampuchean Communist Party".

Son Ngoc Minh's death brought back to my mind other events which had happened in the last stage of the anti-French resistance. We were then attending a political course in a resistance base in Ta Keo province. We were told by a lecturer that Saloth Sar had come back from France to claim leadership of the resistance (only after becoming Party Secretary did Saloth Sar change his name to Pol Pot). He said Saloth Sar did not seem happy to find that a full-fledged leadership had been set up from the centre to the provinces, and that resistance bases had taken shape.

In 1962 a mysterious event happened: Comrade Tusemut, the then Party Secretary, disappeared without leaving any trace and Saloth Sar immediately replaced him in his leading post. Tusemut was a well-tested leader of worker stock who enjoyed high prestige among the population. Now, ten years later, it is Son Ngoc Minh's turn to die. He died in Peking at a moment when he was to return to the country to take part in the leadership of the resistance. These two deaths leave many questions in our minds which we vow to clear up. If we can't do it in our lifetime, then our successors, the younger generation of Kampuchean Communists, will."

### Who Is Pol Pot ?

I have asked a dozen former commanders in Military Zone 203 of the Kampuchean army if they had ever seen Pol Pot in person. All had answered in the negative.

"No. He goes nowhere. We have been told by high-ranking officers that he has his home in a secluded place amid a marshy expanse near Phnom Penh, from where he issues all orders. The road to his residence is very tortuous and heavily guarded."

Many Kampuchean soldiers and civilians, have told me they don't know who Pol Pot is, some even have never heard his name.

They only know that on top of them is Angkar, which is sometimes called "Pa Ko" (the Kampuchean initials for Communist Party.) "Angkar is the snake and Pol Pot is its head," an old man commented wryly.

During Pol Pot's visit to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, a Korean news item said he was born in 1925. But Yugoslav sources said he was born in 1928 and is now 50.

But now the mystery has been lifted and the world had learnt a few things about Pol Pot, alias Saloth Sar.

Saloth Sar was born into a peasant family. In his childhood he shaved his head and lived in a pagoda as a novice for six years. Later, given a scholarship by the French colonial administration he attended a technical school in Paris.

While in France, he took part in the students' movement. Because of this his scholarship was cancelled. He returned to Kampuchea in 1953 and established contact with the anti-French resistance movement. At that time he taught history and geography at a private primary school in Phnom Penh. Following the mysterious death of Party Secretary Tusemut a leadership crisis ensued in the Party. Saloth Sar became the new secretary and changed his name to Pol Pot. He lived a secluded life in the countryside until 1975. He has rewritten the history of the Kampuchean Communist Party which, so he says, came into existence only after he joined its leadership. Saloth Sar says the Party was found amidst the hubbub of the Phnom Penh railway station on June 20, 1960. Such are the things we know about Pol Pot before liberation.

Pol Pot owes his fame to his bloody purges, not only the mass slaughter of hundreds of thousands of civilians and summary executions of grass-roots and middle-level cadres in the ruling apparatus, but also the unaccountable disappearance of many well-known figures in the leadership. In 1977 Hu Nim, Minister of Information, and Tok Pheam,



Minister of Public Works, suddenly disappeared from the public scene; recently came the turn of Mei Prang, Minister of Information and Telecommunications. Hu Yun, a Politbureau member, had been ousted as early as 1975. Son Sen, Minister of National Defence, once regarded as a close associate of Pol Pot's and until last year a full member of the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee, was referred to as a mere alternate member of this committee during his recent visit to China.

The Chinese Cultural Revolution has been hastily copied by Phnom Penh without losing any of its bloody features! In 1970 when Lon Nol staged a putsch to depose Sihanouk and launched an all-out attack into the Kampuchean resistance bases with a huge army equipped with modern US weapons, the resistance forces numbered only about 4,000 guerillas formed into squads and platoons, with a few companies around the central base. Pol Pot personally went to the Vietnamese resistance base to ask for help in building up a number of regiment-sized regular units. From these core units, Pol Pot soon found himself in possession of six regular divisions. Dressed in black pyjamas and wearing a checkered scarf, he would say, flashing his mysterious smile: "There has never been such close relationship as that between our two fraternal countries! Your services will be recorded in our history books." But no sooner had the Lon Nol army been defeated than Pol Pot cast aside all "good" and ordered his hangers-on to arrest all the key officers of these six divisions, especially those built with direct Vietnamese aid. Then he formed nearly twenty new divisions equipped with Chinese weapons and supervised by Chinese military advisers.

Since then he has completely cleared the decks for his long-cherished dream of serving as

shock trooper for China's big-nation expansionism:

He has put to death all the Kampuchean cadres who had returned from Vietnam to take part in the fight against the Americans and their puppets (except a few who shifted allegiance and bowed to his power).

He has dissolved all the armed units which had been formed with Vietnam's assistance and had fought side by side with the Vietnamese liberation army.

He has wiped out all those with kinship ties with Vietnamese citizens.

He has liquidated all those who had been to Vietnam or had expressed agreement with Vietnam on certain points.

Now, anyone who inadvertently uses a Vietnamese word is considered a criminal.

A tragic case is that of 250 children of Kampuchean resistance cadres who were sent to study in Hanoi during the war. After liberation in 1975 they returned to the country to rejoin their parents. But hardly had they crossed the border and gone about 300 metres into Kampuchean soil when they were all slaughtered by Kampuchean soldiers.

Pol Pot is a silent man. He has given only a few talks over the radio and written a few guiding documents. His Kampuchea's Education Programme" is aimed at sowing hatred against Vietnam, a companion of Kampuchea in the life-and-death struggle against the common enemy.

The instructions drafted by Pol Pot for the Party cells make no mention of Marxism-Leninism.

In the autumn of 1977, after doing away with many key cadres in the country, he wrote circular No. 870, in which after lavishing praise on the cadres newly brought to power by himself since August 1977, Pol Pot dealt with Party building work. He wrote: "Even if we have to sacrifice one million people we will not hesitate. The Party must be strong."

## Rebellion in Military Zone 203

**B**LOODY popular struggles began as early as 1976. Many small army units also opposed the regime. In September 1976 the leader of a district seven kilometres from Battambang led a 200-strong force against Phnom Penh.

Opposition grew in early 1977. Leaders of the Northern Military Zone organized a centre of rebellion in Oddar Meanchey then got into contact with some military commanders in Phnom Penh. Bitter fighting broke out in Phnom Penh, Kompong Thom and Siemreap. Pol Pot ordered brutal repression. On March 11, 1978, four aircraft from Phnom Penh landed troops in Siemreap. Dissident leaders, among them a man named Soth, were arrested, brought to Phnom Penh, charged with treason and burnt alive at the Kompong Thom stadium. Pol Pot said that only in this way could he nip "indiscipline" in the bud. Soon many Chinese trucks were seen transporting cadres and new army recruits to Siemreap and the Northern Military Zone.

In 1978 the centre of rebellion shifted eastward to Military Zone 203, one of the six military zones into which the country is divided.

Military Zone 203, also called Eastern Military Zone, comprises major population centres like Svay Rieng, Neak Leang, Prey Veng and Kompong Cham. It borders the Vietnamese provinces of Tay Ninh, Long An and Dong Thap. A strip of this zone protrudes into Vietnamese territory between Tay Ninh and Long An provinces. During the anti-US resistance it was widely known as the "Parrot's Beak". The American and puppet troops were dealt stunning blows when they operated there.

This military zone also bears many memories of the deep militant friendship between Vietnam and Kampuchea. But ever since 1975 the Phnom Penh rulers have done every thing they could to erase all vestiges of this friendship, even levelling the graves

(Continued on page 26)

## VIETNAM AND COMECON

**A**CCORDING to a communique of the 87th session of the Executive Committee of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, held from September 27 to October 1, 1978 in Ulan Bator (Mongolia), this Committee had agreed on the spheres of activities in which the SRV will participate within the various bodies of the Council in accordance with Vietnam's requirements. The communique pointed out that the SRV will participate in the work of all the Council's commissions and will gradually do so with regard to its permanent sub-commissions. Discussions were held on assistance to the SRV to help restore her national economy and build the material and technical basis for socialism, and the Council's member countries decided on concerted measures to help Vietnam complete the restoration of the Hanoi — Ho Chi Minh City railway and carry on the projects from which technical assistance had been withdrawn by China.

## VIETNAM MEKONG COMMITTEE SET UP

**B**Y decision of the SRV Government Council a Vietnam Mekong Committee has been set up. Its aim is to step up cooperation between Vietnam and other countries on matters related to the rational use and exploitation of the waters of the Mekong.

The Vietnam Mekong Committee, which will assume the work of the SRV in the Provisional Mekong Committee, will have the following tasks and rights:

- Ensuring the coordination between the ministries, branches, provinces and centrally-governed cities concerned in order to study and submit to the Government for consideration and approval all problems concerning the orientation, plan and programme of action of the Committee regarding the study, exploitation and use of water and water resources of the Mekong relevant to Vietnam.

- Following and guiding the work of the ministries, branches, provinces and centrally-governed cities concerned in the execution of the government's decisions regarding the study and exploitation of the Mekong waters within the border of Vietnam.

- Collaborating with the Provisional Mekong Committee in the study and rational exploitation of the waters of the Mekong in accordance with the proper interests of the countries through which the Mekong flows.

- Making proposals to the Government on the appointment of Vietnamese representatives to the Provisional Mekong Committee and of Vietnamese

## HO CHI MINH CITY'S

**I**N former days, industrial production in Saigon was dependent on foreign countries not only for materials and machines but also for techniques. Enterprises for the most part were small and scattered.

After liberation, production was reorganized. The old relations of production were transformed and small enterprises were merged into bigger ones, classed into specialized branches: electro-engineering, motor bicycle, bicycle, textile, polyethylene, rubber, tailoring, refrigeration equipment, industrial products and food and shipbuilding. All are under the guidance of the City's Industrial Ser-

**T**HE Hue Medical College was founded in 1961. Under the US and puppet regime it gave little concern for scientific research. In all the fourteen years before liberation (1961-1975) its few research projects were largely intended to serve the interests of a few.

Since liberation, under the slogan of combining teaching, study and scientific research with productive labour the school has considered scientific research as an important task. Scientific symposiums held at the college have drawn the enthusiastic participation of teachers and students. A scientific research section has also been created. The school is concentrating its efforts on two main tasks.

One is building model medical units in the rural as well as urban areas as centres for scientific experimentation on such questions as the basic health situation, diseases and ecology. These centres will also be places for the students' practical work.

experts accredited to a number of offices affiliated to the Standing Bureau of the Provisional Mekong Committee. Making proposals on the sending of delegations to take part in the meetings of the Provisional Mekong Committee and other activities related to the Committee. Giving technical and professional guidance to the above-mentioned representatives and experts.

Maintaining contact with the Vietnamese embassies in the countries through which the Mekong flows, with Vietnamese representatives at the Provisional Mekong Committee, with the Mekong Committees of the countries concerned and with foreign missions in Hanoi on problems related to the work of the Committee.

## INDUSTRY AND HANDICRAFTS — A CHANGE FOR THE BETTER

vice, including 103 State enterprises with 26,560 workers, 46 joint State-private enterprises with 3,576 workers, and 120 publicly-run enterprises producing hundreds of items such as small fishing vessels, electric transformers, electric fans, bicycles, cloth, ready-made clothes, ceramics, china and glassware, both for home consumption and for export.

There were difficulties in the supply of equipment and materials, but with an understanding of the correct policies of the Party and the State, tens of thousands of working people were determined to embark on the path of collective production,

pooling tens of thousands of machines and equipment to build their production bases.

Up to August 20, 1978, over 1,300 production collectives have been set up for 82,793 workers, including 75 cooperatives (15,073 workers): 11 engineering, 54 weaving and tailoring, 7 building materials, 2 printing and 1 chemical producing cooperatives. The rest are production groups (67,720 workers). In 1976, there were only 5 cooperatives and 432 production groups in the city. 62 per cent of the city's small industry and handicraft workers are now engaged in collective production.

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## Scientific Research at the Hue Medical College

The second task is to study the mineral water and mud resources in Binh Tri Thien province for their therapeutic possibilities and to use these resources for disease prevention and treatment to improve the health of the local population and create wealth for the country.

In collaboration with the provincial medical service in the past year the school conducted a basic survey of 9,000 persons in Thuy Phu commune, Huong Phu district, and helped its People's Committee and dispensary work out a plan for the treatment of patients and the gradual improvement of the ecology. The pediatric section of the college helped eliminate intestinal worms from all children from one to fourteen years of age, its epidemiology and parasitology section conducted a survey on the parasitology situation in Thuy Phu commune and helped it build enough wells, bath-rooms and septic tanks for its inhabitants. The obstetrics and gynaecology section of the college has achieved good results in the treatment of gynaecological cases and the campaign for birth control.

In the current school year, the school, in cooperation with the provincial medical service, is conduct-

ing a basic survey of the health and disease situation in Thuan Hoa ward in Hue city in order to help the local authorities work out a plan for preserving the people's health.

In addition, the school is encouraging all its sections to conduct research on other appropriate subjects such as treatment of fractures by medicaments, changing the immunology of malaria sufferers, the diagnosis of congenital liver cancer, child amoebal dysentery, etc. So far 47 subjects have been submitted under the school scientific research programme of which 23 have been completed and adopted by the Scientific Council of the college to be sent to the coming first provincial scientific conference.

To co-ordinate and systematize research subjects of the various sections the college has published its "Scientific Research Information" bulletin. Scientific symposiums have been held regularly every two weeks with the participation of large numbers of researchers and students from the college as well as medical workers from other institutions. 39 such symposiums have been organized so far with audiences totalling almost 6,000.

## A TURNING POINT IN THE BINH TRI THIEN COUNTRYSIDE

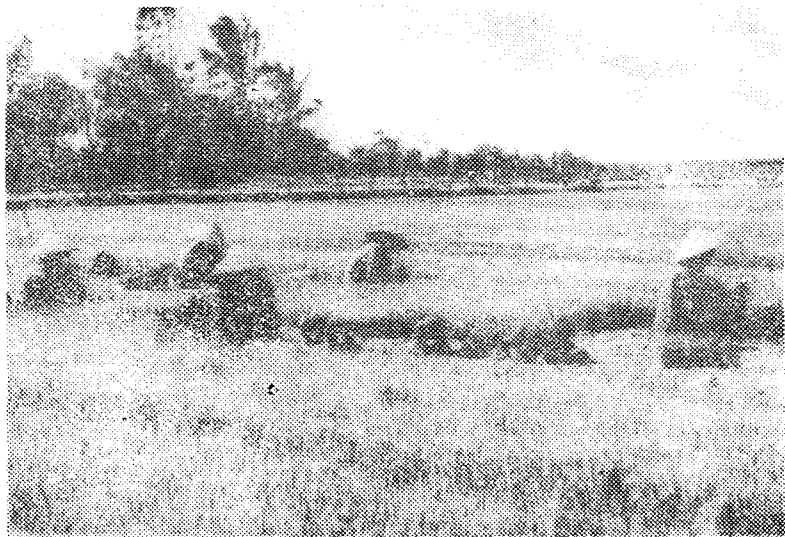
A turning-point is taking place in the Binh Tri Thien<sup>(1)</sup> countryside. Apart from the cooperatives located in areas north of the Ben Hai river on the 17th parallel (the former demarcation line between North and South Vietnam) which were established long ago and are now being reorganized on a district scale, there are now in the southern districts of the province more than 2,100 production brigades, 248 small cooperatives with a still simple management system, and 39 large cooperatives averaging 665 hectares each.

Unlike the case in many other places in the South, the production brigades in Binh Tri Thien are not merely aimed at acquainting the peasants with collective production under the management of hamlet production committees. These production brigades are actually small cooperatives of 25-30 hectares each in which the major production means have been collectivized, people work collectively, and distribution of the fruits of labour is made according to the work done.

The cooperatives were established earlier, in 1973, in the liberated areas of Quang Tri. All of them bear features of upper-level cooperatives but their small areas, rudimentary management and poor material-technical bases have in general hindered a proper division of labour, although production groups and piece-work have been established in some places.

The larger cooperatives have been set up later on. Apart from the pilot cooperatives, most of them have so far grown only two crops. The cooperatives account for 98 per cent of the households, 92 per cent of the land, 76 per cent of the buffaloes and oxen and 84 per cent of the machines.

With the above three forms of organization, roughly 95 per cent of the households in the newly-liberated area have now embarked on collective production:



*A collective rice-seedling bed.*

most of the land, machines, buffaloes and oxen have been put under public ownership; work is being done collectively, and distribution of the fruits of labour is carried out according to the work done. If cooperativization is simply aimed at bringing the peasants into a system of collective production and changing the system of ownership over the means of production, one can say that it has been achieved in the main in Binh Tri Thien. However, if one takes

into consideration the need to reorganize and redeploy manpower, build material bases, improve management, in coordination with the establishment of an industrial-agricultural economic structure in the district aimed at creating higher labour productivity... it is clear that the socialist transformation of agriculture is here only beginning and much new ground has to be gained. Nevertheless, the results so far achieved are very important.

### Pressing Requirements

**B**INH TRI THIEN is obviously making good progress. What has accounted for this fairly rapid agricultural cooperativization? Has the principle of voluntariness been correctly applied in this process?

There are peculiar economic and social features. Communal land amounted to 70-80 per cent of the cultivated area. Except for some rich peasants and upper-middle peasants, practically no one owned even a few

(1) Binh Tri Thien province was created by the merger of the three former provinces of Quang Binh, Quang Tri and Thua Thien in 1976. Hue is its provincial capital. Quang Binh and the part of Quang Tri north of the 17th parallel belonged to northern

Vietnam before the liberation of southern Vietnam. Part of Quang Tri province was liberated in 1973 before the signing of the Paris Agreement. The remainder of the province was liberated in 1975.



sao (\*) of land. Under the old regime, communal land was redistributed to male adults once every few years. After liberation, the peasants were faced with countless difficulties: their villages had been razed, their fields wrecked; the land was full of mines and duds; there was a great lack of production means. The only way out was to join forces to overcome the difficulties and restore production. Only through the forms of collective organization can the peasants receive the decisive help of the State. Tractors can work only on vast stretches. The army men who help remove bombs and mines can only work after a common plan. Public land is no longer allotted to individuals as in the past but to collectives. Only through these collectives can the State bank grant the necessary credit for timely production. Living conditions can only be rapidly stabilized and production restored and developed by adopting the collective mode of production. The peasants are realists who understand this well. A few of them may still harbour individualistic opinions but it is a fact that the peasants' voluntariness in joining the co-ops stems from those pressing requirements of life, as well as

from the favourable material conditions brought by collectivization.

The southern districts, which were the last liberated, were not so heavily damaged as Quang Tri, but they suffered from a high rate of unemployment. In Huong Phu district there were 20,000 jobless people. In 1975, Phu Loc district, formerly reputed for its wealth, produced only 79 kilogrammes of food per head of population and had to ask for food subsidies from the State for 25,000 people.

The peasants had no other way than to rely on the collective to overcome their difficulties.

By the end of 1975, the liberated area in Binh Tri Thien already had 382 small cooperatives (in what was formerly Quang Tri province), more than 2,500 production brigades and nearly 2,000 work-exchange teams grouping 36 per cent of the peasant households. After its merger in 1976, collectivization in Binh Tri Thien involved about 45,000 hectares of land (57 per cent) and nearly 100,000 households (65 per cent). By early 1977, 85 per cent of the households had joined cooperative organizations. This progress conformed to objective conditions.

## The New Elan

At present, in the newly-liberated area in Binh Tri Thien 39 cooperatives have been set up in connection with the movement for the reorganization of production. Basing themselves on the district's general plan, the cooperatives define the orientation of their production, build material and technical bases and organize work along the line of cooperation coupled with division of labour. Thirty of the co-ops have formed 500 specialized production teams and 210 odd-job teams. Each production team averages 14 hectares of land and 80 working people. A number of cooperatives have drawn up an analytic map of their fields, set labour norms, rated jobs, and defined production processes.

All the cooperatives have made promising steps. According to still incomplete statistics, the newly-established cooperatives have built many irrigation works, such as reservoirs, dams, dykes

against salt water and sand dunes; reclaimed land and brought under cultivation 625 hectares; developed trades and crafts; built storehouses, drying yards, manure sheds; bought tractors, buffaloes and oxen.

In the cooperatives we visited, the co-op members and cadres have expanded their bases. In the Thuy Phuong cooperative (Huong Phu district) nearly 20,000 tombs formerly scattered in the fields have been grouped in cemeteries, and the fields rearranged. The development of production makes possible increased contributions to the State. Medical stations, public-address systems, crèches and kindergartens have brought new life to a former battlefield in the war of resistance. After only one cultivation season, the No. 1 cooperative of Loc An commune (Phu Loc district) has been able to organize flourishing handicrafts. Each day of work brings 2.7 dong to a brick-maker, 5 dong to a

carpenter, and 12 dong to a worker in building materials. All the cooperatives have devoted part of their production of building materials to their own use. Dong Vinh cooperative (Huong Dien district) has set up an engineering shop which maintains and repairs its machines. The first batches of bricks made by the cooperative have been used to pave a drying yard and build a storehouse. Trieu Dai cooperative (Trieu Hai district) which was formed by the merger of several small cooperatives some years ago, has doubled its cultivated area by reclaiming new land and rearranging its fields. The raising of ducks and artificial incubation of eggs as well as brick-making have brought in good income.

In spite of inevitable weaknesses at the start, all the cooperatives in Binh Tri Thien have been reorganized in accordance with the experience acquired in the North and quickly shown their superiority over the production brigades.

We have been told on this score that "production brigades will break up after two crops if they don't advance further". In Binh Tri Thien, this is due to the fact that while production brigades are actually small cooperatives and are no longer based on the private ownership of production means, their small size hinders a redeployment of manpower and the development of trades and crafts; manpower is concentrated on the small fields, which leads to its underemployment. There are few material bases and little investment... To solve this problem, one must organize cooperatives of an adequate size, using judicious methods. A new élan is thus created for the reorganization and redeployment of the work force. This is obviously an objective requirement.

Binh Tri Thien is urgently preparing for the setting up, before the coming winter-spring crop, of about 150 cooperatives, mainly in the areas devoted to rice and subsidiary food crops to be set up in the newly-liberated area according to plan. The remainder will be formed in the latter half of next year.

(\*) one sao equals 360 square metres.

**H**OWEVER, the size of the cooperatives goes somewhat beyond the cadres' managerial ability and the existing technical equipment. On the average each cooperative has 666 hectares of land and 1,832 working people. Many cooperatives comprise nearly one thousand households.

The provincial leadership has therefore decided to split cooperatives that have proved too large into smaller ones (350-400 hectares with 600 households).

Poor management is inevitable at the beginning. Recently, a number of cooperatives failed to provide close supervision over the harvesting of the winter-spring crop, and the transplanting of the summer-autumn rice, thus causing delays and waste. Labour management is still rudimentary: scores of people are mustered to work on one small plot after another. The organization of teams and groups working toward set norms is not yet widely done.

In both the province and the districts, efforts are being made to train managerial cadres, from co-op president, chief accountant down to group and team leaders. There are a fairly large number of technical and managerial cadres with college education in the districts. However, they have only recently been mustered, their work is not yet well organized, and the district leaders have not yet given them close guidance. With the help of various central organs, nine districts have drawn up their general plan and are working out concrete ones. This will make it possible for the newly-established cooperatives to rapidly define their orientation of production and build material bases in accordance with the plan of the district, thus avoiding waste and delays.

The greatest concern of the province at present is to set up solid administrative, Party, and mass organizations. By doing so, it will promote the people's right to collective mastery, maintain order and security and improve the cadres' managerial ability in line with the content and requirement of the revolution in the relations of production.

PHAN QUANG

## How the Food Problem Has Been Solved in Phu Loc

**P**HU LOC is the southernmost district of Binh Tri Thien province, with a small population, little and sterile land cut into small plots by hills, sand beaches and lagoons. The fields are constantly threatened by natural calamities: water logging, drought, salinity, invasion by sand, and erosion. Under the old regime, most of the low-lying fields were liable to submersion by salt water and had to be left fallow. During the war, the hilly land bordering the enemy-occupied area was turned into "white belts" (no man's land) dotted with unexploded bombs and mines. How could Phu Loc feed its 130,000 inhabitants with only 3,600 hectares of rice-fields and some little plots for subsidiary food crops? A number of people had to leave their villages for the cities to earn a living. Others who were young and strong joined the puppet army and lived in barracks. Most of the remainder became small traders living from hand to mouth.

After liberation in 1975 Phu Loc knew a year of bumper harvest but on an average the population had only 80 kg of food grain per capita per year, barely enough to last them three months. So 90% of the population had to rely on State relief. What was to be done? Under the leadership of the Party, the population of Phu Loc resolutely engaged in reclaiming fallow land, putting it under rice, and opening up virgin land on hillslopes for the cultivation of subsidiary food crops. The result was a rapid increase in food production. In 1976 Phu Loc district gathered in 20,188 tons of food grain, an increase of 100% compared with 1975. The average

per capita share was 160 kg, enough for 8 months. In pre-harvest periods the State supplied Phu Loc district with over 6,000 tons of rice and wheat. In 1977 Phu Loc produced 35,306 tons of food grain (285 kg per capita, the highest average in the province), an increase of 75% compared with 1976, and three times the 1975 figures. The number of pigs increased by 26%, the number of poultry by 200%, the quantity of fish caught increased by 150% compared with 1975. Three years after liberation Phu Loc had passed from serious food shortage to self-sufficiency and has even sold 2,377 tons of food grain to the State.

### Reclaiming fallow land

During the war, as a result of enemy bombardment, the Thuan An dam was destroyed. Salt water submerged nearly 1,000 hectares of arable land in Phu Loc and turned them into fallow land.

After liberation, in response to urgent requests by the peasants, the Phu Loc district committee gave direct guidance to three communes of Vinh Hung, Loc An and Loc Son in their effort to reclaim 150 hectares of fields which had lain fallow for over thirty years. Tens of thousands of people took part in the campaign. They built embankments around the fields and mustered pumps as well as hundreds of norias to drain the water away. At the same time they started weeding, tilling, digging, and using lime to neutralize the salinity and acidity of the soil. The reclaimed land,

which formerly had yielded only one crop a year, yielded two crops that year. Both harvests being good, the average output per hectare showed an increase of 500 kg compared with the other fields. This success greatly inspired other communes in the district and push forward the movement for reclaiming fallow land. However, during the last days of 1976, life was still difficult and people in some places had to live on potatoes or manioc. Nevertheless they actively worked to strengthen dykes, prevent salinity, and reclaim land. The Loc Son commune spent over 40,000 workdays building an 8-km dyke enclosing 320 ha of rice-fields. The people of the Loc An commune contributed 15,000 bamboos and 27,000 loads of dry branches to strengthen the key portions of the dyke; they also reclaimed 250 ha of land. During the 1976-1977 winter-spring cultivation season, there was much rain; pumps, norias and scoops were used for a whole month, draining away nearly 10 million cubic metres of water, and making it possible to reclaim 700 ha of land, now yielding two crops a year. In the mountain areas, the members of communes in the new economic zone and those of the ethnic minorities have actively worked to build dams and canals to help open up hundreds of hectares of virgin land for rice cultivation. Whereas the Huong Huu commune for instance used to grow only 7 ha of wet rice, the figure now is 24 ha, resulting in an increase in food production of 500% compared with pre-liberation days. In the hilly land the people of San Tan grow wet rice in narrow valleys. In the sandy coastal strips the people dig hundreds of ponds to get water for rice.

Last year, Phu Loc extended the area under wet rice to more than 9,000 ha, twice as much as before liberation. It also put more land under a new strain of high-yield rice, and succeeded in producing 13,126 tons of paddy.

## Extending the area of land under subsidiary food crops

The soil in Phu Loc is better suited for subsidiary food crops than rice. The population here has accumulated experience in intensive cultivation and in processing subsidiary food crops—drying sweet potatoes and manioc, cutting the tubers into slices or grinding them into flour, from which very palatable food can be prepared. Shrimp cakes of Cau Hai made of manioc flour are quite delicious. For the population of Phu Loc a bad harvest of rice is not so much a cause for worries as a bad harvest of sweet potatoes and manioc. After liberation, the district committee mobilized tens of thousands of people to reclaim land and put it under subsidiary food crops. People in all the 23 communes of the district went by turns to the coastal and hilly areas to grow manioc. The communes along Highway No. 1 went directly to the hilly areas while those along the coast set up production groups which crossed the Cau Hai lagoon and also came to work in the hilly areas, returning home after planting the seedlings and leaving them to the care of some who stayed. In this way, by relying mainly on its own forces, Phu Loc reclaimed nearly 5,000 ha of land and put them under subsidiary food crops.

By building new "subsidiary food crop areas" at Khe Tre and Nam Dong, and making the best use of scattered plots, Phu Loc managed to plant nearly 10,000 ha with subsidiary food crops last year: 4,669 ha with sweet potatoes and 4,000 ha with manioc; it has gathered in the equivalent of 22,197 tons of rice, that is 62.8% of food production, three and a half times the figures of 1976, not including the 1,000 ha of manioc still awaiting harvest.

## Transferring people to the new economic zones

Together with reclaiming fallow land and opening up virgin soil in hilly areas, the population of Phu Loc has been encouraged to go and build new economic zones in the province and in other provinces. The district Party Committee and the District People's Committee directly lead the mobilization of people in 5 communes along the coast, namely Vinh Hai, Vinh Hien, Vinh Giang, Vinh My and Vinh Hung, which have little land and are densely populated (896 inhabitants per sq. km.). In contrast, the mountain areas account for 52% of cultivable land with only 19 inhabitants per sq. km. The average population density of the district is 83 inhabitants per sq. km. The District Committee also undertakes a re-distribution of the labour force aimed not only at solving the food problem but also exploiting the advantages of a district with great potentialities in agriculture, forestry, fishery and industry. So far Phu Loc has succeeded in encouraging over 20,000 people to go and build new economic zones in and outside Binh Tri Thien province. The new economic zone of Khe Tre—Nam Dong, in Phu Loc district, consists of 4 communes (Xuan Loc, Huong Lap, Huong Phu and Huong Giang) with over 15,000 inhabitants. Recently, these four communes and six communes made up of members of the Ka Tu ethnic minority have joined efforts in building small dams across streams and rivulets and digging irrigation canals, thereby succeeding in putting hundreds of hectares under rice and thousands of hectares under subsidiary food crops. The new economic zone has not only solved its food problem but has also sent thousands of tons of manioc to the plain area during the months of food scarcity.

ANH TRANG

*Coconut palms in the Giong Trom area, southern Vietnam.*



## Ben Tre Coconut Palms

VISITORS to Ben Tre province are struck by the vast expanses of tall coconut palms laden with lush green fruit. They grow along the Ham Luong river in forest after forest. Coconut palms need fertile alluvial soil, constant hot weather, tropical rains, and brackish water, which is exactly what conditions in Ben Tre are. So the palms grow rapidly here. You can see coconut palms everywhere in this province: around the houses, along the roads and rivers, in the fields... But they are most abundant in Mo Cay, Cho Lach, Chau Thanh, and Giong Trom districts where it is estimated that one hectare can yield ten thousand fruit. There are many varieties of coconuts: some with reddish skin, some oblong with lemon yellow skin, some big and round. But there are two main varieties: the first

used as a refreshment, called Siamese coconut, the palm of which is short, and the fruit small and round with sweet milk. The second one is grown for its oil, and has a big shell with thick juicy meat. In the past, Ben Tre grew hundreds of millions of coconuts every year which gave both milk for refreshment, and tens of thousands of tons of coconut oil. From 1964 to 1972, US bombs, toxic chemicals, and B.52 bombing destroyed thousands of hectares of coconut palms. After liberation, Ben Tre has started developing large-scale socialist production, growing not only rice and sorghum, but more coconut palms as its soil is so good. Five thousand hectares new land for coconut palms have been decided on. Under the plan, this area will be enlarged by 1980 to 40,000 hectares, which will yield 300 million coconuts yearly. Just as

the people in northern Vietnam cherish the bamboo, the coconut palm is dear to the people in southern Vietnam not only for its beautiful shape — symbol of lasting loyalty — but also for its economic value. Coconut milk is used as refreshment, and is both cheap and nourishing. Our canned coconut milk has been awarded a gold medal at the Leipzig Fair. The oil is used for making soap and hair oil. The meat is made into sweet-meat or used to season national fish, pork and chicken dishes, much appreciated by foreign guests in southern Vietnam. The trunk of the coconut palm can be used for house beams and shingles, or for a kind of valuable charcoal and its leaves for covering roofs. Rope made out of its coir is both solid and flexible, and as it does not deteriorate in sea-water, it is widely used by our fishermen.



# NATURAL RUBBER IN VIETNAM

## From the First Rubber Seeds Brought into Southern Vietnam...

**T**HE first rubber seeds introduced into Vietnam, in 1891, came from Brazil. By 1897, the first rubber trees were growing at Ong Yem (Thu Dau Mot province) and Suoi Dau (Nha Trang province). They spread throughout the red soil areas in Eastern Nam Bo and the Central Highlands, on rubber plantations, most of which were set up and controlled by French capitalist companies.

The rate at which rubber plantations were established directly reflected political and economic conditions within the country and abroad, following booms and slumps in the market.

1897—1920 was the trial period: the area under rubber reached altogether 7,200 hectares, during this period, increasing at an annual rate of 300 ha.

During the next period (1921—1938) growth was fairly rapid between 1921 and 1932 (8,200 ha annually), dropping to 930 ha/yr between 1933 and 1938. From 1939 to 1944 the average annual growth rate rose to 4,850 ha, supplying World War II needs. In southern Vietnam rubber topped the list of Vietnamese industrial crops, totalling 108,400 ha in the period prior to the triumph of the August 1945 Revolution. Between 1945 and 1955 a sharp fall was recorded owing to the protracted war of resistance against the French colonialists.

From 1956 onward, in connection with Ngo Dinh Diem's policy of setting up strategic hamlets and resettlement centres, southern Vietnamese land-owners and capitalists were encouraged

to invest in the rubber industry. After 7 years of development southern Vietnam's total area under rubber was 142,700 ha in 1963. Beside the big plantations owned by the French, a number of small plantations run by Vietnamese totalling altogether 15,000 ha grew up during this period. But since 1964, peasant unrest in Nam Bo and the destructive war, unleashed by the American aggressors and their puppets in particular, caused the area planted with rubber to gradually diminish. Work on many Vietnamese-owned plantations was brought to a halt. Pre-liberation statistics show a marked decline: only 83,800 ha in 1974; mostly owned by foreign Companies—*Société des plantations des terres rouges* (Red Earth Plantations) *Société indochinoise des plantations d'hévéas* (Indochinese Rubber Plantations), *Compagnie d'Extrême-Orient* (The Far East Company), *Société des hévéas de Tay*



*Incision of latex.*

Ninh (Tay Ninh Rubber Company), *Compagnie des hauts-plateaux indochinois* (Indochinese High Plateaux Company) and *Société des plantes pneumatiques Michelin* (The Michelin Rubber Tyre Company). Technological advances were introduced, and new and high-yield seed strains used. They also paid attention to improving planting techniques, equipment and processing methods. Research done by the Indochinese Institute of Rubber Research on hybridization, seed imports, and planting and manuring methods helped raise rubber yield to 1-1.6 tons per hectare in peak years (average annual yield in other years was just below the 1-ton mark).

To this brief history of 80 years of rubber industry in southern Vietnam, we add two landmarks: 1960, the year of the highest output (79,000 tons), and 1963, the year when the largest area was under rubber (142,700 hectares). In 1974, one year before liberation, there were only

83,800 hectares of rubber left. There were 60,000 ha of readily exploitable plantation area, but only 24,428 ha were productive, yielding 20,830 tons per year.

One must remember that the way the rubber plantations were set up depended on exploiting and impoverishing Vietnamese peasants and workers. Large numbers of half-employed people in Bac Bo delta and in the arid lands of Trung Bo were persuaded and tricked by rubber plantation agents into signing work contracts. Once on the plantation, they were subjected to strict working rules and a life of privation and misery. Meanwhile, the plantation owners raked in fabulous profits. For example, in 1973 and 1974 (during the decline of the industry) such big companies as the Dong Nai and Tay Ninh netted annual profits equivalent to 60 and 80% of their fixed assets. Rubber accounted for 59% of total exports in 1960 and 90% in 1969.

### ...To the First Rubber Trees in Northern Vietnam

UNDER the French, rubber was grown only in areas south of the 17th parallel. They did experiment with rubber in some areas north of the 17th parallel, but reached the conclusion that soil and climatic conditions there were unsuitable for rubber-growing and its economic efficiency was very low.

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam viewed the problem from a different angle. In 1959 and 1960, the Vietnamese revolution shifted to a new stage, with two strategic tasks: building socialism in the North and struggling for the liberation of the South and national reunification. In order to meet the needs of socialist industrialization, the Party and the State decided to grow Brazilian rubber in areas north of the 17th parallel. Prepa-

rations were made in 1959 — land, seed stations, and training of specialists and workers. In 1961, at the beginning of our first five-year plan, rubber was grown in a number of State farms in Vinh Linh (near the demarcation line) and in the former provinces of Quang Binh and Nghe An. 7,000 hectares were planted in three years (1961-1963). Unfortunately, adverse weather in 1964 destroyed more than 1,000 ha and another 1,000 ha were damaged by US bombing between 1965 and 1972. From 1967 we adopted maintenance and exploitation of the remaining rubber without further expansion of its area. Thus there are now a little over 4,000 ha of rubber in the North which give an annual yield of 4,000 tons.

This is a modest but significant achievement. First of all, rubber can be grown as far north as the nineteenth parallel. The determination involved in achieving this shows our spirit of self-reliance. The State rubber farms in the North supplied the Hanoi Sao Vang (Yellow Star) Rubber Factory with the material to produce bicycle tyres for home consumption and a variety of medical and defence equipment.

### After Liberation

FOLLOWING the complete liberation of the South, the revolutionary administration took over all rubber plantations and other property belonging to big rubber companies both in the country and the towns. The Ministry of Agriculture set up a General Department for Rubber and entrusted it with the management of all major enterprises, in Quan Loi, Dau Tieng, Loc Ninh, Dong Nai, Tay Ninh... and the Indochinese Institute of Rubber Research and its experimental station in Dac Lac (Central Highlands).

On the remaining 83,800 ha, 25% of the trees had been either destroyed or damaged by US toxic chemicals. Many processing enterprises in war zones like Song Ee and Tay Ninh provinces were badly damaged. In other places, machines, equipment and technical materials were stolen, damaged or taken away by the owners who fled. Many plantations were littered with mines, which wounded or killed the rubber workers every day. As a result, in only three years after liberation, 400 workers have been wounded and killed at the Quan Loi State farm. Latex workers on plantations and technical workers in processing enterprises were driven away from their work by US-puppet conscription and forced urbanization.

zation. Statistics of the Saigon regime show that there were almost 100,000 rubber workers in peak years (1960-1964). That number had markedly decreased on the eve of liberation, and the 10,000 registered unemployed had 50,000 family dependents who had almost no means of subsistence.

Our potential is considerable but great efforts have to be made to restore and transform the existing enterprises and build new ones in our advance to socialism.

And it will not be plain sailing. The first thing we have to tackle is to heal the wounds of war: removing barbed wire, deactivating bombs and mines, etc. Local authorities have had to supply relief rice to rubber plantation workers and their families, costing several million former Saigon *piastres*, give them jobs and help them stabilize their living conditions. Along with the restoration of existing enterprises, redeployment of the labour force is underway, in particular in setting workers to land reclaiming and plant tending. Building and technical materials are in short supply as a result of the complete dependence on foreign supplies, part of the economic policy of the former puppet regime. The private, scattered and competitive character of the business conducted by these enterprises, clearly manifested in their management, constitutes an obstacle to developing production along socialist lines.

To overcome these difficulties, the General Department for Rubber has been doing zoning and planning work, scientific research and training cadres, technical workers and managers during the past three years. It has also helped State rubber enterprises organize trade union work and foster collective mas-

tery among workers, who were contemptuously called *coolies* under the former regime.

Thanks to these efforts, many rubber plantations have rapidly been restored, and rubber output gradually increased: 20,000 tons in 1975, 30,000 tons in 1976 and then over 40,000 tons in 1977.

Vietnamese agriculture is now on the way to large-scale socialist production, to comprehensive diversification. Every Party resolution on the tasks, orientation and plans for agricultural development stresses the importance of industrial crops, and rubber takes pride of place among industrial crops, having the highest economic efficiency. Rubber is an important raw material indispensable to socialist industrialization. Moreover, an increasing demand for natural rubber on the world market means we export more and more rubber.

Southern Vietnam is in a good position to develop the rubber industry. Much of the soil in Eastern Nam Bo and on the Central Highlands is suitable for planting rubber, especially the regions of basaltic soil, and climatic conditions in these regions are very favourable to its growth. The average annual temperature here is 25°C and the temperature variation is only about 5-6°. Average annual humidity is 75-85%, although there is a dry season lasting from November to April, and a rainy season from May to October. Average annual sunshine: 2,500 hours.

There is also abundant manpower. Division-sized army units have built new rubber State farms in new economic zones together with volunteer youth brigades and people from overpopulated areas. There are about 400-500,000 ha in the whole country which could be exploited in the future, yielding around 1 million tons of dried latex a year.

However, in the 1977 — 1978 State plan, it is estimated that by the end of 1978 only an area of 140,000 ha will be planted with rubber. The plan also stipulated that efforts should be made to tend the presently exploitable 60,000 ha in order to obtain 54,000 tons of dried latex.

Present yield is approximately 1 ton of dried latex per hectare. This is rather low. Experience in other countries shows that high yield depends primarily on large-scale and modern exploitation, which makes it possible to use technical means extensively. Socialism favours large-scale concentrated development of this industry. We have already conducted experiments in such fields as grafting, growth stimulants, seed selection, disease prevention, etc. We are sure that international cooperation will be very beneficial to our work. (1)

The processing of latex and other rubber products is another area to be studied. The rapid transformation of existing enterprises must be done parallel with the building of new ones with an eye to centralized production and standardization of products. In the future, rubber will no longer be exported in the form of raw material, as we do at present. It will be processed into finished products for export. And rational use of rubber wood and seeds is a considerable economic resource.

In the coming 15-20 years, large industrial-agricultural areas will be set up for growing, processing and comprehensive exploitation of rubber — bright prospects for Vietnam's natural rubber industry.

PHAM CUONG

(1) *Technical cooperation between Vietnam and Malaysia started recently.*

# Kampuchea...

(Continued from page 15)

of Vietnamese army combatants fallen on this land during the common fight against the common enemy and killing any Kampuchean who dares reminisce favourably about the Vietnamese army.

That's not all. Together with their Chinese advisers the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique have chosen Military Zone 203 as a spearhead in their aggressive and expansionist plan against Vietnam.

In their views, Military Zone 203 is a good spring-board for a thrust into the strategic area along the Saigon river and Vam Co Dong river.

From the border three highways — Highway 13 passing through Loc Ninh, Highway 22 through Tay Ninh town, and Highway 1 through Cu Chi — lead to Saigon, a little more than 100 kilometres away by the longest road. Since late 1976 the Phnom Penh rulers have moved large army units to this military zone. Of the 17 divisions Kampuchea possessed at that time, from 6 to 8 were permanently stationed here. When moving their strategic reserve Division 290 to the "Parrot's Beak" which is only 60 kilometres from Saigon as the crow flies, the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique reckoned that by cutting across muddy ricefields they could reach Saigon in about three days.

Kampuchean soldiers who have fled to Vietnam say that as early as June 1975 Kampuchean soldiers were told that "Vietnam is not our friend". In 1976 and 1977 this was officially changed to "Vietnam is our enemy; the Kampuchean army must attack and annihilate this traditional enemy." The high command told the field commanders: "There is no official border between Kampuchea and Vietnam. The border is

where the Kampuchean army goes. We must use force to redefine our border."

The orders to the divisions in Military Zone 203 are even more specific: "The border of Democratic Kampuchea extends as far as Saigon."

On the fateful night of April 30, 1975, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique began their bloody crimes all along the border with Vietnam. Kampuchean troops made surprise attacks and slaughtered Vietnamese civilians in their sleep, Kampuchean shells fell on market places and schools a dozen kilometres from the border.

Military Zone 203 with its pointed "Parrot's Beak" is a dagger directed at Vietnam, Kampuchea's old comrade-in-arms. The blade of the dagger has been sharpened by Pol Pot and Ieng Sary but the haft is held by other people. When given orders to attack Vietnam, Kampuchean military commanders were told that "China stands by us".

Unfortunately for the Phnom Penh rulers, these actions met with firm riposte from Vietnam. Then, right in Military Zone 203 rebellions broke out at regimental, divisional, and even zonal levels. By the end of May an insurrectional atmosphere prevailed. So Phim, Party secretary of the military zone and Vice-President of Democratic Kampuchea, together with his chief of staff, rallied the insurrectional forces behind them. These forces consisted chiefly of troops in the eight districts of Sector 21 and a number of districts of Sector 20 (the sector is a sub-division of the military zone equivalent to a province. Military Zone 203 has six sectors numbered from 20 to 25). This region was selected for

its geographical advantages: the wide Mekong river to the west, dense forests stretching to rugged mountains in the north, while in the east and the south are populous areas of farmland and vast rubber plantations.

Sensing trouble Pol Pot appointed Ta Po deputy Party secretary of the zone. On May 25 Ta Po convened all division, regiment and battalion commanders to an "urgent meeting". The commanders of Sector 21 refused to go and thus escaped death.

On the morning of May 25, So Phim gave the order for insurrection, beginning with Sector 21. The insurrectional forces intercepted army columns sent from Phnom Penh, collected rice and built depots in the jungle, and waged a guerrilla war, blowing up bridges and army vehicles.

On the morning of May 27, the Party Committee in Peam Chleang district received instructions from So Phim to urgently recruit young men and form a third company of guerillas. The army staff of the military zone sent 200 rifles to equip these three companies. Fighting broke out everywhere, especially in Suong Chup, Dam Be, Prey Veng and Kompong Cham. The divisions at the frontline were in a turmoil. Three battalions deserted their posts at the border and joined the insurrectional forces. Pol Pot ordered artillery poundings of the rebels' positions. This was like pouring oil on the flames. From Peam Reang island a battalion led by a commander named Song crossed the Mekong to reinforce So Phim's units. By now clandestine pockets of resistance within the farming co-operatives began to establish contact with the insurrectional forces. The situation evolved rapidly and got out of Pol Pot's control. The despot decided to write off Military Zone 203 and had loyal units sent from all parts of the country to fill the vacuum. These included the *Kandals* (a kind of praetorian

guard from Phnom Penh), naval forces from Kompong Som port, and also border guards from the frontier with Thailand. General mobilisation was ordered from Phnom Penh. Within a month as many as 300 teenagers in Ang Kunh village, Trang district, Ta Keo province, were pressed into military service.

This precipitous action incensed the population even more and sparked off popular struggles from Ratanakiri, to Siamreap, Battambang, Kompong Speu and Kampot provinces. The telephone lines of some Chinese advisory groups were cut off.

### Who Is So Phim ?

**S**UON SAY was born in Bang hamlet, Sam Rong district, Svay Rieng province. He joined the Kampuchean army in March 1976 and was assigned to a battalion commanded by his own uncle, a man named Xuong. One day in late May, his uncle was called to a clandestine meeting somewhere in a rubber plantation. He returned two days later in unusually high spirits. He called Suon aside and said :

"I'll take the whole battalion to Neak Leang and Cham Ron to fight the Pol Pot army. Pol Pot is a bad man. Many other units have also risen up against him. After victory I will come back. Now I want you and your young friends to stay here and cover my departure."

About ten days later the battalion attacked Pol Pot's troops around Prey Veng town then withdrew into the jungle. That happened in mid-June.

About the same time an armoured column was sent from Phnom Penh to Military Zone 203.

Keo Kun, a male nurse in the Supply Section of the 3rd Division,

told me : "Everyone of us anxiously watched as the armoured cars crossed the flooded rice-fields and made straight for our positions. The situation was very tense in the 3rd Division. Before us was the Vietnamese army and behind were insurrectional troops. Word spread that some elements of the 4th and 5th Divisions had taken to the jungle for guerilla warfare.

"A man standing on the top of an armoured car introduced himself as a member of the Central Committee and ordered our division to gather in regimental formations for a meeting.

"The 3rd Division, though officially considered one of the strongest in the Kampuchean army, was actually going to rack and ruin. The 'Central Committee' member didn't even need a loudspeaker, each regiment consisting of 400 or 500 men at most. We squatted on the grass and listened to him. We startled when he mentioned the name of So Phim, secretary of Military Zone 203.

"He said : 'So Phim has rallied his men against the central authorities. He has also taken away millions of metres of cloth and thousands of tons of rice, thus depriving our people of food and clothing. Anyone of you who runs into So Phim must arrest him immediately.' The result of his words was that the name of So Phim spread among the army like a prairie fire. A thousand miraculous things were said about him, everyone swearing he spoke nothing but the truth."

Later I met some Vietnamese cadres who had met So Phim during the joint Kampuchea-Vietnam resistance against the US aggressors. Here is a story about this legendary Kampuchean leader as told by one of these cadres :

"In the former resistance base of the Vietnamese liberation forces in Tay Ninh province there was a hospital. Many leading comrades of the Kampuchean resistance came there for treat-

ment or rest. Once Kampuchean friends brought a very sick man to the hospital : 'This is Comrade Suvanna, one of our leaders.'

"The hospital personnel took great care of this comrade. For security reasons he was called 'Mr Muoi Xu'. Later it was learnt that Suvanna was also called So Phim.

"Muoi Xu was small but wiry. He spoke little. When posing with his Vietnamese friends for a photograph he would wear a faint smile which made his cheek-bones appear still higher. Later, a Kampuchean reported that he had been 'severely criticized' for having left the hospital on a jeep provided by the 'Youn' (Vietnamese).

"In those days the Pol Pot clique on the one hand asked for Vietnamese weapons and assistance in training Kampuchean regiments but on the other repressed Vietnamese residents in areas under their control, sought to discredit Vietnam, and murdered a number of Vietnamese liaison cadres. When the Vietnamese side investigated these cases they gave it only evasive answers.

"Once the head of the liaison committee of Vietnam went to meet Mr Muoi Xu. He told the latter : Some of the Kampuchean leaders have acted very strangely. The Mekong flows through both our countries. Its water carries the blood of fighters of the two nations who have fallen in the common resistance against the Americans for the independence and happiness of Kampuchea and Vietnam. It grieves me to think of what has happened along the border of our countries, to think of those Vietnamese combatants who have died, not because killed by American bullets, but from other causes. Out of respect for you, I ask you to ponder over the root cause of this state of things. We'll never forget this statement of yours : 'Friendship is the source of our strength. It will help us weather all storms...'"



Following the fall of the Lon Nol regime, the Kampuchean rulers closed their country to the world. Only sketchy news have filtered out. Nothing certain can be learnt about the rebellions.

## Pol Pot Abolishes Military Zone 203

**S**A KAN, a squad leader of the Kampuchean army who fled to Vietnam in early July 1978, said that a few days before he left he had picked up a leaflet signed Run Dun. Looking at the portrait printed in one corner of the leaflet he and Nem Sot, a platoon commander and a friend of his, immediately recognized their battalion commander.

"It came as a big surprise to us all. On May 28, 1978, our battalion commander Run Dun, widely known for his exploits in the anti-US resistance, had been summoned to a 'study course'. In our country a convocation to a 'study course' these days means something terrible. We asked each other in whispers: 'Is it true that Run Dun dares oppose Angkar? Now, here we stood in amazement looking at Run Dun's picture on the leaflet. So *Angkar* cannot kill everyone, we concluded: others could have escaped together with Run Dun. But soon orders came from the central authorities for all company commanders to attend a 'study course'. We said to each other: 'So the company leaders in this division must also oppose Angkar, for they are being sent to a re-education course, which means certain death.'

"For our part, to tell the truth, we did not feel too anxious about our own safety, for we had always strictly followed all orders from *Angkar*, working the fields when we were ordered to work the fields, fighting Vietnam when we were ordered to fight Vietnam, and never complaining about anything. Moreover, we

were only small fry not worth worrying about. The only question on our minds was who would be sent to command our company. Most probably he would be a *kandal* since this unit was the most trusted by the central authorities.

"But on June 28, that is a month or so after battalion commander Run Dun was sent to the 'study course', all the platoon and squad leaders in our battalion, then stationed in a border area close to Sa Mat of Viet Nam, also received convocation orders. They were fifty in all, plus a number of the rank and file who were Party members. The battalion was thus left with only newly recruited soldiers without Party or Youth Union membership, one-third of them being mere children aged from 13 to 15.

"Only then, that is after all cadres and Party members in the battalion had been taken away, did the commander of the unit in charge of the 'purge', a complete stranger to us, assemble us and declare coldly: 'The Central Committee no longer needs this Military Zone 203.'

"There was no court, no hearings, no trial, no verdict, nothing, only collective death sentence on all divisions, regiments and battalions in the military zone."

Even then Nem Sot and Sa Kan did not know why they should have to die.

Nem Sot and Sa Kan continued: "One night the soldiers of the units in charge of the 'purge' tied up all the 50-odd officers and took them to a nearby forest. There the prisoners were assembled then led away in groups of three or four." Nem Sot and Sa Kan heard heavy thuds followed by muffled cries resembling the sounds made by animals with their throats being cut.

Panic-stricken, they shouted, "Let's run away, brothers!" The more than 40 of them, all with their hands tied behind their backs, made a rush for their lives. Gunshots rang out and many fell. Nem Sot and Sa Kan are the only known survivors of this wholesale massacre.

## The Insurrection Spreads

**C**HEA CHENG was a platoon commander of Regiment 116 in Svay Rieng province, Military Zone 203.

On April 3, 1978, prior to the large-scale uprising in Military Zone 203, a detachment sent from Phnom Penh arrested all the 40 officers of Regiment 116 together with 182 Party and Youth Union members, among them Chea Cheng. They were pushed onto five large trucks which drove away. Company commanders and higher-ranking officers were taken to unknown destinations. Chea Cheng was brought to a large clearing called Vin Apreng in Chu Cach. About 2,500 army-men were detained there including many with combat wounds and some women soldiers. Daily interrogations were conducted by the Security Service of Sector 24 which was searching out participants in the insurrection which had "sullied" Military Zone 203.

In late May the prisoners at Vin Apreng heard many gunshots coming from the direction of Prey Veng. Word spread that a number of units there had also risen up against the central authorities.

On the morning of June 12, 1978, the camp was thrown into turmoil when three armoured cars were seen making straight for the camp across the surrounding flooded fields, followed by a large crowd of civilians.

Nhon, the commander of the camp, hastily took off his uniform, hid it under a heap of straw and fled.

Men jumping down from the armoured cars took on the security men and a bloody fight began.

Chea Cheng said: "We fled as quickly as our feet could carry us while the soldiers from the armoured cars and the security men fought. Who were the soldiers? I couldn't tell. Travelling along forest trails I arrived home on the afternoon of June 13.

"The following morning the president of the co-op ordered me to report to the district. As I

## WORLD SUPPORT FOR VIETNAM

### USSR

On September 5, 1978, a ceremony was held in the port city of Haiphong to mark the reception of 10 fishing vessels (MRS-225) given by the USSR to Vietnam. Each vessel has a 225 horse-power engine, can carry 12 tons, and can operate out at sea for 7 days in a stretch. The vessels are equipped with detecting and freezing equipment, and are suited to fishing conditions in Vietnam.

### GDR

The GDR Women's Association has recently sent its Vietnamese counterpart 99 bales of children's clothing, toys and physical education and sports equipment, worth 250,000 marks.

### Czechoslovakia

On April 14, 1978 the Czechoslovak Cinematography Department handed to representatives of the Vietnamese Cinematography Department two documentaries on Vietnam entitled "Children and Lotuses" and "The Land of Pink Lotuses" made by Czechoslovak film producers during their visits to Vietnam.

### INDIA

On August 6, 1978, a ceremony was held at Tan Son Nhat airport (Ho Chi Minh City) by the SRV Ministry of Agriculture to mark the reception of a herd of Mura milch-buffaloes and a quantity of related equipment given by the Indian Government and people to help Vietnam build a milch-buffalo research centre in Ben Cat (Song Be province).

entered the compound I saw my elder brother. I heard him ask a soldier:

'What have I done to be tied up thus?'

'Are you still feigning innocence? You and your ilk are a bunch of reactionaries who are following So Phim to oppose the central authorities.'

"He then gave my brother a kick which sent him sprawling on the ground. My brother struggled back to his feet, then walked up to me, kissed me on the cheek, tears trickling down his face and said: 'If such is their verdict, we shall die.'

"Only then did I know that a big uprising had broken out in the region. At sunset they took all of us prisoners out of Prasaut township and led us north following a trail. Soon we arrived at a cemetery reserved for Chinese residents and there we were ordered to halt. A group of very young soldiers were summarily executing prisoners by smashing them over the head with hoes then throwing their bodies into a ditch. We broke

away and ran helter-skelter into the forest. I was hit in the arm by a rifle shot but continued to run. Later a fellow prisoner untied my arms. Finally I managed to reach the border."

Pol Pot and Ieng Sary have been conducting a large-scale, intensive, brutal and continuous purge among the army. They began by killing first all genuine revolutionary cadres, then all those who disapproved of their policy and later anyone who did not please them. Even before that fateful month of June 1978 when they ordered the execution of all dissidents in Military Zone 203, the "abolition" of this zone itself and the replacement of all army units there by loyal troops dispatched from other military zones, the purge had been going on over the past three years in many divisions. In many cases the "traitor"'s parents, wife, children and close relatives were also killed (When battalion commander Run Dun was led away to be executed on May 28, 1978, he was accompanied by his parents, his wife and his two uncles. These were also to be executed).

An estimated sixty per cent of the cadres having taken part in the liberation war have been murdered. Army Party Committees have been completely dismantled.

Meanwhile, the Phnom Penh rulers have urgently trained and promoted teen-age "young red guards" to whom they give the title of "most noble revolutionary combatants".

As turmoil and division grow in the army, the rulers have persisted in their purge. This has fanned up the flames of rebellion. Chen Tei, a Navyman sent from Kompong Som port to Military Zone 203 to command a newly-formed infantry company, has just crossed over to Vietnam. He told me: "The central authorities are dispatching troops from practically all corners of the country to fill the vacuum in Military Zone 203. But even in the division charged with defending Phnom Penh and the Naval Division there have been outbreaks of mutiny. Chan the division commander, and Doum, political commissar of the Navy, have been arrested."

PHAM HONG

## Book Notes

— **Phat huy quyên lam chu tap the xay dung nha nước vung manh** (Let's Give Full Play to Collective Mastery to Build a Strong and Firm State) by LE DUAN — *Su That* (Truth) Publishing House, 1978; 130 pages; 13 × 19 cm.

The book includes excerpts from Le Duan's Political Report at the 4th National Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam (December 1976) and six articles and speeches by the Party Secretary-General about the views of the Party and the Vietnamese working class on the exercise of the working people's right to collective mastery in the building and strengthening of the State of proletarian dictatorship in Vietnam.

— **Duong ngan dam** (The Long Road) by LE DUC THO — *Giai Phong* (Liberation) Publishing House 1977; 133 pages; 13 × 19 cm.

Le Duc Tho, Political Bureau member of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee, is a revolutionary and also a poet. His poems were mostly composed on his way to various missions.

The book contains 48 poems divided into two groups: **Tren nhung neo duong** (On the Roads of the Country) begins with the poem *Xa Lim* (Prison Cell) composed in the Nam Dinh prison (1934), and **Nhat ky duong ra tien tuyen** (Diary on the Way to the Frontline) when Le Duc Tho received the mission of directly leading the anti-US resistance to liberate the South. The book ends with the poem **Tran thang cuoi cung** (The Final Victory) written on May 2, 1975 following the complete liberation of southern Vietnam.

— **Nhung bai hoc len cua hop tac xa Dinh Cong** (Major Lessons of Dinh Cong Co-op) by TO HUU and HOANG VAN HIEU — *Su That* Publishing House, 1978; 80 pages; 13 × 19.5 cm.

In their two analytical articles, TO HUU, alternate Political Bureau member of the Party Central Committee, and HOANG VAN HIEU, alternate member of the Party Central Committee, Secretary of the Party Committee of Thanh Hoa province, introduce the major experiences of the commune-scale Dinh Cong agricultural cooperative. Dinh Cong has, after many years striving in a correct direction, developed from a backward cooperative into a standard-bearer of agricultural production in northern Vietnam.

— **Day manh phong trao thi dua "Day Tot, Hoc Tot" theo guong cac dien hinh tien tien ve giao duc** (Push Forward the "Teach Well, Study Well" Emulation Movement Following the Examples of the Advanced Educational Units) by TO HUU — *Su That* Publishing House, 1978; 82 pages; 13 × 19 cm.

The book contains two speeches by TO HUU, one at the conference to sum up the experiences of advanced units of general education, standard-bearers of the emulation movement "Teach Well, Study Well" of the educational service (1971), and the other at the conference to review five years of this movement (1977).

The speeches outline the outstanding achievements of the educational service and the directions for the reform and development of general education in reunified Vietnam.

— **Kinh nghiem quan ly suc khoe va chua benh tai nha** (Experiences in Health Control and Health Care at Home) by NGUYEN KHAC THUAT — *Y Hoc* (Medicine) Publishing House, 1976; 136 pages; 13 × 19 cm.

The author, who is director of the Van Dinh hospital (Ha Son Binh province) — the standard-bearer of the Vietnamese medical service — presents experiences and the methods of work of this hospital in practising health control and health care provided to the people in their own homes in a district with a population of 120,000 inhabitants. The initiative of Van Dinh hospital in caring for the people's health in their homes has greatly helped to improve the population's health and to start a nation-wide movement for sanitation and disease prevention. This initiative has also helped save a lot of time for the peasants, thereby contributing to boosting agricultural production.

— NGUYEN HUY TUONG — **Selected Works** (Second Edition) — *Tac Pham Moi* Publishing House, 1978; 580 pages; 15 × 22 cm.

The book introduces four major works of this author who lived from 1912 to 1960: **Bac Son, La co theu sau chu vang** (The Banner Inscribed with Six Golden Letters), **Ky Su Cao Lang** (Travel Notes from Cao Lang) and **Song mai voi Thu Do** (Forever with the Capital City). All of them have received wide public acclaim. Nguyen Huy Tuong has made notable contributions to contemporary Vietnamese literature.

— **Duong vao khoa hoc cua toi** (The Road that Took Me to Science) by Prof. TON THAT TUNG — *Thanh Nien* (Youth) Publishing House, 1978; 135 pages; 13 × 19 cm.

The author, who is a well-known surgeon, relates his life from his studies under French rule to the days of the anti-French war of resistance in which he served as a resistance doctor. His patriotism and love for the people including wounded combatants and victims of the imperialist war of aggression inspired in him an enormous eagerness to work and a creativeness in scientific research which helped him to find a new method of liver surgery called dry hepatectomy, a method which has been highly appreciated by the medical world.

— **Nghe si tuong Nguyen Lai** (Nguyen Lai, Eminent Artist of the Tuong Drama) by NGUYEN Thi Nhung — *Van Hoa* (Culture) Publishing House, 1975; 240 pages; 13 × 19 cm.

The book relates the artistic life of the eminent *tuong* (classical drama) actor Nguyen Lai, who is also a renowned writer of *tuong* dramas.

The book has four parts dealing respectively with the artistic life of Nguyen Lai, his stagecraft, his merit as a comedian and his art in the *tuong* drama "Chi Ngo" (Mrs. Ngo).

The book includes the text of the *tuong* drama "Chi Ngo" which was first staged nearly 30 years ago and has won ever bigger audiences since.

— **Doi nghe thuat cua Ngo Thi Lieu** (The Artistic Life of Ngo Thi Lieu) told by the artist herself and recorded by LE NGOC CAU — *Van Hoa* Publishing House, 1978; 242 pages; 13 × 19 cm.

This 9-chapter book relates the artistic activities of Ngo Thi Lieu, a gifted actress of the *tuong* classical drama who has played many parts (male and female) in many *tuong* dramas in the classic style as well as modern *tuong* dramas of the pre-revolution period and more recent times.

# CHRONOLOGY

September 16 — October 15, 1978

## SEPTEMBER

16. A delegation of the Vietnam Federation of Trade Unions led by Nguyen Van Linh, its president, arrives in Paris on a friendship visit to France.

17. SRV Vice-President Nguyen Huu Tho concludes his official friendship visit to the Republic of Mali. A Vietnam-Mali joint communique is published.

— The International Conference for Solidarity with the Struggle of the African and Arab Peoples adopts a resolution strongly condemning China's chauvinistic and expansionist policy against Vietnam.

19. *Nhan Dan* publishes a document on Peking's spy network directed against the Vietnamese revolution. This document gives an insight into the activities of some secret agents sent to Vietnam by the Chinese military intelligence and espionage agencies.

20. SRV Vice-President Nguyen Huu Tho concludes his official friendship visit to the People's Socialist Arab Alyamakiria of Libya. A Vietnam-Libya joint communique is published.

— SRV Prime Minister Pham Van Dong concludes his official friendship visit to the Republic of the Philippines. A Vietnam — Philippines joint communique is published.

21. A delegation of the Foreign Relations Board of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, led by Nguyen Thanh Le, member of the Party Central Committee and Deputy Chairman of the Commission, concludes a visit to the Soviet Union begun on September 14, 1978.

22. SRV Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Agriculture Vo Chi Cong, on a visit to Hungary, holds talks with the Hungarian Minister of Agriculture and Food Industries, Dr Pal Romany, on problems concerning agricultural cooperation between the two countries.

23. SRV Prime Minister Pham Van Dong concludes his official friendship visit to the Republic of Indonesia begun on September 20, 1978. A Vietnam-Indonesia joint communique is published.

— SRV Prime Minister issues instructions on the application of the rules for State industrial enterprises in the South.

25. A delegation of the SRV Government led by Dang Viet Chau, Minister of Foreign Trade, leaves for Bagdad to attend the first session of the

Vietnam-Irak Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technological Co-operation and the Bagdad International Fair.

— A delegation of the Communist Party of Vietnam and SRV Government led by Ha Ke Tan, member of the Party Central Committee and Minister at the Prime Minister's Office, arrives in Damascus on an official friendship visit to the Arab Republic of Syria.

26. At the eighth Vietnam — China meeting on the Hoa issue, the Chinese side unilaterally decides to suspend the talks indefinitely.

— At the United Nations General Assembly, Soviet Foreign Minister A.A. Gromyko declares full support for Vietnam.

27. Nguyen Duy Trinh, SRV Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs leaves Hanoi for New York to attend the 33rd session of the UN General Assembly.

— VNA: The Government Council sends two inspection teams to the provinces of Thanh Hoa and Nghe Tinh to help the local people fight against the floods and to discuss measures to overcome the consequences of the floods and restore production.

— SRV Vice-President Nguyen Huu Tho concludes his official friendship visit to the Algerian Democratic and People's Republic begun on September 25, 1978. A Vietnam-Algeria joint communique is published.

— Le Thanh Nghi, SRV Deputy Prime Minister, member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee, representative of the SRV in the Central Executive Committee of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, arrives in Ulan Bator to attend the 87th session of the Executive Committee of the C.M.E.A.

28. The first Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Socialist Ethiopia to Vietnam presents his credentials in Hanoi.

— Vietnam's Ambassador to Poland holds a ceremony to confer Vietnam's Friendship Order on K. Mielewski, chief engineer and head of the Polish specialists' team, and the Friendship Medal on 22 other Polish specialists for their contributions to the building of the Cua Ong Coal Sorting Factory (Quang Ninh province), the Haiphong Tool Factory and the planning of Haiphong port city.

29. Ending of the Conference to sum up experience of the "Youth Union Takes part in Transforming Socialist Agriculture" campaign in the southern provinces and cities, organized by the Secretariat of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union Central Committee.

— *Hanoi*: The Central Committee for Mother and Child Welfare holds a conference to look at the results of the movement to emulate Dien Chau district (Nghe Tinh province) in child care. Representatives of 38 cities throughout the country attend the conference. President Ton Duc Thang sends a message to the conference commending achievements in this branch of activity.

— Signing in Hanoi of an agreement on consular affairs between Vietnam and the Soviet Union.

30. A delegation of the SRV Ministry of Forestry, led by Vice-Minister Pham Dinh Son, concludes its friendship visit to the Lao People's Democratic Republic. A protocol on cooperation and mutual assistance in developing forestry is signed between the two countries.

— A delegation of the diplomatic corps in Vietnam and of international organizations and foreign news agencies, correspondents and T.V. cameramen visits the flooded areas in the Mekong river delta in southern Vietnam.

— An economic delegation of the SRV Government led by Nguyen Chanh, Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade, concludes its visit to Afghanistan begun on September 25, 1978. Protocols on trade and on economic and technological cooperation between Vietnam and Afghanistan are signed.

## OCTOBER

1. According to a communique from the 87th session of the CMEA Executive Committee, its member countries have decided on co-ordinated measures to help Vietnam complete the restoration of the Hanoi—Ho Chi Minh City railway and continue with projects affected by the withdrawal of Chinese technical aid.

3. The SRV Ministry of Foreign Affairs hands the Chinese Embassy in Hanoi a memorandum protesting against China's continued sending of armed forces to encroach upon SRV territory.

4. An international delegation for research into problems of women and their social development in Asia and the Pacific arrives in Hanoi for a study tour to look at the role of Vietnamese women in national construction.

5. The Government Council meets under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Pham Van Dong to discuss measures to overcome the consequences of natural calamities.

— The Venezuelan Committee for Solidarity with Vietnam is founded in Caracas.

— Tran Van Hien, SRV Minister of Home Trade, leaves Hanoi for Budapest to attend the 10th session of the Ministerial Conference of Home Trade of CMEA member countries.

— The delegation of the Confederation of Free German Trade Union led by Harry Tisch, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the Confederation, arrives in Vietnam on a visit.

7. *VNA*: So far, 10 suburban districts in Ho Chi Minh City have set up 677 agricultural production teams comprising 43.6 per cent of peasant households with 35.57 per cent of their cultivable area.

— A delegation of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization led by Nouri Abdul Razzak, its Assistant Secretary-General, arrives in Vietnam on a visit.

7. Signing in Hanoi of a plan for cooperation between the Vietnamese and GDR trade union organizations.

— The SRV Government Council gives instructions on launching a movement to promote agricultural production, especially food, in order to overcome the effects of recent typhoons and floods.

— Vice-President Nguyen Huu Tho concludes his official friendship visit to the People's Republic of Angola begun on October 3, 1978. A Vietnam-Angola joint communique is published.

9. An economic delegation of the SRV Government led by Nguyen Chanh, Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade, leaves Hanoi for a visit to Thailand.

— On his way home after attending the UN General Assembly, Minister of Foreign Affairs Nguyen Duy Trinh meets and holds talks with French Foreign Minister Louis de Guiringaud in Paris.

11. A Bulgarian Government economic delegation led by Kristo Trichkov, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Chairman of Bulgarian section of the Joint Vietnam-Bulgaria Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation, arrives in Vietnam to attend the 7th session of the Commission.

— Arrival in Hanoi of a delegation of the South African National Congress led by Oliver Tambo, Chairman of the Central Committee of ANC.

13. Chinese border guards open fire, killing two Vietnamese border guards in the border area between border-posts 20 and 21 in Hoang Lien Son province. They also kidnap one Vietnamese cadre in Muong Khuong district.

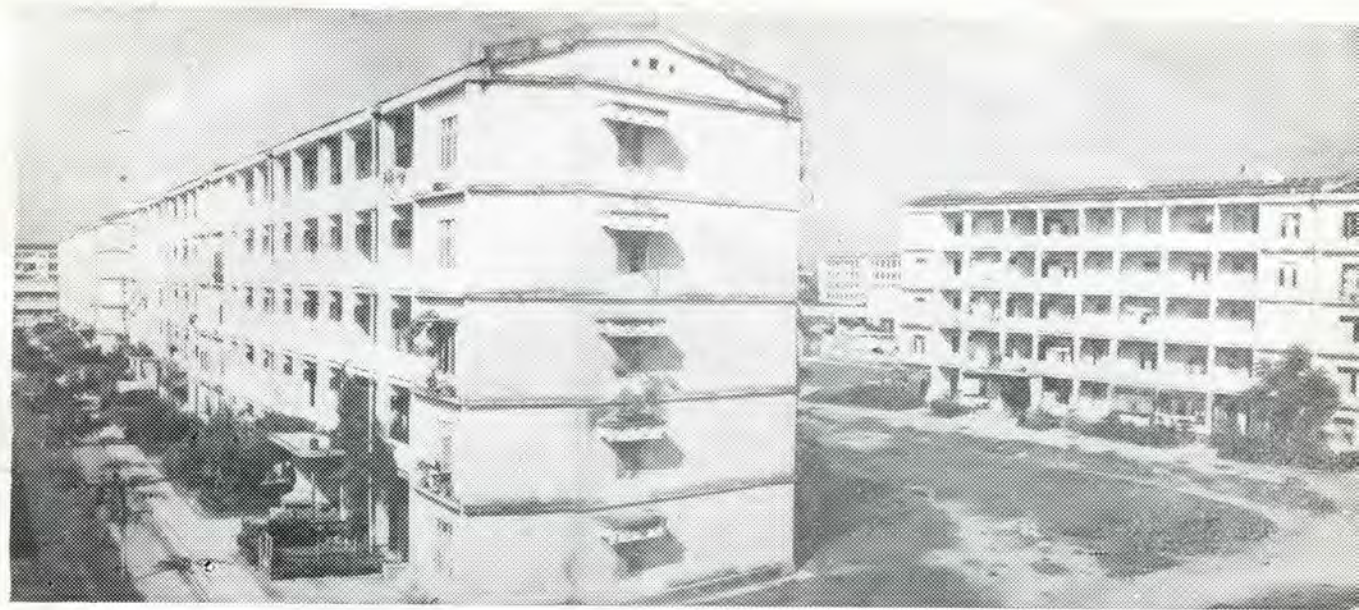
— Arrival in Hanoi of a delegation of the French Communist Party led by Gaston Plissonnier, Political Bureau member and Secretary of the Party Central Committee.

— Conclusion of a meeting for research into family planning held by the Medical and Social Affairs Commission of the SRV National Assembly.

15. *VNA*: By the end of September 1978, 32,000 hectares of sorghum have been planted in the southern provinces, a sixfold increase compared with last year.

— *VNA*: The Thang Long bridge construction company (Hanoi) starts pouring concrete for pier No. 9 in the middle of the Red River.





*New apartment blocks at Trung Tu.*

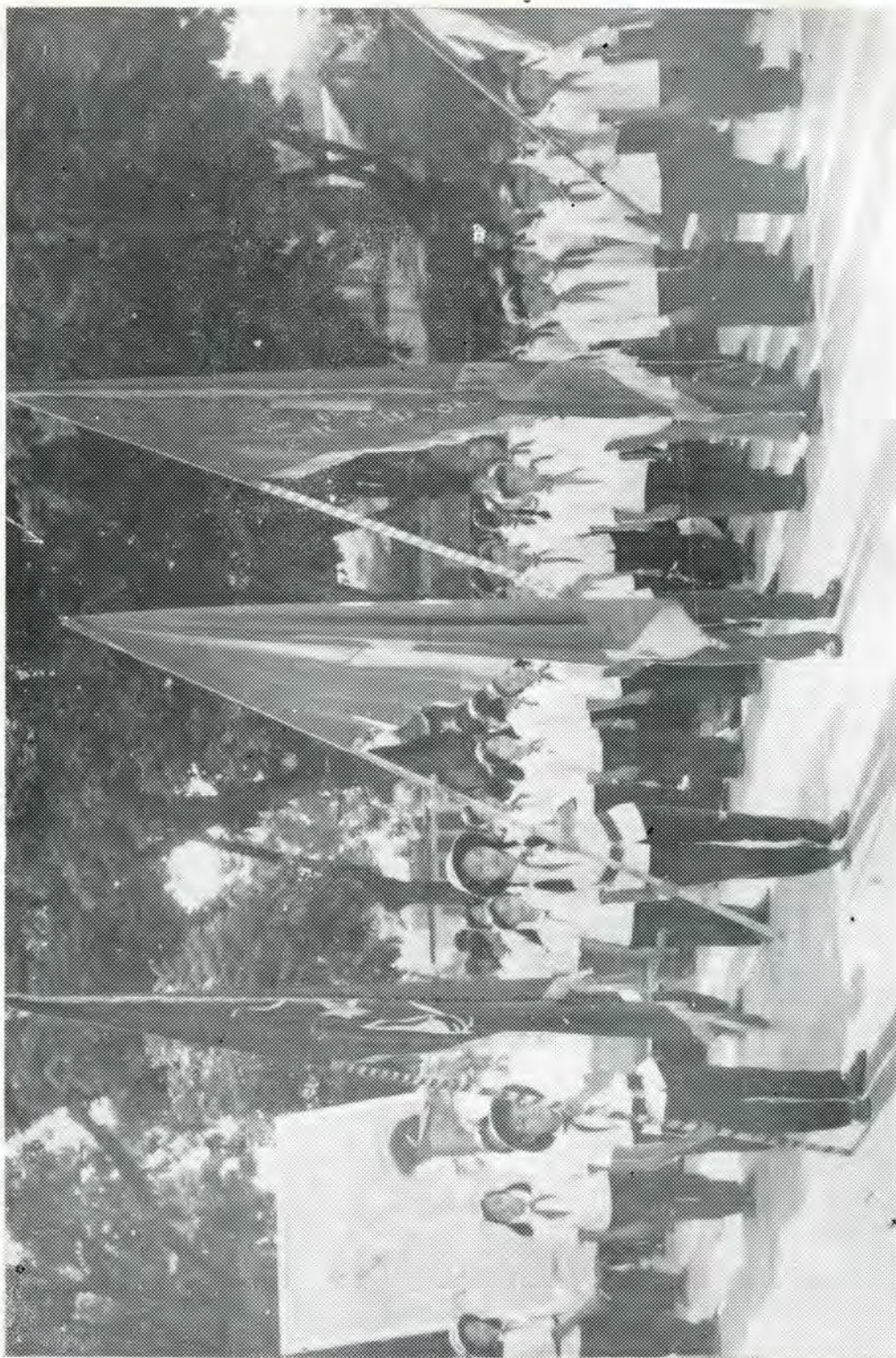
## HANOI

*At the Chim non kindergarten.*



*Winners of the 800-m event at the 1978 national athletic competitions.*





*The 1978-1979 school year at the Chu Van An school.*