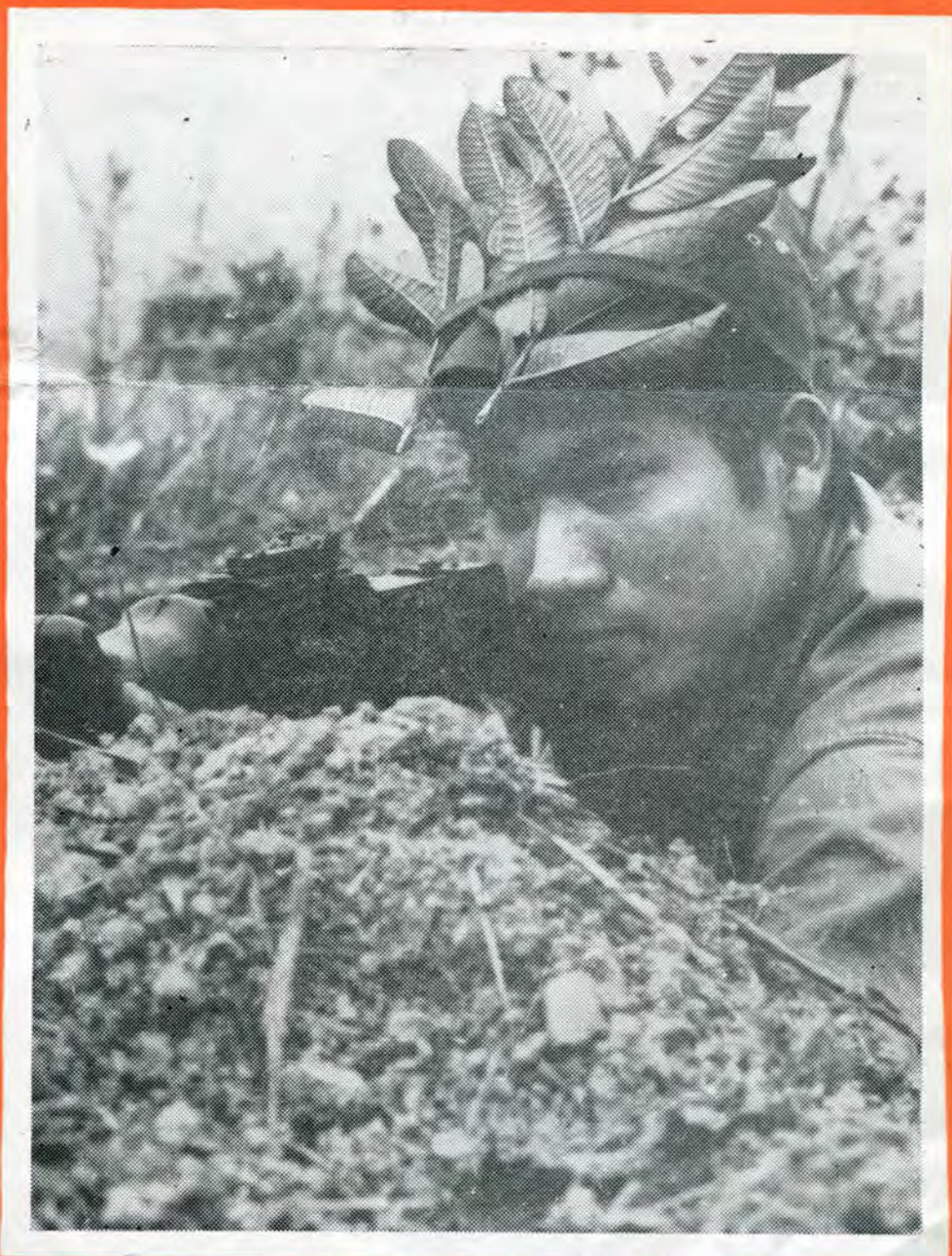


Vietnam courier



A MONTHLY REVIEW

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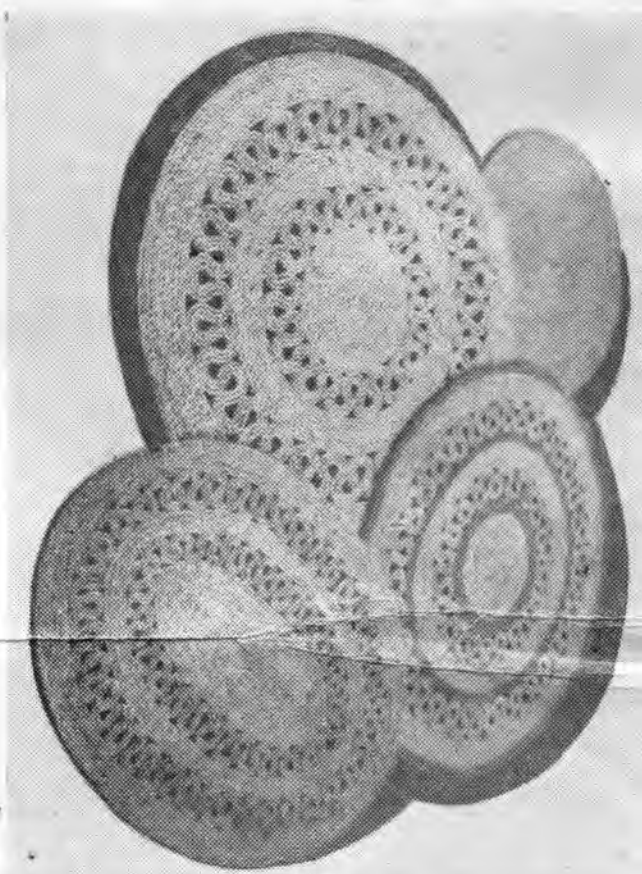
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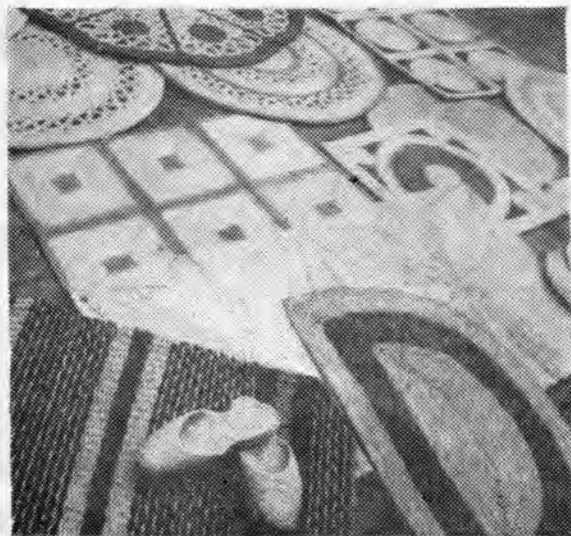
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OUR MONTHLY COMMENT

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Front Cover: *Nong Van Phiao, a people's security man of the Tay national minority, fought for seven days running to defend the Dong Dang post, wiping out 60 Chinese aggressors.*

Photo: *Nguyen Tan.*

THE Chinese army, although it is called a liberation army, recently invaded Vietnam just as if it was an army of the ancient Chinese feudal dynasties or of the French and US imperialists.

China claims to be a socialist country, but last year it resorted to gunboat diplomacy, unilaterally deciding to send ships to Vietnamese ports allegedly to pick up the "victimized Chinese residents". This year, it openly started a "punitive war" against Vietnam: in other words, it put itself forward as an international gendarme.

However, the Chinese army of aggression has struck against a nation that will not kowtow to tyranny, and which has won the affection and admiration of all progressive mankind. They brought considerable forces into the war — 600,000 troops, 600 tanks and armoured vehicles and 700 planes — but finally they had to withdraw in disgrace, seriously battered. They had meant to teach others a lesson, but the lesson they have themselves received may be starting to sink in. The cry of "Hands off Vietnam" was echoed by hundreds of millions of people across the whole world. With their support the Vietnamese people and army succeeded in checking the advance of the Chinese, who deceitfully declared that they "were only carrying out a military operation limited in both time and space", but who nurtured dangerous and in fact boundless ambitions.

What soothed the minds of the Vietnamese was that the Chinese people, who have always reserved deep affection for the Vietnamese people, sided with Vietnam in opposing the actions of the Chinese reactionary rulers, as we can see by the big-character posters appearing on the Democracy Wall in Peking. The Chinese people's opposition, and divisions among Mao Tse-tung's successors to power in China were both factors which contributed to forcing the Chinese troops to pull out.

The troop withdrawal lasted more than ten days. The military units of the new

Vietnam courier

Celestial Empire have had enough time to finish off the destruction, burning and killing of everything that remained from the first 17 days. In fact, the barbarous aggressors were not new to these actions, which they had also inflicted on their own fellow-countrymen during the Cultural Revolution and which they had taught their agents Pol Pot and Ieng Sary to perpetrate against the Kampuchean people during the terrible years of 1975-1978.

On 15 March 1979, the SRV Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent a note to the Chinese authorities, saying "one week after the complete withdrawal of Chinese troops to the other side of the historical border which the two parties have agreed to respect, the vice-foreign ministers of Vietnam and China will start negotiations". Then after further exchanges of views the two sides almost agreed on the venue of the negotiations — Hanoi and Peking alternately, the first round being in Hanoi. 29 March 1979 was also proposed for the start of the negotiations, and the Vietnamese side stressed that Chinese troops must have been withdrawn across the historical border before that date.

Of course, the border issue, among others, will be discussed during the talks. The 15 March 1979 memorandum of the Vietnamese Ministry of Foreign Affairs pointed out with regard to this issue that in 1957 — 1958 the Communist Parties of Vietnam and China agreed to maintain the historical border, i.e. all the border on land and in the Bac Bo Gulf delineated by the French Government and the Ching dynasty in the 1887 and 1895 Conventions, which has been officially marked out on land. Over the last quarter of a century, the Chinese rulers have resorted to all sorts of manoeuvres to appropriate one area after another of Vietnam: all of them of military or economic importance. In January 1974, they went so far as to attack and seize the Hoang Sa islands with the collusion of the US imperialists. Two rounds of vice-ministerial negotiations, one in 1974 to officially delineate the border in the Bac Bo Gulf and another in 1977-1978 to officially draw both the land frontier and that in the Bac Bo Gulf, were fruitless. This was because the Chinese side firstly repudiated the provisions of the 1887 Convention regarding the border in the Bac Bo Gulf, and

secondly insisted on retaining not the historical border line, but "its present state": in other words, on legalizing their territorial encroachments.

If negotiations between Vietnam and China are reopened, would the Chinese honour their frequent statements that they "do not want even an inch of Vietnamese territory?" There is every reason for doubt, because the events of the past few years have proved that the Chinese leaders not only wanted to appropriate a number of areas of Vietnamese territory but have also intentions with much more serious consequences: to subdue Vietnam, hoping to open the way for their expansion into Southeast Asia, the first stage of their scheme for world hegemony.

Anyway, in order to enable the negotiations to take place, China must first withdraw all its troops beyond the historical border as the Vietnam side has stated. China has obviously not done this, its troops are still deliberately occupying dozens of places on Vietnamese territory. Of course, we reserve our right to strike back and drive them out from any part of our country they occupy.

Although they have withdrawn, Chinese troops are continuing their shelling, increasing their military strength, consolidating their fortifications, and stepping up their food and ammunition supplies to the border. The reactionary top leaders in Peking still repeat their arrogant threats to our people. We are closely watching their latest schemes and must bear in mind that as long as the reactionaries remain in power in China, they will make schemes of aggression against Vietnam. Our historical experience has shown us each of the three times the Vietnamese people had to fight the Yuan who invaded our country from the North in the latter half of the thirteenth century, our people won a great victory. Only after their third defeat did the Yuan give up their aggression against our country.

The appeal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam and the general mobilization order by President Ton Duc Thang are still in effect; the Vietnamese people are responding enthusiastically to the appeal and implementing the general mobilization order.

25 March 1979

APPEAL BY THE CPV CENTRAL COMMITTEE

COMPATRIOTS and combatants throughout the country!

Since 17 February, 1979, the reactionary Chinese rulers, mobilizing many army corps totalling 500,000 men, and a large number of tanks and aircraft, have conducted massive attacks on our country, along the entire border from Quang Ninh to Lai Chau provinces. They have wantonly fired on our people, plundered their property and massacred our compatriots, including women and children, committing atrocious crimes.

Our armed forces and people have fought heroically against the aggressors, intercepting their thrusts, and wiping out tens of thousands of them, setting hundreds of tanks on fire and destroying many weapons. Though sustaining heavy losses, the enemy is recklessly escalating the war. Fierce fighting continues. Our armed forces and people are resolved to defend every inch of our country's land. Our compatriots and combatants throughout the country, imbued with fighting spirit, are resolved to defeat the Chinese expansionists.

The Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, the Communist and Workers' Parties and all progressive people of the world have indignantly and vehemently denounced the crimes committed by the aggressors and warmly supported the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

The reactionary Peking rulers have long been colluding with the US imperialists in plotting to annex our country, in a bid to realize their great-nation expansionist policy.

In 1974, they brazenly occupied Vietnam's Hoang Sa Islands (the Paracels). In recent years, they deployed large forces close to the northern border of Vietnam, carried out daily provocation, encroachment, and made frantic preparations for a major war. They used the reactionary and genocidal Pol Pot — Ieng Sary fascist gang to make war, infringing on the south-western border of our country, hoping to squeeze us in a vice. They made every effort to instigate and compel Hoa people to make trouble inside our country.

The shameful defeat sustained by Chinese expansionism in Kampuchea has further infuriated them and prompted them to start a war of aggression against Vietnam.

The truth is clear: the reactionary Peking rulers are carrying out a cruel plan to annex our country and gradually realize their great-nation expansionism and hegemonism in the Indochinese peninsula and Southeast Asia.

At present, the reactionary Peking rulers are the direct and dangerous enemy of our people.

By invading Vietnam, they have thrown off the revolutionary masks under which they hid, to collude shamefully with the imperialists and today's most reactionary forces. Their aggressive war-mongering has blatantly infringed the inviolable right of the Vietnamese people to independence and freedom, sabotaged the traditional

friendship between the peoples of Vietnam and China, and completely betrayed the revolutionary cause, interests and conscience of the Chinese people. They have become a dangerous enemy of the whole socialist system, and of the movement for national independence, democracy and peace in Asia and the world.

The conscience of humanity is once again being challenged; its vigilance once again being alerted. With disgusting tricks, the aggressors are trying to deceive world public opinion and cover up their sinister intentions and their atrocious crime of aggression.

But the whole world is vehemently condemning them while warmly expressing their solidarity with and support for the heroic Vietnamese people against the reactionary Chinese aggressors.

Dear compatriots and combatants!

The enemy is trampling upon our land. Our people's independence, freedom and socialism are being violated. Peace and stability in South-east Asia are being threatened.

The Vietnamese people must do their best to fight in self-defence. Our war of resistance against the reactionary Chinese aggressors has begun!

Let fellow Vietnamese of all the country's fraternal ethnic groups, of all religious communities, and all political parties, old and young people, women and men, enhance the tradition of Dien Hong (1) and rise up, millions as one, to defend our homeland!

Let our armed forces and people in the border region, from Quang Ninh to Lai Chau provinces, who have upheld revolutionary heroism and fought most valiantly, rush forward on the crest of their victories, unite as one to destroy the enemy and perform heroic deeds, combining the three kinds of armed forces (regular army, regional army and militia-guerilla forces) to strike hard, tightly encircle the enemy and wipe out as many enemy troops as possible! Let us actively defend the lives and property of the people, and maintain security everywhere. Our people and armed forces at present in the front line have the glorious task of pushing all aggressors out of our country and safely defending our border.

Let the people and combatants of the whole country enhance their revolutionary spirit, eagerly compete with one another in production, with strict discipline, for high productivity and full support to the front. Let us eagerly take part in military training, sharpen our vigilance, and be prepared to defeat the enemy's war of aggression under any circumstance! Each trial in our history has strengthened the Vietnamese people and brought into full play their courage,

(1) Dien Hong: A people's congress called by King Tran Nhan Tong in 1285 which expressed the Vietnamese people's determination in fighting to defeat the then Yuan invaders.

NATIONWIDE GENERAL MOBILIZATION

Facing the war of aggression waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists against our country, on 5 March 1979, the President of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam signed a decree on general mobilization throughout the country: all citizens within defined age limits shall join the armed forces according to the plan laid down by the Government Council;

all necessary manpower and material and financial resources shall be mobilized to meet the needs of the war for national salvation.

On the same day, the Government Council issued a resolution on arming the entire people and calling on them to adopt a military life-style in order to defeat the reactionary Chinese aggressors.

intelligence and creativity in both production and fighting, increasing their material and moral strength to defeat the enemy.

Each hamlet, village, enterprise, cooperative, provincial town, district and city precinct must become an impregnable fortress against the aggressors. Each province and city is a potential battlefield. The whole country is a potential battlefield. Every area in our country will also become another Chi Lang (2) another Dong Da (3), our rivers and seas are all Bach Dang (4) and Ham Tu (5).

All members of the Communist Party and the Communist Youth Union have the responsibility and honour to march in the forefront in every sphere: production, fighting, working and studying. Let them all be worthy of the people's trust!

Let overseas Vietnamese enhance their patriotism and solidarity, and strengthen their friendship with the peoples of other countries, so playing their part in the sacred resistance war of the nation!

Peking's great-nation expansionism and hegemonism are not only bringing disaster to the Vietnamese people, but also endangering the peace, independence, freedom and social progress of the other peoples of Southeast Asia and the world. The Communist Party of Vietnam earnestly calls on the world's communist and workers' parties, revolutionary movements, international democratic organizations and the peoples and governments of other countries, to uphold peace and justice and strongly condemn the reactionary Chinese aggressors, act speedily to check their dangerous, criminal and adventurous policy of war, and prevent them from deceiving and insulting world public opinion by attempting to cover up their atrocious crime of aggression against the Vietnamese people!

For the sake of peace and the traditional friendship between Vietnam and China, we earnestly call on the genuine communists and people of China to vigorously oppose, and as soon as possible stop the reactionary policies and the unjust war waged by the reactionary rulers in China!

The Communist Party of Vietnam and the Vietnamese people sincerely thank their comrades and friends everywhere for their determined, prompt and vigorous support for the just struggle of the Vietnamese people.

The Vietnamese people are fully aware that to fight resolutely till complete victory for the

independence and freedom of their homeland is also to fight for peace for all nations.

To defeat the reactionary Chinese aggressors this time is a glorious national obligation and at the same time a noble international obligation of the Vietnamese people.

Compatriots and combatants throughout the country!

Once again, our entire people are unanimously rising up to fight the aggressors. Our heroic nation once defeated the Chin, Han, Sung, Yuan, Ming and Ching aggressors. (6) Under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam, our people have gloriously defeated the aggressive French and US imperialisms. Today, we are stronger than ever with the aggregate strength of the whole nation and of the three revolutionary currents of our times.

The more the reactionary Chinese aggressors expand and prolong the war, the more determinedly the army and people throughout Vietnam will fight back, and we will certainly win complete victory.

The great President Ho Chi Minh's words still inspire our people: **Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom!**

Let the entire Party, people and army unite as one and march forward valiantly with the determination to fight and win!

The reactionary Chinese aggressors will certainly be defeated!

The Vietnamese people will certainly win!

Hanoi, 4 March 1979

(2) *Chi Lang*: A pass in Lang Son province where the Vietnamese forces beat down a 100,000-strong army of aggression of the Chinese Ming dynasty, and killed their commanding General Liao Sheng.

(3) *Dong Da*: A small hill in Hanoi which witnessed the great victory of the fight waged in 1789 by the Vietnamese people led by the national hero Nguyen Hue (King Quang Trung) over the 200,000-strong army of aggression of the Chinese Ching dynasty.

(4) *Bach Dang*: A River in Quang Ninh province where in the 10th and 13th centuries, Vietnamese national heroes Ngo Quyen and Tran Hung Dao defeated the southern Han and Yuan aggressors respectively.

(5) *Ham Tu*: A place in Khoai Chau district, Hai Hung province, where the Vietnamese army under general Tran Nhat Duat defeated the Yuan army under General Sagatou in 1285.

(6) *The principal Chinese imperial dynasties.*

LOSSES INFLICTED ON CHINESE AGGRESSORS :

- 62,500 Chinese Troops Put Out of Action
- 280 Tanks, 270 Military Vehicles and 115 Artillery Pieces Destroyed

ON 17 February 1979, the reactionary Peking rulers started their war of aggression against Vietnam. They mobilized a 600,000-strong army including many regular army corps and independent divisions, over 600 tanks and armoured cars, and thousands of artillery pieces for the aggression. Between 250,000 and 300,000 of the troops mobilized operated inside Vietnamese territory.

They attacked all the six Vietnamese provinces bordering China but concentrated their main thrusts against the three provinces of Lang Son, Cao Bang and Hoang Lien Son, intending to take the three provincial capitals, namely Lang Son, Cao Bang and Lao Cai, within 48 hours. However, they did not succeed in controlling Lao Cai town until the first few days of fighting were over, entering Cao Bang town after ten days, and Lang Son town after 16 days. Unable to advance further and having suffered heavy losses, they were forced to declare their troop withdrawal on the seventeenth day of the aggression. Nevertheless the withdrawal was tardy and prolonged. Although by 18 March 1979 a major part of their troops had been withdrawn, they still had troops stationed on Vietnamese territory at 20 places. We give below accounts of the developments on the various battlefronts:

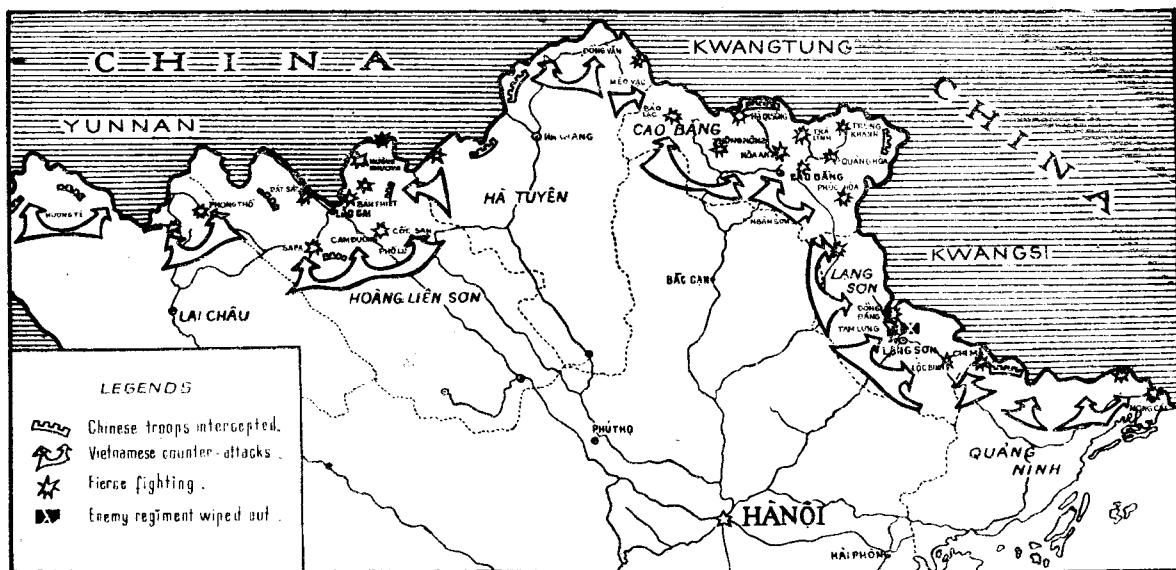
The Lang Son Front

A Chinese army corps was thrown into attacks on the hamlets and villages of the three districts of Dinh Lap, Loc Binh and Van Lang and the

district town of Dong Dang. However the Chinese troops were intercepted and pinned down for three days in succession, west of Routes 1A and 1B. After receiving reinforcements, they made further onslaughts on surrounding hills on 20 February and moved south of Dong Dang. The army and people of Lang Son put up an effective defence, meanwhile they made rear attacks on the invading enemy troops, compelling them to concentrate their forces to cope with ours. As a result of this they were repelled in many places.

On 27 February they put another army corps onto the battlefield for the seizure of the town of Lang Son. Fierce fighting ensued. The local armed forces intercepted the enemy advance on the outskirts of the town, inflicting heavy losses upon them. The enemy regiment No. 850 was put out of action in the area of Hill 417. On a section of Route 18 near the Khanh Khe bridge our fighters checked the advance of an enemy infantry division and tank battalion, thus maintaining the town's defence line. Even after 5 March 1979, during their withdrawal, Chinese troops continued to commit atrocities against our people. They got what they deserved; in Long Dau — Na Quan (Chi Ma) area alone, one Chinese infantry regiment and three artillery companies were badly damaged by the army and people of Lang Son.

During 30 days of fighting on the Lang Son battlefield the local army and people annihilated nearly 19,000 enemy troops, badly hit three regiments and four battalions of the Chinese aggressors, set on fire or destroyed 128 military vehicles including 76



tanks and armoured cars, and destroyed 95 artillery pieces, mortars and rocket launchers.

The Cao Bang Front

Two Chinese army corps were deployed in several thrusts in order to seize the provincial town of Cao Bang. The thrusts were intercepted in Hoa An and Quang Ha districts and on Route 4. In the first three days of the war of aggression (17-19 February) 4 enemy battalions were decimated and dozens of tanks and armoured cars destroyed. They had to send in their reserves for reinforcement. On the following days they increased their reinforcements, making every effort to capture the provincial capital. But they were intercepted everywhere. An enemy division was pinned down at the foot of the Khau Chia pass for 12 days and 4,000 of its troops were killed. On 12 March they had to withdraw their forces.

In 30 days the army and people of Cao Bang annihilated 18,000 Chinese troops, including the major part of 7 enemy battalions, and set on fire or destroyed 134 enemy tanks and armoured cars.

The Hoang Lien Son Front

On the morning of 17 February 1979 many divisions from two Chinese army corps launched massive attacks all along the border of Hoang Lien Son province. Many enemy thrusts were directed towards the districts of Bat Xat and Muong Khuong. The provincial town of Lao Cai was under heavy artillery barrage. Chinese tanks and infantry crossed the Red River and the Nam Thi River by pontoon bridges to capture Lao Cai town and move on to Ban Phiet. On 24 February the whole of the two Chinese army corps were thrown into the battle. They were trying to seize the Cam Duong mining area. However, the army and people of Hoang Lien Son hit back hard to overwhelm the Chinese army of aggression. Along Route 7 from Ban Phiet to Coc Xam, on the section of railway from Pho Moi to Pho Lu and on sections of roads from Lao Cai to Cam Duong and from Lao Cai to Sapa, enemy corpses littered the roads and surrounding hills and mountains. The aggressors lost 1,100 men and 104 military vehicles in a major battle at Ban Phiet.

Up to 18 March 1979 the army and people of Hoang Lien Son annihilated 11,500 enemy troops, badly damaged 4 battalions and destroyed 255 military vehicles, including 66 tanks and armoured cars.

The Fronts in Lai Chau, Ha Tuyen and Quang Ninh provinces

The Chinese aggressors deployed division-sized units to attack the three provinces. Fighting was fierce. The local forces and inhabitants annihilated 14,000 enemy troops, put out of action three battalions, and set on fire or destroyed 10 military vehicles, including 4 tanks and armoured cars.

ACCORDING to the 19 March 1979 Communiqué of the Ministry of National Defence of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, during the 30 days of fighting in defence of our country (17 February — 18 March 1979) the Vietnamese local armed forces and people of various national minorities in the six provinces bordering on China, put out of action 62,500 enemy troops, wiped out or decimated 3 regiments and 18 battalions, set on fire or destroyed 550 military vehicles, including 280 tanks and armoured cars, destroyed 115 artillery pieces and heavy mortars, seized a large quantity of weapons and military equipment, and took many Chinese troops prisoner.

On 24 and 27 February 1979, the UN Security Council sat to examine "developments in Southeast Asia and their consequences for peace and international security". Ambassador Ha Van Lau, permanent representative of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam at the United Nations, addressed the Security Council. There follow the most important parts of his address :

Nature of the Chinese War of Aggression against Vietnam

THE Chinese authorities have openly launched a war of aggression against Vietnam. It is not just a border war, but a real war of aggression fraught with extremely dangerous and unforeseeable consequences and for which China must assume all responsibility."

"For decades now, the Chinese authorities have tried to subjugate Vietnam for the purpose of their expansionism into Southeast Asia. But Vietnam has persisted in its independent and sovereign policy, which constitutes an obstacle to the Chinese schemes. I wish to present to the Council a number of facts as evidence of this policy of the Peking leadership. The Chinese authorities created all kinds of difficulties in the transfer of aid from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to Vietnam, delaying supplies to our war front, which to some extent limited our fighting capacity at the time.

"In 1968, the Peking leadership was opposed to our policy of negotiation with the United States, because they wanted 'to fight the Americans to the last Vietnamese' — to quote the words of an American journalist at that time.

"Their policy in that period was also aimed at keeping Vietnam's war against the USA going so that they could pursue their cultural revolution in tranquillity and without fear of interference by the USA. We explained to them that the strategy of combining 'combat and negotiation' was based on China's experience. To convince us, they declared that this strategy had been an error on their part. Chen Yi, the then Chinese Vice-Minister, went as far as threatening to cut off the relations between the Communist Party of China and our Party if we persisted in negotiating with the Americans. In spite of their threats, we still conducted the negotiations with the United States until 1973."

"Since the beginning of 1978, the Chinese authorities, according to a pre-meditated and organized plan have enticed and coerced hundreds of thousands of Hoa to leave for China. On the other hand, they have incited those who have remained to stir up rebellions.

"Peking, exploiting the difficulties caused to the Vietnamese people by natural calamities, cut

AT THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL

Vietnam denounces the Chinese aggression and refutes any allegations aiming to link it with the so-called "Kampuchean issue".*

off economic aid to Vietnam and withdrew its experts, hoping to subjugate Vietnam. Peking went to the length of exerting pressure on many other countries and international organizations to stop their aid to Vietnam, thus violating the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly and of the non-aligned movement on assisting Vietnam's post-war reconstruction.

"Peking used the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique as an instrument to enslave the Kampuchean people, unleash a war against Vietnam and kindle conflicts with other neighbouring countries, thus threatening peace and stability in Southeast Asia. It has spared no effort to sow division between the ASEAN member countries and Vietnam and play the Southeast Asian countries off against each other."

"Having suffered repeated defeats in their anti-Vietnam policy, the Peking authorities have undertaken the present adventure on an increasingly dangerous road—that of an open war of aggression against Vietnam."

"The Peking authorities launched a war of aggression against Vietnam after the signing of the China-Japan treaty, the normalization of diplomatic relations between the United States and China and immediately after the return of Deng Xiaoping from the United States and Japan, where Deng has publicly argued for war against Vietnam. Information has revealed that Washington and Tokyo have condoned, if not encouraged, Peking's aggression against Vietnam."

Peking's Treacherous Allegations

«WHILE impudently waging a war of aggression against Vietnam, the Peking authorities have called black white, told lies and slanders against Vietnam, with a view to deceiving international public opinion and their own people, and concealing their perfidious manoeuvres and crimes against the Vietnamese people:

—First, they blatantly fabricate the story of 'Vietnamese aggression' which they claim is 'aimed at destroying the four modernizations of China', and which forces their response of 'punishment' in order to establish 'a border of peace and stability'."

....
"A small measure of political sense suffices to recognize that, after thirty successive years of war with untold losses and sacrifices, the Vietnamese people need peace and stability to rebuild their country. It would be foolish to provoke such a large country as China and carry out an anti-China policy as the Peking leadership has accused us."

— "Secondly, as a defence against world public opinion and as a diversion, the Peking leadership tries to use propaganda to minimize the scale and degree of seriousness of its war of aggression against Vietnam. It has declared that the war it has unleashed 'is limited to the border' and that the Chinese troops 'would withdraw once their objective has been attained'. However, in reality, they have deployed in their war of aggression a force of more than 20 divisions, surpassing in number the ground divisions used by the United States at the height of its war of aggression against Vietnam. Therefore, it is certainly not a border war that the Peking leadership has launched. If we bear in mind all their hostile manoeuvres and acts against Vietnam in recent years, we can affirm that their war of aggression is aimed at subduing Vietnam. History shows that aggressors often use the 'limited war' formula to hide their real intentions. When it began its war of aggression against Vietnam, the Johnson administration used the same word 'limited war'. But in reality it was one of the bloodiest wars of aggression in history."

....
"Now their call for negotiations at the very time when they have launched an armed attack, recalls the tactics of the Johnson administration when it escalated its war of aggression against Vietnam. This is sheer duplicity. History shows that China has always used violence to solve border and territorial disputes. Peking has militarily occupied the Paracel Islands in Vietnam's territory and made border wars to occupy Indian land and to oppose the Soviet Union."

....
"A question which must occur to all the world's sincere people is why the Peking authorities tried to hide this war even from the Chinese people? In our opinion, it was because this war is a war of aggression, entirely contrary to morality and the Chinese people's aspirations, because the Peking

* Title and sub-titles are ours — Ed.

authorities fear the truth as an owl fears the light, and because they are adventurously engaged in an unjust war. That is why they must resort to lies in an attempt to deceive their own people, world public opinion and even the members of the Security Council."

Vietnam and Kampuchea

It is regrettable to note that during debates in this Council, apart from the deceitful allegations of the Chinese delegate and his henchman which do not deserve our attention, some speeches to this Council, intentionally or not, used the same terms to talk of the so-called 'Vietnamese aggression in Kampuchea'. Proceeding from this erroneous description or from an incomplete understanding of the real situation, some speakers have asked the Council to solve the burning problem of the Chinese war of aggression against Vietnam by means of 'withdrawal of foreign troops from regions of hostilities in Indochina'. That would amount to mixing two problems essentially different in nature, the withdrawal of Chinese troops from Vietnam in exchange for the pull-out of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea."

"In the second war of resistance jointly waged by the Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples against US aggression from 1970 to 1975, the solidarity and mutual assistance between the two peoples was manifested in each campaign and in each battle. In operations 'Chenla 1' and 'Chenla 2' launched in Kampuchea in 1970 and 1971 by units of the US expeditionary corps, the puppet army of Nguyen Van Thieu from South Vietnam, and Lon Nol puppet troops, we, at the request of the then revolutionary leadership in Kampuchea, assisted the Kampuchean national liberation forces in fighting and repelling the aggressors in order to defend the Kampuchean people's resistance bases. In their armed struggle to overthrow the Lon Nol regime supported and equipped by the United States, the then leading group, which included Pol Pot and Ieng Sary themselves, asked us to supply them with weapons and munitions, even heavy artillery and artillerymen that they lacked."

"Why did they not call us 'aggressors' as they do today? They even sent messages and delegations to Vietnam to thank us for this assistance."

"As information about these genocidal crimes gradually seeped through the barriers of the hell-like regime under Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, the whole world cried out in indignation and horror.

"But the world was not sufficiently informed on another aspect of the situation in Kampuchea under the regime of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, henchmen of Peking. That was the uprising of the Kampuchean people against the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary regime since April 1975, which took economic, political and military forms."

The presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea

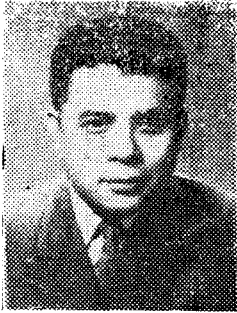
On 17 March 1979, Hun Sen, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, said in an interview granted to two foreign journalists, including Jean-Pierre Gallois of Agence France-Presse, "The Kampuchean revolution was fundamentally made by the Kampuchean people. The presence of Vietnamese troops in our country is the result of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation concluded in February 1979 between Kampuchea and Vietnam. We have undertaken to assist each other in all fields."

"How can you imagine that the Vietnamese people, seeing this sublimely heroic struggle for survival by their long-standing brothers-in-arms, would have the heart to refuse the aid and assistance demanded of them?"

"This aid and assistance, provided by the Vietnamese people according to their means and based on mutual respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, was given on the demand of the Kampuchean people for the exercise of their right to self-determination, a right laid down in the UN Charter, against the neo-colonialist regime installed by the Chinese authorities through the agency of the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique. We think that this assistance not only had an undeniable political and moral significance, but also constituted an obligation recognized by the Charter and by many pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly, the oldest being the resolution dated 20 December 1965 and the most recent adopted in December 1974, concerning the definition of aggression. This assistance also conforms to the objectives and principles of the movement of the non-aligned countries in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, expansionism and hegemonism."

"So, any settlement of the Chinese war of aggression in Vietnam which links the problem of the aggression by China to the so-called 'Kampuchean issue', will only amount to the legalization of the Chinese aggression in Vietnam, and an encouragement to the expansionist and hegemonistic policy of the authorities in Peking.

"As the victims of the hostile policy of the Peking rulers for many years and now the victims of their overt aggression, we can affirm that if this course continues, the mistake made years ago in Munich regarding Hitler fascism will be repeated. Such an attitude, taken four decades later in history, will have even more serious consequences in face of the new danger posed to humanity in the form of the expansionist and hegemonistic policy of the authorities in Peking."



CONVERSATION

WITH LAWYER PHAN ANH*

VIETNAM COURIER: *Our country has recently been the victim of an extremely brutal aggression by the Chinese hegemonists and expansionists. But our people and fighters have been encouraged by some heart-warming news: no sooner had the aggression started than people of conscience all over the world voiced their support for our cause and severely condemned the Peking reactionary clique. On 18 February the Soviet Government, and then the Lao Government issued statements expressing solidarity with Vietnam. This was followed up by statements by socialist and non-aligned countries, almost all the Communist and Workers' Parties, international democratic federations and organizations, and well-known personalities. But the fact that such a large international conference as the Helsinki Conference could be convened so quickly came as a great surprise to everyone.*

PHAN ANH: Right. The large number of delegates — 400 people from more than 100 countries — who came to the conference only a week after it had been planned was beyond the expectation of the promoters, i.e. more than 30 different international organizations, including the World Peace Council, the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the Women's International Democratic Federation, etc. What is noteworthy is that the initiative in convening an international emergency conference in support of Vietnam came quite coincidentally from various countries and political, social and religious bodies, and was soon announced by radio all over the world. It happened at record speed. We should remember that in the struggle of Vietnam against US aggression, the first international conference on Vietnam — "the International Conference for Solidarity with the Vietnamese people against US aggres-

sion and for the Defence of Peace" — was held in Hanoi on 28—29 November 1964, that is three months after the "Bac Bo Gulf Incident" (August 1964). This shows how sensitive the anti-aggression spirit of the world's people of conscience is, irrespective of their political tendencies.

The people attending the Helsinki Conference included Communists, Social-Democrats, members of nationalist parties from Third World countries, and people of various religious creeds. Some had important posts, such as deputy prime minister, minister, party chairman or general secretary. The Indian delegation comprised delegates from both the ruling party and opposition parties. The delegation of the host country — Finland — included the deputy prime minister, the chairman of the Communist Party and general secretaries of various political parties. They represented a cross-section of the broad masses of people who support Vietnam and oppose the Chinese aggressors.

Southeast Asia and the world. Moreover, the Conference made a unanimous assessment of the counter-revolutionary nature of the present Peking administration who are carrying out a hegemonistic and expansionist strategy against the independence of the world's peoples and are contravening the principles of peaceful co-existence in international relations.

A number of delegates, who came to the conference out of sympathy for Vietnam, did not quite understand the developments in Kampuchea as they had been misinformed about the situation there. However, through the reports made by both the Kampuchean and Vietnamese delegations and through subsequent contacts with other delegations, they came to understand that Peking's hegemonistic and expansionist policy towards Vietnam dated back several decades, and that it was Peking who had turned Kampuchea into a new-type colony, hoping to create a jumping-off point to attack Vietnam from its southwestern border. And when this attack was defeated, Peking had to start the 17 February large-scale armed aggression against Vietnam by itself. The Kampuchean people did not resign themselves to living under the Chinese neo-colonialist yoke and found in Vietnam a close ally in the struggle against the common enemy. Therefore, to raise the question of simultaneous withdrawal of troops from both

(Continued on page 31)

VIETNAM COURIER: *What did those people of different opinions agree on at the Conference?*

PHAN ANH: After two and a half days of intense work, during which the delegates heard a report by the Vietnamese delegation and 143 speeches,

the Conference agreed on the serious nature of the Chinese aggression against Vietnam, which, if unchecked, would greatly threaten the peace of

* President of the Presidium of Vietnam Peace Committee, head of the Vietnamese delegation to the International Emergency Conference in Support of Vietnam held in Helsinki from 6 to 8 March 1979.

DECLARATION

VIETNAM has once again become the victim of aggression. The monstrous assault of the ruling circles of China against Vietnam outrages every human sensibility, tortures the conscience of mankind and violates international law and the UN Charter.

China drives the ancient Chariot of War with its modern tank chassis deep into Vietnam bearing death and destruction.

The soil of Socialist Vietnam is sacred to the hearts of all peace - and freedom-loving humanity. In successive battles for thirty years against Japanese, French and US imperialisms, the Vietnamese, a nation of heroes, have hallowed their land with the blood of their patriots.

Valiantly resisting the invaders, the Vietnamese people have upheld the honour of humanity against the aggressors and violators of liberty.

In its essence this war of aggression is a dastardly crime against humanity. At the same time it is a part of a wider conspiracy of imperialism against the peace and national independence of peoples.

The recent purchases of military and strategic supplies by China from Washington and other NATO partners, prior to and during the period of China's invasion of Vietnam, confirms the collusion of China with the forces of world imperialism.

The International Emergency Conference on Vietnam, held in Helsinki 6 — 8 March 1979, expresses its deep indignation and anger at the Chinese aggression. The Conference strongly condemns this unprovoked aggression. The Conference puts world public opinion on its guard at the mustering of Peking armed forces at the China — Laos border signaling an eventual aggression against the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

The collusion of the leadership of China with the US and other imperialist powers and with the aggressive circles of NATO in political, economic and military fields, as manifested with the visit of Deng Xiaoping, poses a grave threat to the peace and security of nations. Their attempts to reverse the process of détente and to intensify the arms race, if not resisted by united action of the peoples, might lead humanity to a disastrous consequence.

The cooperation between the Peking rulers with the most hated and reactionary forces as

represented by Pinochet of Chile, Mobutu of Zaïre, racist regimes of South Africa, Rhodesia and Israël, and the former Shah of Iran, who has been thrown into the dustbin of history by the people of Iran, clearly demonstrates that the traditions of the Chinese revolution have been abandoned even as their revolutionary gains have been wasted.

World public opinion must stay the hand of those who want to revert to aggression, destabilisation and revive the cold war.

The dangerous policy of hegemonism and expansionism, being pursued by the Chinese leadership, under one pretext or another, must be resisted in the interest of peace, stability and security in Asia and the world.

Vietnam needs the support and solidarity of all who value independence and freedom. The struggle of the Vietnamese people is the cause of all progressive forces.

The world-wide campaign initiated by various political, social, ideological and religious tendencies in solidarity with Vietnam has to be reinforced and further intensified.

The International Emergency Conference in Support of Vietnam calls upon all political parties, all organised sections of people, all individuals to raise their voice of protest against the Chinese aggression on Vietnam. The aggressors must not be allowed to enjoy the fruits of aggression. The wrath of world public opinion must be concerted and made active and focussed against the Chinese aggressors and their accomplices. Fighting Vietnam has on its side an all-conquering army of world public opinion. Let all cities and villages, all factories and fields unitedly raise the demands:

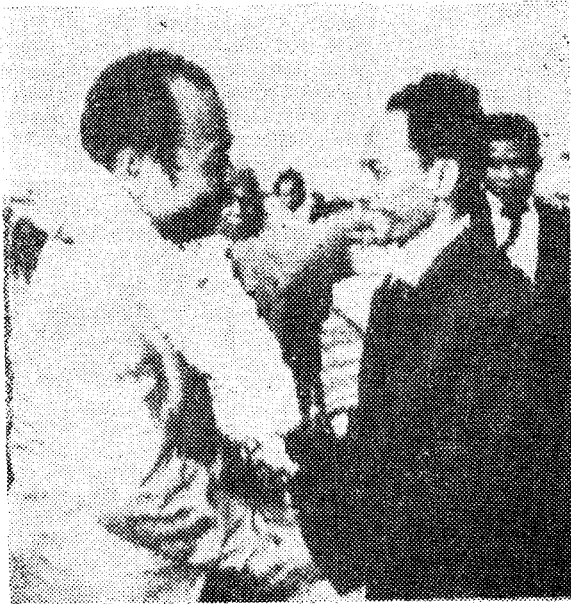
China must immediately and unconditionally withdraw all its forces to the last man from the soil of Vietnam.

China must never again infringe on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

China must fully compensate Socialist Vietnam for all material losses resulting from their war of aggression.

The world stands with Vietnam!
Chinese aggressors — out of Vietnam!
Hands off Vietnam!

PRESIDENT SOUPHANOUVONG'S VISIT TO KAMPUCHEA



President Souphanouvong (left)
and President Heng Somrin.

At the invitation of the National United Front for the Liberation of Kampuchea and the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Souphanouvong, President of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos, President of the Supreme People's Council and of the Front for National Construction of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos, paid an official visit to the People's Republic of Kampuchea from 20 to 22 March 1979, together with other members of the Lao Government.

A joint statement was published at the end of the visit which reads in part:

"The two sides strongly condemn the reactionary Peking authorities, who still obdurately seek all ways and means to sabotage the achievements of the Kampuchean people's revolution, prevent the Kampuchean people from surmounting the difficulties in national reconstruction, and assist the remnants of the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary army in an attempt to re-establish the genocidal regime which was toppled by the Kampuchean people and condemned by the whole of mankind."

"The Kampuchean and Lao leaders want to expose the hidden intention of the argument for 'withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea', which aims to distort the Kampuchean people's just struggle for national salvation and the legitimacy of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, and oppose the Kampuchean people's right to settle their own affairs themselves. The reactionary Peking authorities use this argument to cover up their expansionist schemes and crimes

against the Kampuchean people and their acts of aggression against the Vietnamese people, and distort the sincere support, assistance and cooperation given by the Vietnamese people to the Kampuchean people in the struggle against their common enemy for the independence and freedom of each country".

"The two sides strongly condemn the Chinese authorities for their military threats against Laos and intervention into its internal affairs, for increasing their military build-up near the Lao border, sowing discord among the Lao people of various nationalities and for working with reactionaries in exile and still in Laos, in an attempt to cause trouble for the Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos.

"The two sides flatly reject the slanders against the policy of independence and sovereignty of Laos which attempt to undermine the solidarity between the Lao and Chinese peoples, the Lao and Vietnamese peoples, and the People's Democratic Republic of Laos and the other socialist countries. China's military threats and sabotage against Laos are a challenge by great-nation expansionism and hegemonism to the forces of national independence, democracy, peace and social progress in the world. The two sides strongly demand that China immediately withdraw its armed forces, which have infiltrated into Laos; recall Chinese specialists and road builders; stop all acts of sabotage against unity, public order and security in Laos; and strictly respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Laos."

"The two sides express sincere thanks to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the other socialist countries, and the governments and peoples of the world who love peace and justice, all of whom have given vigorous support and assistance to the just cause of the Kampuchean and Lao peoples."

"The two sides warmly welcome the glorious victory of the heroic Vietnamese people in defeating the war of aggression of the Chinese great-nation expansionists and hegemonists against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. This war has resulted in extremely savage crimes against the Vietnamese people. This victory is a strong support to the Kampuchean and Lao people's national defence and construction, and an active contribution to the strengthening of the three revolutionary currents and to the safeguarding of world peace."

"The two sides unanimously agree that the solidarity between the peoples of Kampuchea, Laos and Vietnam, which has developed on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and respect for each others' independence and sovereignty, constitutes a fine tradition and an important factor guaranteeing victory for the revolution in each country".

"The two sides are determined to strengthen the great, genuine and sincere militant solidarity between Kampuchea, Laos and Vietnam."

Chinese Expansionism Against Laos

WHILE launching a criminal war of aggression against Vietnam, the Peking authorities have committed acts aimed at seriously threatening the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Laos. On 6 March 1979, the Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos issued a statement on Chinese threats against Laos. Below are some excerpts from the statement:

"Laos and China are close neighbours. The two peoples are bound by a long tradition of solidarity, friendship and mutual assistance. The Lao people have always been grateful to the Chinese people and revolutionaries. The Lao Government and people have unswervingly done all they could to maintain and further develop this fine relationship.

"However, recently, especially after launching a large-scale war of aggression against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, China has moved many divisions of its regular army to areas bordering with Laos, carried out military exercises, and repeatedly smuggled into Laos groups of commandos and spies to carry out propaganda aimed at sowing division among Lao nationalities, disturbing the order and security of Laos and opposing the policies of the Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos.

"These acts of the Chinese rulers have sabotaged the traditional solidarity and friendship between the peoples of Laos and China, grossly interfered in the internal affairs of Laos and seriously threatened the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Laos, as well as peace and stability in this region. At the same time, they have violated fundamental principles of international relations and contravened the United Nations Charter.

"The People's Democratic Republic of Laos is a fully independent and sovereign country. Following their complete victory over aggressive imperialism, the Lao people desire nothing but peace to heal their war wounds,

reconstruct their country and build a happy life.

"The People's Democratic Republic of Laos is a socialist country, a member of the non-aligned movement and a member of the United Nations. It has pursued a consistent foreign policy of independence, sovereignty and socialism in the interests of its people and of peace and friendship among nations, and always desires to strengthen its friendship and cooperation with its neighbours and other countries in the world.

"The Lao people have always treasured their fine friendship with the peoples of friendly countries and have never encroached upon the interests of any country.

"Laos, a small country with a population of a little more than three million, cannot constitute a threat to China, a huge country with a population of nine hundred million. But the Lao people have never submitted to anybody and are determined not to let anyone violate their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, for which they have struggled so long and so hard and with so much sacrifice. The relations between Laos and China have worsened with each passing day. Responsibility rests entirely with the Chinese side.

"If the Chinese side really wishes to safeguard and strengthen the solidarity between the two peoples as it has often stated, it must back up its words with actions and put an immediate end to the concentration of its armed forces along the border, to all its threats against the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Laos, to all acts of intervention in the internal affairs of Laos, to all its attempts to sow division among Lao nationalities and to all acts of sabotage against order and security in Laos.

The Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos and the Lao people of all nationalities highly appreciate the timely statements of the governments of the Soviet Union, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the

People's Republic of Mongolia, firmly condemning the Chinese side for threatening the independence and sovereignty of Laos. The Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos sincerely thanks the fraternal socialist countries and other friendly countries throughout the world for their solidarity with and strong support for the Lao people.

The Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos appeals to the fraternal socialist countries, the non-aligned countries and the peace- and justice-loving people in the world to continue their support and assistance to the Lao people in their cause of national defence and construction. It appeals to the people and genuine revolutionaries of China to take timely and effective action to stop this common danger to the peoples of the two countries in order to safeguard the long tradition of solidarity and friendship between the Lao and Chinese peoples."

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* *

On 7 March 1979, Laos sent China a note demanding that the Chinese Government temporarily suspend the construction of roads in Northern Laos and withdraw to China all the Chinese construction workers as early as possible, since the latter had in fact stopped building the roads. Moreover, these workers have dug combat trenches and prepared for war, thus making the situation in this region very tense. On the same occasion, Laos also demanded that Chinese experts working in various services in Laos return to China because the agreement on this question signed between the two countries had expired.

On 15 March 1979, Laos sent China a second note, denouncing Chinese acts of sabotage and subversion against Laos in recent days. The note says:

"The Chinese authorities continue to mass their armed forces

along the Lao border, and are constantly increasing the strength of all their combat units including tanks, armour, artillery, infantry and cavalry in the Lao border provinces of Luang Nam Tha, Oudomsay and Phongsaly. At the same time, they are backing the exiled Vang Pao — Koong Le reactionaries and thousands of other Lao reactionaries with the aim of concentrating them in the vicinity of the Lao border.

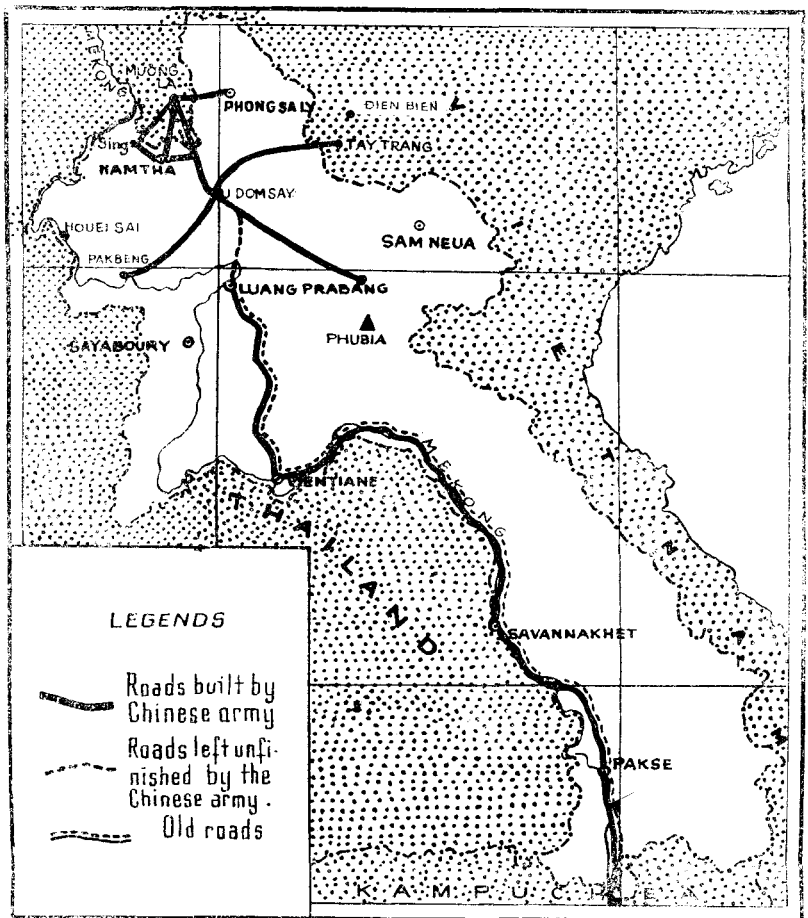
“On 10 March 1979, the Chinese armed forces infiltrated into Lao territory in Muong village, Luang Nam Tha province, along a length of ten kilometres and three kilometres inside Lao territory. Furthermore, China arrested two Lao delegates sent to contact the local Chinese authorities to ask for the withdrawal of Chinese troops.

“China continues to send its spies to Laos to make propaganda on an imminent Chinese armed attack against Laos, to carry out subversive activities, to sow division among the Lao people and between the Lao and Chinese peoples and to oppose the policies of the People’s Democratic Republic of Laos.

IN its 4 March 1979 Statement on Chinese threats against Laos, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam stressed:

“Enhancing the tradition of solidarity between the three peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea who have together fought and won victories for the independence and freedom of each country, the Vietnamese people are determined to side with the Lao and Kampuchean peoples in order to thwart all the hostile intentions of the great-power hegemonists and expansionists in Peking.

“Living up to the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation signed on 18 July 1977 between Vietnam and Laos, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is resolved to fulfil its obligations towards the Lao people, and to do all it can to support, assist and cooperate closely with the Government of the People’s Democratic Republic of Laos in order to defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each country, and safeguard peace and stability in Southeast Asia.”



PEKING EXPANSIONIST AND SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES IN LAOS

THE People’s Democratic Republic of Laos has 400 kilometres of border with southern China.

For a long time the Peking authorities have tried by every means to win Laos over and drag her into their orbit; they wanted to join Laos and Kampuchea into an axis favourable to them which would help them to expand into Southeast Asia, and encircle and isolate Vietnam. At one time, they had succeeded in Kampuchea, but they have never got anywhere with Laos

because this country has always stuck to a policy of independence and sovereignty. So, as well as trying to win Laos over, the Peking rulers have been trying by all ways and means to overthrow the new regime in that country.

In 1963, under the cover of aid, Chinese soldiers were sent to build the first 80-km long road linking the Lao town of Phongsaly to Yunnan in China.

Then a large contingent of Chinese soldiers amounting at times to 50,000 and conspicuous by their blue uniforms, built five

other roads in northern Laos. The work spanned twelve years and cost 85 million dollars. These motor roads with a total length of 850 kilometres form a network of the best roads ever known in Laos. They are provided with concrete bridges for heavy traffic and run from Muong La in Yunnan to the five provinces of northwestern Laos. These roads spread over a vast region of Laos.

But this road network falls short of meeting Peking's strategic requirement. So, according to informed sources in Vientiane, it was early in 1976, after the total liberation of Laos, that the Chinese authorities proposed to build a railway line running through Laos, connecting Kunming (Yunnan) to the Kampuchean frontier, and going on to the seaport of Kompong Som. At the beginning of 1978 when the motor roads in northern Laos had been nearly completed, the Chinese authorities suggested to the Lao authorities that Route 13 running from Luang Prabang to the south, and passing through Kampuchea to southern Vietnam, should be repaired and upgraded. But these suggestions were turned down by Laos.

As well as constructing strategic roads in northern Laos, China is making every effort to establish bases for subversion in Laos.

Already in the sixties the Chinese embassy in Vientiane and the Chinese Economic and Cultural Representation at Phongsavan (Xieng Khouang) had an eye on the bandits' and CIA's bases at Sam Thong and Long Cheng. Through Chinese capitalists they made contact with deputies, ministers, and high-ranking offi-

cers of the then Vientiane regime, particularly with Vang Pao. The Chinese shops at Phongsavan were also frequented by General Koong Le of the reactionary "neutralist" forces.

After a long silence, Western press correspondents in Peking and Bangkok revealed in 1978 that Phoumi Nosavan, Vang Pao and Koong Le had been invited to Peking. Vang Pao visited China twice or three times as a distinguished guest of Chief of General Staff Deng Xiaoping.

The Chinese embassy in Vientiane and the Chinese Economic and Cultural Councillor's Representation at Udomsay are the centres directing these subversive activities. It is well known in Luang Prabang that the Chinese soldiers building roads in Muong Hiem have supplied food and ammunition to the bandits operating in Phasi Phu. The inhabitants of Nam Tha have heard the reactionaries and bandit chiefs Chan Sac and Chau La boast of Peking's support to their struggle against the Pathet Lao; their men wear Chinese-made uniforms and are armed with Chinese weapons. In its issue of February 1979 the *Far Eastern Economic Review* said that the Lao Government had captured many AK 47 guns (bearing the label "800") in Phu Bia, southwest of Xieng Khouang, from the Meo rebels which proves that these rebels are backed by China with its population of 800 million.

In the last three years the population of northern Laos have been aware that China has secretly organized the escape of officers of the Vientiane puppet regime from re-education centres and their flight to China.

One of them killed by Lao guerillas was found to possess travel papers in Chinese characters. In the same issue the *Far Eastern Economic Review* affirmed that China was training Lao commando units; in short it is helping the subversive elements operating in the provinces of Udomsay, Nam Tha and Phongsaly.

These schemes of rebellion and subversion which were recently uncovered by the patriotic people and armed forces in various regions of Laos bore all the marks of the involvement of Peking, the CIA and other imperialist countries.

Recently, as well as deploying several divisions near the Lao border, China has assembled thousands of the bandits led by Vang Pao and the reactionary Koong Le and put them into various activities near the Lao border. Many of them have been killed or captured.

This is the bare truth. Although condemned by the Lao people and Government and world public opinion, the expansionist and hegemonistic elements in Peking glibly declare that they still respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Laos. Even more viciously, they lie that "Laos is manipulated by foreign countries". The attempt of the Chinese rulers to sow division between Laos and Vietnam, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and thus isolate her, only unites the Lao people more closely and links them more strongly with the socialist countries and the progressive forces in the world in the defence of their independence and the achievements of the Lao revolution.

THANH SON

Some Pages of History of Our Resistance Against the Northern Invaders

THROUGHOUT four thousand years of history the small country of Vietnam has always stood up for its sovereignty, and risen up to defeat every attack by invaders from the North. Vietnamese history's most glorious periods, up to the 18th century, are epics of the struggles against the exploitation and oppression of the Chinese feudalists.

— According to a legend, in the early days of Vietnam's existence, a child from Giong village (Ha Bac province), fought single-handed against the Yin aggressors, riding a steel horse and armed with a steel bar. When the bar broke he fought only with uprooted bamboos and managed to defeat the enemy. The myth symbolises, among other things, the Vietnamese people's great courage and unity of purpose in defending the country.

— **214 B.C.:** The Vietnamese people fiercely resisted and defeated the invasion made by the then Chin dynasty. The Chinese general Tu-shu was killed in action. This was the first successful Vietnamese resistance.

— **184 B.C.:** King An Duong built the Co Loa citadel (now on the edge of Hanoi) to resist the invaders led by Zhao Tuo. They were fought off many times and finally forced to sue for peace. But later Kinh An Duong was taken in by an enemy trick and was killed.

— **40 A.D.:** In Me Linh (now in Vinh Phu province) the two Trung sisters took up arms to oppose the tyranny of the Han dynasty. Soon they had recaptured "65 districts", in fact, the whole of Vietnam, and the elder sister was made Empress. The event was a great blow to the authority of the "Celestial Empire" of the Han dynasty.

— **238:** Lady Trieu Thi Trinh raised an army in the Nua mountain area (Thanh Hoa province) to make a series of

attacks on the headquarters of the Wu kings and managed to liberate a vast area of Vietnamese territory. Although she did not realize her dream to liberate the whole country and she laid down her life, her feats of heroism will live forever as symbols of the indomitability of the Vietnamese people, and in particular Vietnamese women.

— **542-543:** Ly Bi defeated two heavy counter-attacks by the Liang invaders. In 544 he came to the throne under the name Ly Nam De and established the independent State of Van Xuan, which reaffirmed once more Vietnam's right to independence and equality with the Northern feudalist regime.

— **938:** The 200,000-strong naval forces of the Southern Han took advantage of disputes between Vietnamese courtiers to launch an invasion against our country. Ngo Quyen, Vietnamese commander, mounted an offensive against the aggressors at the estuary of the Bach Dang river (halfway between Hai-phong city and Quang Ninh province). The enemy navy was trounced and their Admiral Quang Tao was killed. With the Bach Dang victory, the Northern domination was ended, and a long period of national independence began for Vietnam.

— **981:** The Sung invaders encroached upon our territory from the sea and over land, intending to lay siege to the Vietnamese capital Hoa Lu (now in Ha Nam Ninh province). King Le Hoan himself led the war of resistance. Once again the invaders met their deaths at the Bach Dang estuary (in Quang Ninh province) and the Chi Lang Pass (in Lang Son province). The Sung Emperor was compelled to withdraw his troops and admit defeat.

— **1078:** The Sung army invaded our country again. They advanced towards the capital, Thang Long (present-day Hanoi). The Vietnamese General

Ly Thuong Kiet built the Cau River defence line (in Ha Bac province) and led the resistance. Having sustained great losses after three months' fighting the Sung aggressors were in an awkward predicament. General Ly Thuong Kiet gave them a way out by proposing a truce. The Chinese General Guo Kui hastened to accept the peace and withdrew his troops immediately (March 1077).

— **1258-1285-1288:** Having conquered countries in Europe and Asia, the Yuan Empire sent its experienced troops to invade our country on three occasions. But each time they were soundly beaten by Tran Hung Dao. Many heroic acts went down in our history, such as the Dong Bo Dau, Chuong Duong, Ham Tu, Bach Dang and others.

— **1418-1427:** After ten years of building up forces in very hard conditions, Le Loi and Nguyen Trai advanced from their base at Lam Son (Thanh Hoa province) to the North to liberate the country from the domination of the Ming Emperor. Ming reinforcements under Wang Tong and Liao Sheng were forced to surrender after they were destroyed at Chuc Dong, Tot Dong and Chi Lang. The liberation war was crowned with victory.

— **1789:** 200,000 Ching troops invaded our country allegedly to come to the rescue of the traitorous king Le Chieu Thong. From Phu Xuan (the present-day province of Binh Tri Thien) Nguyen Hue (King Quang Trung) took command of a strong army corps, advanced to the North and wiped out the enemy troops at the historic Dong Da Hill. Enemy general Shen Yi-dong hanged himself. Another Chinese general, Sun Shi-yi, who had hardly time to put on his armour, managed to escape from the besieged Thang Long city across a pontoon on the Red River.

FOREIGN JOURNALIST KILLED BY CHINESE TROOPS IN LANG SON

ON 7 March 1979, Isao Takano, Hanoi correspondent of the Japanese Communist Party's newspaper *Akahata*, was shot dead by Chinese troops in Lang Son town while he was on a mission to photograph the crimes committed by the Chinese aggressors against the Vietnamese people.

A funeral ceremony for Isao Takano was held on 13 March 1979 in Hanoi.

The ceremony was attended by Hoang Tung, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam and President of the Vietnam Journalists' Association. During the ceremony Hoang Tung delivered an obituary, which reads in part:

"Although he has fallen, Isao Takano's spirit still lives and continues to fight, revealing before world public opinion the treacherous schemes of the Peking authorities, who declared the withdrawal of their troops, but in fact continue their acts of war, destruction, plunder and massacre of the Vietnamese people."

On behalf of the family, Mrs Michio Takano said:

"Like the families of the Vietnamese fighters who have fallen in the fight against the Chinese aggressors, we pledge to turn our grief and anger into strength to fight US imperialism and the Chinese aggressors."

President Ton Duc Thang of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam has awarded Isao Takano the Vietnamese Friendship Order after his death.



Facts and Events

Ah Q's Triumphant Return

ON their government's orders the Chinese mass media have been making a fuss about "the victorious return of their troops" after their invasion of Vietnam. Some dailies even went to the length of claiming that their victory "highlighted the prestige of the Chinese nation and army". In the meantime, the Chinese Minister of Civil and Administrative Affairs went out of his way to explain to his fellow countrymen that the "social and economic conditions of killed and wounded soldiers have been carefully studied". According to reports from Peking, in the days of fighting the figure of Chinese wounded soldiers amounted to 15,000-25,000 (*Agence France-Presse*, 6 March 1979). Some other sources from southern China confirmed that the booty Chinese soldiers brought home was not arms but household utensils, poultry and even women's trousers.

Some people described the Chinese troop withdrawal as Ah Q's triumphant return. Ah Q, the hero of a novel by the great Chinese writer Lu Hsun, boasted that he came of good family. He imagined revolutionaries as a gang of pirates "wearing white helmets and white

armour". He was proud and self conscious and could not bear to lose face. But he was mean and narrow-minded. Each time he picked a quarrel with somebody he was beaten black and blue. Yet in his mind he could always find some way to construe this as victory and console himself. Once Ah Q decided to teach his opponents a lesson, but this is how it turned out:

"Then only after Ah Q had, to all appearances, been defeated, had his brownish pigtail pulled and his head bumped against the wall four or five times, would the idlers walk away, satisfied at having won. Ah Q would stand there for a second, thinking to himself, 'If is as if I were beaten by my son. What is the world coming to nowadays!' Thereupon he would walk away, satisfied at having won." (1)

The present Peking rulers must have been very impressed by Lu Hsun's story.

NHAN DANG

(1) *The True Story of Ah Q Selected Works of Lu Hsun, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1956, Vol. 1, p. 84.*

Letter from Hanoi

ON Sunday 12 March I was riding my bike among the cyclists and pedestrians crowding the streets of the old quarter of Hanoi. The crowds were nearly as great as in the days leading up to Tet, the traditional Lunar New Year festival. Department stores, groceries, tailors, hairdressers and cafes were crammed with customers. Food and other necessities are rationed but they are fairly distributed and prices have remained stable. On the free market one can get anything not sold by the State. People seem calm and confident.

And yet the city is on a war footing. Manholes dot the pavements. They are for use both as air-raid shelters and as gun-nests for the self-defence corps. Some have been made by removing the earth filling the old concrete manholes that served during the last war of resistance until the Paris Agreement of 1973. Others are new, made by digging into the often water-soaked soil. Here and there are heaps of earth removed from the shelters dug in private homes. ~~Along the dike~~ bordering the Red River there are sand-bagged machinegun nests, with the gun barrels pointed skyward, in the direction of the bridge.

On the shore of the Sword Lake in the city centre, the Spring breeze shakes the hanging branches of weeping-willows. Carefully maintained lawns are crossed by paths where young couples walk with their children — babies born after 1975 in what was believed to be lasting peace.

At each end of the lake, near the Thuy Ta cafe and beside the flower-stalls, women workers are assembling three prefabricated concrete bunkers.

The information hall on Dinh Tien Hoang street is crowded. There are photos from the front, and pictures and texts illustrating the results of the expansionism and hegemonism of the Peking rulers.

In some squares, "shock propagandists" with microphones and giant maps explain to the crowds the unfolding of military operations. There is an obvious thirst for information.

Everyday, in the early morning, there are long queues at the news-stands.

I talked to people. The name of Deng Xiaoping never failed to elicit a mixture of hatred and contempt, but no one seemed to be very much impressed by the large number of troops — 300,000 men from the former Liberation Army which has now degenerated into a horde of pirates — Deng unleashed against our border provinces on 17 February.

Unlike the Peking rulers, the Vietnamese Government takes care to explain to the people why the war was started and keep them informed of the developments in the military situation. It knows that it has the complete support and confidence of the population.

*
* *

Indeed, the two million inhabitants of Hanoi have responded unanimously to the government's 17 February declaration, the Party's appeal of 4 March, and the order of general mobilization.

On the evening of 4 March, meetings were held at various places by 300,000 young people: at the Young Pioneers' Club, the Polytechnic, Hanoi University, the Economics and Planning College, in both the city and suburban districts. Everywhere there was an unanimous cry: "We will stop them!" More than 200,000 volunteers asked to join the armed forces and be sent to the front line. In addition there have been applications from youngsters below the age of service, war invalids and even old people.

In factories and public offices, people devote two hours on top of their regular eight-hour day to military training. Self-defence units are set up everywhere, ready to fight for the defence of their plants, offices or districts and to coordinate their actions for the protection of the city. Many detachments have gone to the front for their first taste of battle and have distinguished themselves in action. Ung Van Minh, for instance, is a militiaman from the suburb of Gia Lam. In an engagement in Dong Dang on 18 February, the stand of his

rocket-launcher was broken by a shell splinter. Minh used his shoulder to support the weapon and kept firing away at the enemy, eventually putting four Chinese tanks out of action.

"Let each factory, public office, school, city district, suburban village be a defence unit, each district a fortress, and our city prepared as a battleground!" proclaimed the Municipal People's Council meeting in an extraordinary session on 7 March.

On 8 March, the Women's Union observed International Women's Day and the anniversary of the Trung Sisters, the Vietnamese equivalents of Joan of Arc. The contribution of Hanoi women to the war effort is in the tradition of these national heroines and is part of the struggle for peace waged by women throughout the world.

A new orientation has been given to industrial production. Top priority is for logistical supplies to the armed forces, but more consumer goods will also be turned out to ensure normal living conditions for the population.

In the suburbs, a network of fieldworks and trenches have turned villages and hamlets into fortresses. Work has been stepped up, especially in Gia Lam and Dong Anh in the northern part of the city. Agricultural production has by no means been neglected. Spring rice seedlings have been transplanted over large areas in excellent weather conditions. Vegetables are growing plentifully.

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* *

In spite of the Peking rulers' loud proclamations about their forthcoming troop withdrawal, the people of Hanoi know perfectly well what they must do. The words Dien Hong are on their lips. It was at this palace that King Tran Nhan Tong convened a congress of Elders of the country in 1284 to face an imminent invasion by a Yuan dynasty army. The congress unanimously recommended armed resistance. So, the words have come to symbolize the determination of our whole nation to resist all invaders.

Only a few days before the start of the Chinese invasion on 17 February, many Hanoi people visited the Dong Da hill in the district of the same name to commemorate the victory

of the national hero Quang Trung over a 200,000-strong Chinese Ching army of invaders in 1789. In fact, Hanoi, an age-old cultural and political centre, was a battleground in many other victorious wars of resistance against foreign aggressors. Phu Dong, the native village of the mythical Child Hero who defeated the Yin invaders, the Co Loa citadel built by King An Duong, and Me Linh, which the Trung sisters made their capital—all are on the outskirts of Hanoi. The famous general Ly Thuong Kiet, who stopped an invading Sung army on an outer defence line of the capital in 1076, was born in Hanoi. In the 13th century, when the powerful Yuan armies were defeated in all their three invasions, many victorious battles were also fought in the areas surrounding Thang Long, as Hanoi was then called.

In the last three decades, the people of Hanoi successively faced the Japanese, the Chiang Kai-shek troops, the French expeditionary corps, and finally the American B.52s.

Once again I feel the deep-rooted strength of the Vietnamese people in general and Hanoi people in particular, in these grave circumstances when we are facing a new Chinese invasion. Their strength lies in long-standing historical experience, solid national union, and the resolve to defend independence and freedom at all costs. They are also inspired by the knowledge that they are fulfilling an internationalist duty and fighting for the great cause of national independence and peace throughout the world, knowing that they are not alone in the struggle.

Now I know the reasons for my compatriots' calm and assurance. Bricklayers to whom I talked told me that the building of major civil projects continues. New blocks of flats, new schools, and in particular the new hospital for children, the biggest and most modern establishment of this kind in Vietnam, will soon be finished. Recently a large kindergarten has been opened in the residential complex of Trung Tu, composed of 60 rooms arranged in groups of 4 or 6 over an area of 1,000 square metres and open to the children of State employees housed there.

Only the certainty of victory makes it possible for our capital to prepare even now for a peaceful future.

VU QUY VY

Young people of Ho Chi Minh City sign up for the army.



Ho Chi Minh City Faces the Chinese Aggression

ON the evening of 17 February 1979 the Voice of Vietnam and the Ho Chi Minh City television station broadcast the news: "Chinese forces have launched simultaneous massive attacks on the six provinces along the northern frontier of Vietnam". The whole city was stunned and indignant.

In the Ngo Gia Tu students' hostel, once a stronghold of Saigon students fighting against the US-Thieu administration, students stayed up late to discuss the burning situation. Hundreds of emergency meetings were held in factories, enterprises, districts and city wards. Angry slogans "Defeat the schemes of the Peking reactionary clique!", "Vietnam will surely win!", were shouted.

All of them offered to prolong their working day, and do their utmost to assist the front. On behalf of 2,300 Hoa people in the Vinh Hoi cigarette factory, Ta Lien said: "The Peking rulers have gone against the Chinese people's wishes and interests and are following in the footsteps of the old Chinese feudalists and the imperialists. They have started a war of aggression against Vietnam, a country which has had a long-standing friendship with the Chinese people. The reactionary Peking rulers are now the

enemies of the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples."

On 19 February, the workers in the Song My Chau rolled steel mill, Tan Binh district, offered to produce an extra batch of steel called an "anti-expansionism batch". In the spare-parts factory No. 2 of the city's bicycle and motorcycle company, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union members asked the board of management to increase production above the planned level and to produce an extra 400,000 inner-tubes between the middle of February and the end of March 1979. The textile mill No. 13 in Ton That Thuyet Street (district 4) fulfilled the planned targets for the first quarter on 28 February, and is now endeavouring to exceed the targets for the first half year and for all 1979.

In almost all factories, construction sites, schools, hospitals and offices the vanguard role of young people was brought out. With the founding of the "youth workshop" a mass movement in the textile industry has been launched. The 26 March* youth workshop of the Thang Loi textile mill has raised the output of every weaver from 23 m to 26 m of cloth per shift.

During these days of March 1979, in response to the appeal

of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam and President Ton Duc Thang's Order for General Mobilization, the movement to increase production and the movement to volunteer for the army have been gaining momentum. Hundreds of thousands of Communist Youth Union members, young people and students have sent letters volunteering to take part in the struggle against the Chinese aggressors and units of these young people have been set up. On 11 March 1979 the five divisions of the youth shock-force of the city came into existence and were assigned the task of maintaining security and order. These included three divisions of Communist Youth Union members and young people from the city districts, a division of young workers, a division of college and vocational school students. In Ho Chi Minh City many youth units volunteering to go to Hanoi to help build up the capital's defence line were set up.

* A movement for increasing production among young workers. 26 March is the anniversary of the founding of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union.

HOANG THI HONG CHIEM Self-defence Fighter

A shop assistant distinguished herself in the fight put up by the security and self-defence forces against the Chinese aggressors in the area of Po Hen, Hai Ninh district, Quang Ninh province.

Her name was Hoang Thi Hong Chiem, born in the commune of Binh Ngoc, Quang Ninh province. She was hard-working, helpful and gentle; everyone liked Chiem.

When she graduated from the seventh year of the 2nd-level school in 1971, her first intention was to register at a technical college so that she could work later on at one of the coal mines in her home province. But she changed her mind and enlisted in the army to fight the US aggressors.

After her demobilization in 1975, Chiem returned to her home district and got a job in a marketing cooperative. She volunteered to go to Po Hen, a mountain area close to the border where life was very hard. Every day she worked with dedication. With a basket strapped to her shoulders Chiem called at remote hamlets to sell manufactured goods to Dao nationals and buy forest produce from them for the State. Her spare time was spent on military training.

It was early in the morning of 17 February 1979. Having served the last group of customers—workers from a lumber site and border guards—Chiem and her friends were evacuating the shop on orders of the district when the Chinese aggressors opened up with artillery. As soon as the barrage had ceased, an enemy regiment started to ford the Bac Luan River at three places.

The aggressors came in waves. The dozens of casualties they suffered at the hands of the Vietnamese security and self-defence forces did not seem to affect them.



Chiem was taking cover in a nearby bomb shelter. Seeing what was happening she made a dash at the border-station where fighting was raging. She started as an ammunition supplier, and was then issued an ultra-rapid sub-machine gun, with which she blazed away at the Chinese "human waves". Chiem's fire was extremely accurate, and many aggressors fell. Even so, the enemy kept closing in, and soon Chiem ran out of ammunition. She picked up an automatic rifle from a wounded combatant and continued to fight, supplementing her steady fire with grenades. But again the ammunition for the rifle was used up and, to make matters worse, Chiem was wounded in the arm. But she fought on, this time with a pistol given her by an officer.

Chiem was wounded again and, towards noon, she died, her hand still gripping the pistol.

Chiem's courage and dedication inspired the armed forces and people on the whole northeastern section of the border. The following day, on 18 February Vietnamese border guards dislodged the enemy from many important positions.

Chiem, a member of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, laid down her life for her country at the age of twenty-four. Her supreme sacrifice has given rise to a movement, launched throughout the Ministry of Home Trade, to encourage others to follow her example of courage and dedication.

A.T.

TWO PIECES OF NEWS

THE Chinese news agency Hsinhua reported, for propaganda purposes, on 14 March 1979:

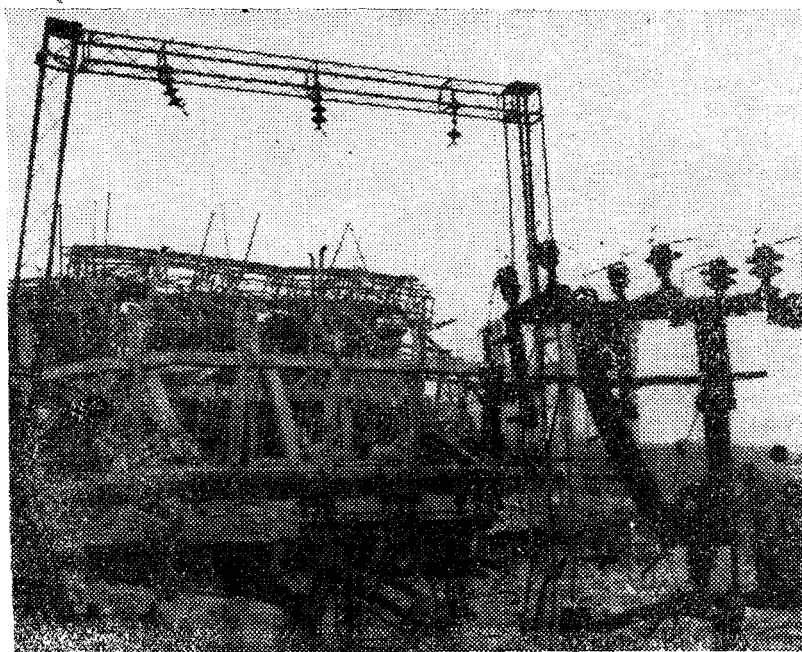
"Many people from the two border villages of Bat Xat district recently crossed the border to meet our border guards in Hekou district, complaining that after the withdrawal of the Chinese troops the Vietnamese security forces ill-treated those villagers who had received food and other things given them by the Chinese soldiers."

But what about the truth?

NHAN DAN, the daily of the Communist Party of Vietnam, stated on 17 March 1979:

"Old Mrs. Nguyen Thi Sam, aged 82, lived in the workers' apartment block at Cam Duong town, Hoang Lien Son province. She was too old to flee. While remaining in the town she witnessed many savage crimes committed by the Chinese troops in her neighbourhood. She spoke of a vicious trick played by the Chinese aggressors: When they entered the town, they bullied and threatened her; however before their withdrawal, they collected up all the rice left in the neighbouring houses, bundled it into a bag and then ordered a Chinese soldier to kneel and offer her the bag of rice for them to photograph."

ATROCITIES OF THE CHINESE AGGRESSORS



Lao Cai power station ruined by Chinese troops.

THE Chinese aggressors perpetrated vile atrocities against the Vietnamese people in the six border provinces, blatantly violating international conventions China had signed, including the 1949 Geneva Conventions on the protection of civilian populations. The rulers in Peking applied the same policy of "destroying everything, killing everyone and plundering anything" which the black-clad troops of the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique had carried out on Vietnam's southwestern border.

"Destroying Everything"

The crimes began with intensive artillery shelling, tens of thousands of big calibre rounds

falling on the provincial town of Lao Cai, the district towns of Mong Cai and Dong Dang, the districts of Thong Nong, Muong Khuong and Bat Xat, and many border villages at dawn on 17 February 1979. North of Dong Dang a vast area between the hamlets of Na Mo and Tan Yen, famous for its tobacco, maize and soya beans, was instantly devastated. In the commune of My Cao, seven kilometres from the border in Lang Son province, four hundred houses belonging to people of the Nung national minority were burnt down.

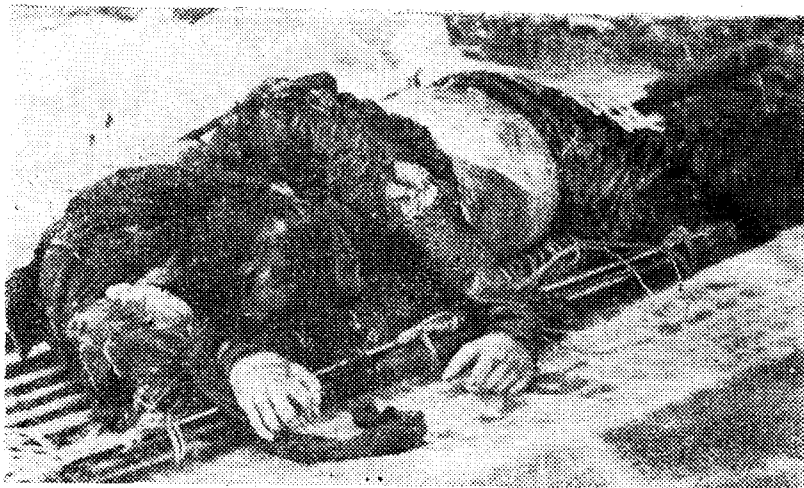
Anything could be a target for the enemy — factories, churches, schools, hospitals, crèches, stores, lumber sites, farms, irrigation installations, public offices, railway stations dwelling houses,

markets, bridges, culverts. Enemy tanks devastated crops, levelled houses and knocked down valuable timber trees.

The apatite mine in Lao Cai was completely destroyed. The various plants for grinding, crushing and enriching the ores, and for producing acetylene were demolished. The ore-extraction sites were heavily damaged. The Pom Han railway station and the workers' apartment blocks are in ruins.

In the provincial town of Lang Son the enemy did not let up even on 8 March, three days after Peking's announcement of troop withdrawal. Key points in the town came under artillery fire every thirty minutes. In areas which had fallen into their hands the enemy blasted many civilian constructions with concentrated dynamite charges, among them the local bank, the office of the electricity company, the Ky Lua bridge, and the railway station.

The provincial town of Lao Cai and the district town of Pho Lu in Hoang Lien Son were also laid waste. The enemy even dynamited many bridges and culverts on Route 7.



Victims of the Tong Chup massacre: Ms Mac Thi Tinh, 28, of Nung nationality. A worker at the Duc Chinh pig-breeding station, she was killed together with her daughter Nong Thi Thuy, aged 3, and son Nong Van Toan, aged 2, while she was six months pregnant. Their skulls were smashed, their eyes pulled out and the bodies thrown into a well.

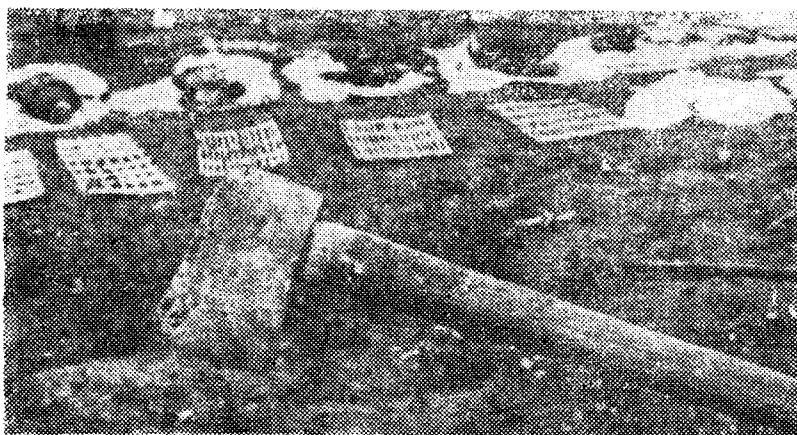
"Killing Everyone"

The Chinese aggressors killed Vietnamese people in every way imaginable: smashing their heads with rifle butts, bayonetting, disembowelling, cutting up bodies, blasting shelters with grenades, machine-gunning, charring with flame-throwers. The bulk of the victims of such barbarities were

old people, women and children. Trieu Tien Hung, an old man in the hamlet of Ta Lung, Lang Son, was shot dead. Enemy soldiers then slashed open his belly and spread his guts along the road. In the commune of Cao Lau, Lang Son, the aggressors ripped off the limbs of Vi Viet Luong, a fourth-year school pupil. They shot dead seven other children, who were sleeping, and chopped them to pieces. Four Chinese soldiers gang-raped a school teacher of Tay nationality in the commune of Thanh Loa, also in Lang Son. Then they killed her with a burst of machine-gun fire.

A bus was stopped in an area in Dong Dang. The passengers were machine-gunned. The aggressors also fired at an ambulance (licence plate: 12A/04-25) from the Lang Son hospital. They clubbed and bayoneted to death all the three occupants, a woman doctor named Nguyen Thu Thuy, a nurse, and the driver.

Also in the town of Lang Son, a correspondent of the Japanese



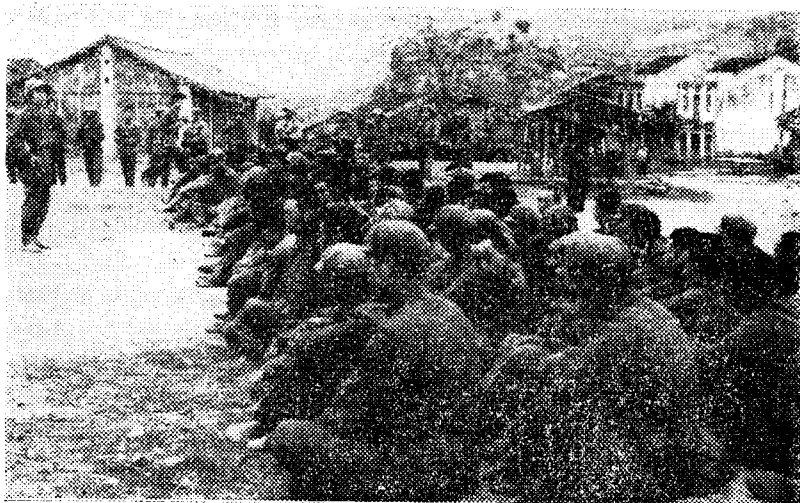
The pickaxe used by Chinese troops to smash the skulls of 43 women and children at Tong Chup hamlet, Hung Dao commune, Cao Bang province.

Communist Party's newspaper Akahata, Isao Takano, was killed in a Chinese ambush on 7 March 1979.

"Plundering Anything"

In most places the attacking Chinese forces were followed by gangs of looters. In many instances, mules and pack horses were used as well as lorries. The looters dismantled factory and hospital equipment, emptied rice barns, grabbed personal belongings, and carried off furniture and utensils. Many were caught carrying away women's clothing, shoes, sandals, woollen jackets and woollen babies' bonnets. Whatever cattle or poultry they could not take away the looters killed and ate on the spot.

The looting continued even after Peking's announcement of withdrawal, and was even more furious.



Captured Chinese soldiers.

CONFESSIONS OF CAPTURED CHINESE AGGRESSORS

A.T.

I Was Tricked

ZHENG HAICI, a tank driver from the Second Platoon, Seventh Company, Third Battalion, Forty-Second Army Corps, confessed:

"I was born in 1957 at Chaoyang, Chaozhou, Kwangtung. Like other soldiers I had a training full of political lessons as well as military drill. We were told we must learn to understand and thus defeat Vietnam's regional hegemonism.

"Before going to attack Vietnam I saw a film about Vietnam's ostracism of Chinese residents and was given political lectures on Vietnam's treachery. They said that ungrateful Vietnam was a small country daring to cheek great China. We had to attack it to save tens of thousands of Hoa still stranded there.

"Then we were marched off. The Forty-Second Army Corps left Kwangtung for Kwangsi in January 1979. By 19 February we were in north Cao Bang. On our way to your country we were ordered to set our militiamen to dig fortifications and build roads. We were also told we could kill and rape Vietnamese people at will. I was afraid, but I had to follow my unit. On 19 February our tank was fired at and I was taken prisoner.

"Now I am well treated. I can see with my own eyes that what my officers taught me is completely wrong. We have been tricked."

Please Do Not Kill Me...

Wang Fu Ping, identity card No. 002903, political instructor of the Third Company, Fourth Battalion, Diuyang Army Service

THE Government Council on 11 March 1979 gave instructions for the formation of a committee to investigate the crimes committed by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in their war of aggression. The committee will gather evidence on the crimes of the Chinese aggressors and consequences of the Chinese war in Vietnam to help denounce to the public at home and abroad the criminal policy of the Chinese authorities.

The committee will also assist Kampuchea in collecting evidence and in building a museum on the genocide practised against the Kampuchean people by China's agents.

Corps, Pahsah Sector, arrested at Hoa An (Cao Bang), admitted:

"We were told that we had to enter Cao Bang at any cost. Once the rations gave out (after four days) we would plunder the Vietnamese because Vietnam owes China a huge debt.

"Our party was entrusted with the mission of collecting intelligence and leading the way for the Mountain Division to attack Cao Bang.

"Now I fear for my life. Please do not kill me. As I was being driven to Vietnam I was frightened that I would be gunned down or captured. If I was wounded I could easily die because in our army the wounded are abandoned, or even killed. Hundreds of our soldiers have died in this way."

I Did Not Expect To Be Caught So Quickly

Vi Kuo Kiang, 23, a private of the Sixty-Ninth Company, born in Changsha, Hunan, confessed:

"Before going to Vietnam, company commander Li Ming assembled our unit and shouted: 'The hour to attack Vietnam has come. We must deepen our hatred, hold our weapons firmly and bravely charge to annihilate the enemy.' I heard those words day after day. After being given more cartridges and rations, we went to the front. My armoured car went towards Vietnam and entered a small village. On their way, our cars fired at the houses on both sides of the road and at the people we came across, destroying trees and crops. As it

was my first time at the front, I was frightened to death. My car was hit at the village entrance and could not advance. We jumped out, except for those killed in the car.

"Seeing many wounded comrades around me, I pulled myself together and noticed a stabbing pain in my leg. I was wondering what to do when I heard a shout behind me and saw some Vietnamese troops holding guns. At their signal I sat up and put my hands in the air. So I was taken prisoner. I did not expect to be caught so quickly. This was a far cry from what my company commander and political instructor said: 'The Vietnamese soldiers are disaffected, hungry and demoralized.'"

The Life of Militiaman Hwang

Hwang Hiao Lien, 31, a Chuang national of the Third Production team, Xinchun Brigade, Na Man people's commune, Kwangtung, said:

"On 13 February last, team leader Hwang Qua I told me: 'Hwang Hiao Lien, our commune has set up a group of stretcher-bearers. As a reliable militiaman, you have been included. Be ready to leave tomorrow.'

"That night, it was as if my family went into mourning. My wife Feng Chan wept bitterly: 'How can I bring up our three kids once you have gone.' My eldest daughter Hwang Tsiao Kim, aged eight, was in tears while seven-year-old Hwang Tien Kiang and six-year-old Hwang

Ching Feng cried out loud because I had not been away from them for a single day before.

"Before, in the afternoon I said to team leader Hwang that my wife was weak, my children too young and I myself suffering from a stomach complaint. So I asked to stay at home to look after my family. But he was furious: 'As a militiaman, you must go and fight the Vietnamese aggressors to defend the working people.' Then, together with the team accountant who happened to be there, he threatened: 'If you won't go, your family's rations will be cut.' This frightened me into obedience."

"Why?"

Hwang Hiao Lien did not answer straight away, but sighed, holding his head in his hands. After a moment he said sadly that from his grandfather down to himself, his family lived in utter poverty. When he was six, his father died of hepatitis and his mother of heart disease in their home.

"Why didn't you take them to hospital?"

"I had no money to pay the fees," Lien answered unhappily. "I am suffering from a stomach complaint, but I dare not go to hospital because I have no money and I have to work to keep my family."

Then he talked about his family's diet and income.

Every day he worked eight hours and after work had a meeting and a course to learn from

the example of Ta Chai(1) for two hours. For breakfast he used to eat maize gruel, at midday and in the evening maize cooked with vegetables. When there is a bad harvest due to drought, the diet is two meals of maize gruel or two meals of gruel and one of vegetables. In the past, people ate in their production team's canteen, but now they can take their rations home.

"Do you eat meat and fish?"

"No! Unless you can buy them in the market."

"Do you often buy meat?"

"No, hardly ever."

Reckoning on his fingers, Lien went on:

"In 1978, we ate pork five times, 250 grammes each time. Many other families eat meat once or twice a year, because they are poor peasants."

"Do you breed pigs at home?"

~~Yes~~, I do for the commune. Each household has to raise one pig to be handed over to the commune at the end of the year for 40 *yuan*, with which to buy medicines, salt, clothes, fuel, cooking fat, etc. Since 1975 we have been able to breed two pigs because the others died in epidemics."

"So how did you buy this jacket?"

Hwang Hiao Lien shook his head:

"I didn't. I got it from leader Hwang Fuk Pinh. As I was shivering after crossing the river bordering on Vietnam, he gave it to me, and here is my old jacket."

Then he opened his outer jacket to reveal a blue one inside and said. "This cotton jacket is my only good one, much better than my trousers."

We counted 15 patches on his trousers, each of a different colour. Some were huge and smaller ones were sewn over them.

"Why didn't you put on better clothes?"

"These are my best ones."

"Didn't the commune give you clothing coupons?"

"Yes, I got four and a half *chi* (about two metres) each year but usually I had no money to buy the cloth, so I returned the coupons or threw them away. So did many others in the Third Production team."

"Do many people live like you?"

"There are three households of rich peasants, two of middle peasants and 10 of poor peasants. Social discrimination is intended to increase class struggle. In fact, everybody lacks food, clothes and money."

He added:

"I am lucky and can read, but half my team-mates are still illiterate."

"How were you caught by Vietnamese troops?"

He didn't answer the question but went on with his story:

"If I didn't join the group of stretcher-bearers then team leader Hwang would have cut my family's rations, and my wife and children would have died of hunger. So I took 750 grammes of my food ration and a water bottle, then left home. My wife pressed 1.6 *yuan* upon me. On 14 February the group of stretcher-bearers arrived at the Vietnamese border. On the night of 16 February, we entered Vietnam, following a regular unit, together with tanks and heavy guns. Next morning, I heard a deafening noise of gunfire and hid in a

mountain cave near a footpath. After a moment of fighting, men, vehicles and heavy guns crowded in. Many People's Liberation fighters were killed and wounded, each was carried away on a stretcher by four militiamen. I was panic-stricken, and I ran after a squad of fleeing soldiers. Later on, I was caught by Vietnamese troops on a hill."

Disguised Soldiers on Tanks

Liu Fei, 23, a native of Na Hsien, Kwangsi, is a tank driver from the Chinese Eightieth Division. Captured in the Vietnamese border province of Cao Bang on 20 February 1979, he has revealed the following:

He entered Vietnam on the night of 17 February. Just as he crossed the border, he encountered heavy fire from Vietnam border guards. His unit of 31 tanks was scurrying in all directions and some turned round and were hit by the Chinese artillery barrage. His tank No. 76 was obliged to forge ahead, and was encircled and hit. All the crew were killed except for Liu Fei who luckily escaped injured. Vietnamese border guards dressed his wound and brought him behind the line of fire.

He was asked about the division commander and his unit's role and he readily answered:

"I belong to the Eightieth Division, Central Mobile Army. It

1. Exemplary commune of Chinese agriculture. Due to lack of cultivable land, the members of the commune had to clear uplands for cultivation without mechanical means.

was based in the North, but was transferred to the South in February. On the way South I saw quite a lot of troops, weapons and food supplies being moved about. Twenty miles from the Vietnamese border the division was ordered to halt. My regiment was to open the way for the infantry to attack Vietnam. Those soldiers who asked questions about the operation received no answer and later they were taken aside to be "briefed". In fact, past experience had shown them that they could be killed."

Why did the eight soldiers in the tank wear different uniforms? He replied that in his division each tank had a crew of four, but they had picked up four men five miles from the border. These four were dressed like Vietnamese troops and climbed into the tanks called by their names. Their rucksacks were full of ammunition as well as rations for four days. The tank crews were told that they had to carry these disguised intelligence scouts who would help the operations in Vietnam

When asked about the present whereabouts of these disguised Chinese soldiers, Liu Fei said:

"I got to know one of them a little, a man of about 45. He said he had been a barber in Cao Bang town before going to China. When the Fatherland asked him to return, he and his family crossed the border to China by the Friendship Gate. But when they got to Pingxiang, his wife and children were sent off by train, he didn't know where, while he was sent to a Chinese province across the border from

Cao Bang. He met quite a lot of old acquaintances there. They were organized in the militia, and learnt about the task of defending the great land of China. They did military drill and learnt all about gathering intelligence.

"At 5 p.m. on 16 February, they were gathered together and told: 'From now on you are no longer militiamen. You are security fighters and have to go back to Vietnam to carry out sabotage and help the Chinese army attacking from the border.'

"There were 100 of them dressed like Vietnamese soldiers. They were ordered to get into the tanks. According to the plan, they would speak to the Vietnamese they came across as if they were Vietnamese soldiers. Whenever Chinese troops managed to occupy somewhere, the scouts would disperse and put on their national costume either brought with them or stolen from local people, so they could mix with the people and carry out underground activities. They had to go deep into the evacuated areas or even further."

"What was the task of the Eightieth Division?"

"It had to carry these disguised soldiers, but its main task was to open the way for the infantry to punish Vietnam. We were told that both tank crews and infantrymen could destroy and kill as they liked to punish Vietnam and plunder cattle, poultry and any other property to give them enough food to carry on fighting".

"What would happen if they were forced back?"

"This was not expected, but I heard that the disguised soldiers would put on Vietnamese uniforms again and come back to China when ordered. There they would be told to kill and plunder in a chosen village just as they did in Vietnam."

"What for?"

"To discredit Vietnam. Because cameramen and photographers would be there to record the scenes and say that 'the Vietnamese army is attacking Chinese civilians'."

"How did it turn out in fact?"

"It was a catastrophe. Most of the tanks of the Eightieth Division were destroyed and scattered along the road to Cao Bang. Many soldiers were killed. The scouts were gunned down the moment they got out of the tank and their bodies were crushed under the following tanks."

"How long were you supposed to stay in Vietnam with such small food rations?"

"We brought along rations for four days but our commanders told us 'to rely on the people'. According to them, we could rely on the Hoa and discontented Vietnamese, or capture village leaders and force them to give us directions or supply us with food."

"Did that happen?"

"Not quite. Only a few Hoa were informers or welcomed the Chinese soldiers, while most of them moved out together with the Vietnamese. Local cadres were determined to die rather than be captured by Chinese soldiers. Therefore, nobody supplied us with food and we had to fend for ourselves by looting."

LE VIET CHUNG

Chinese Plot Behind the Banknotes

THE captured Chinese soldier trembles as he hands the Vietnamese officer all his papers, including a pack of Vietnamese 0.50 dong banknotes, which have been in circulation since 1958 and are still temporarily in use. (1)

He falteringly declares that the money was given him by his superiors only a few days before their attack on Vietnam. Other soldiers in his unit were also given such notes. The notes are quite new with successive serial numbers as if freshly drawn from a bank, and were certainly not saved up one by one.

More than 20 years ago, when the relations between the two countries were still friendly, Vietnam asked for China's help to print banknotes. This shows to what extent Vietnam had trusted China.

Now it is clear to everybody that there was a long-contrived betrayal — the 0.50 dong banknotes in the pocket of the Chinese prisoner of war are just one proof of many.

(1) In May 1978, Vietnamese currency was unified throughout the country. Old notes of denominations of over 0.50 dong were recalled in exchange for new notes. However, notes and coins of smaller denominations were allowed to remain in temporary circulation.

BIG - CHARACTER POSTERS IN PEKING

IMMEDIATELY after starting the war of aggression against Vietnam on 17 February 1979, the Chinese authorities ordered the banning of all demonstrations and all news reporting about the war. However, these moves were unable to stem the rising tide of protest among the Chinese people, mostly expressed in the form of big-character posters, secret newspapers, posters and leaflets circulated ever more widely in China.

Mention should be made first of wallposters appearing in almost all the major cities. According to *Newsweek*, 7 March 1979, in Peking alone there are about 200 people actively engaged in writing wallposters and several thousand who write them occasionally. A woman named Fu Yei-hua, well known for her wallposter articles, has been arrested and become the martyr of this movement.

On 23 February 1979, a wallposter pasted in Si Tan Street, Peking, read:

"The sending by the Chinese government of troops to invade Vietnam does not conform to international law and to our foreign policy. Far from reaching its objective, this error brings about serious consequences. Our propaganda machine claims that 'Vietnam has invaded China', but in fact we cannot say so. We have said we want not even an inch of Vietnamese territory, so why do we send our troops to invade independent Vietnam, why do we kill the Vietnamese people? They are fighting heroically to defend their Fatherland; can we accuse them of counter-attacking us? In the economic and material fields, the price paid for this war will be very high. Let's withdraw our troops from Viet-

nam immediately. We strongly protest against the war waged on Vietnamese territory and affirm that our country must bear full responsibility for it."

The occurrence of underground newspapers opposing the Vietnam war seems to have happened first at Kweiyang, a city in the south with, at least, an organization called the "Association of Conscientious People". Its members usually paste up their 120-page mimeographed paper on the "Democratic Wall" in Peking and also sell copies. There are now over a dozen such papers — weeklies and monthlies — appearing under the names of "People's Tribune", "In Search of the Truth", "Spring in Peking", etc.

In Peking a big-character poster has appeared signed by the "Alliance for the Defence of Human Rights" and a declaration made by another secret organization called "Alliance of Young Workers Fighting for Democracy and Prosperity". The declaration says:

"The Hua — Deng reactionary clique has unleashed war against the fraternal Vietnamese people. While once, all responsibilities for fascist rule and economic difficulties fell on the "Gang of Four", today the authorities lay the blame on the "aggression by Vietnam". This is a shameless lie. How can informed people believe that Vietnam, a country which suffered tremendously from the American imperialists war of aggression and has not yet healed its wounds, is now in a position to challenge a country of 900 million people?

"The Hua — Deng clique has shamelessly waged war against socialist Vietnam for two reasons:

1. To win the hearts of the American imperialists. The rulers

in Chung Nanhai [their residence in Peking] made this war with the approval and encouragement of the Americans. This war visibly began after Deng Xiaoping's visit to the United States.

2. They use this war as a means to stifle their opponents and to justify their anti-democratic measures.

"The hue and cry raised by Deng Xiaoping about the "aggression by Vietnam" is aimed at sidetracking the working people's attention from domestic affairs and forcing them to live with their present desperate lot. Following the instructions of the old monarchs which advocated 'causing trouble outside in order to enjoy peace inside', Deng and his followers want to crack down on the mass movement of protest and to vent their wrath on Vietnam by war hysteria. But all their efforts are in vain. The Chinese people are not deceived".

In Shanghai, leaflets signed by the "Shanghai Action Committee of the Anti-Imperialist Alliance" have made their appearance. They say :

"Since the time the Peking authorities raised the banner of the 'Great Cultural Revolution' to attack the people, they have given up the struggle against the imperialists and courted their favours. Before, in the war against imperialism, China was the great rear area for Vietnam ; now the US has become the great rear area for the Peking clique of traitors in their war against Vietnam... The Peking reactionaries have brought shame on Shanghai by turning it into a city for collusion with imperialism. The odious document called the 'Shanghai communiqué', released in 1972, laid the foundation for this connivance between the Peking clique and international imperialism.

According to a broadcast by a secret radio station in China on the 19 metres waveband at 8 pm on 9 March, a poster signed by a war veteran appeared on 7 March reading as follows :

"This veteran has a son burnt alive in a tank on 27 February. He is proud of his son, a member of the People's Liberation Army, but does not believe that his son was sent to fight in Vietnam, which would be anti-socialist, or that together with his son 1,900 Chinese soldiers have died. He said that under the rule of the Peking clique China is heading for disaster. Deng Xiaoping coaxes the Americans but shoots at the Vietnamese: he does not distinguish between friend and foe."

Soap-box speeches have been made by the demonstrators in Peking and Shanghai demanding food and clothing. *Newsweek* reports from Shanghai that the situation is out of control there and that the authorities have resorted to repression.

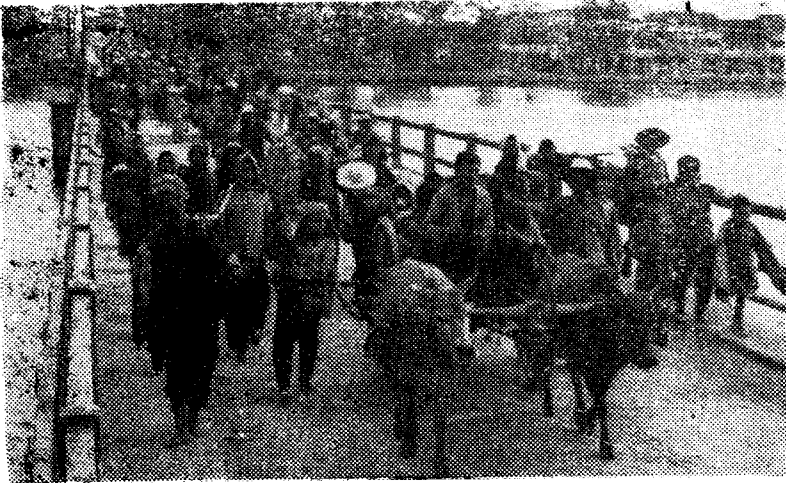
According to the French paper *L'Express*, Feng Ting, a teacher of English at a Peking secondary school, has revealed during a trip to Europe that most of the Chinese people oppose the war in Vietnam. He said: "The opponents of the Vietnam war are afraid of its disastrous consequences in the diplomatic and economic fields. They condemn China's gross error in supporting the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique, regarding it as obscene and ludicrous. As China is fed up with Maoism, how can she see her way to bolster up the only other country in the world which applies this doctrine and in an even worse manner." "In my opinion," Feng Ting concluded, "in China the opponents of the war outnumber its advocates".

A number of Vietnamese journalists have visited Kampuchea since liberation and written about the liberated country. We publish below an article about Kampot, Kampuchea's largest city after Phnom Penh and Battambang.

OUR car stopped at the square near where seven roads converged. We were struck by a line of deserted houses which had lost their windows, doors and roofs. Dung, paddy husk, ashes, scrap iron, kapok, rags, etc. littered the floor. A beautiful and luxurious hotel poetically named Phnom Khieu (Green Mountain) was blackened by smoke. The houses in the neighbourhood had been used to store rice. But the rice had run out. Had it not been for the broken wooden partitions, they would have been unrecognizable as store houses. The planks were scattered over the floor of white enamelled tiles and covering electric plugs. Some paddy was smouldering in half burned sacks. We were told that on withdrawing from the town the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique had taken with them most of the paddy. The little which remained they had burned. These scenes of devastation filled us with indignation. They had even torn the electrical fittings right out of the walls, which was no easy job. Sewing machines, radio sets and motorbikes rusted in piles.

As we went on we saw sugarcane, maize and sweet potatoes grown on former pavements and flower-gardens. Why had the Angkar dug them up? To increase production? Or in order to introduce a distorted model of

Kampot: City of Laughter and Tears



Kampuchean in Kampot province returning to their native villages.

communism to discredit true communism? These slender sugar-canes and manioc plants would do nothing to increase production. Even the most sober-minded would lose their temper at the sight and exclaim indignantly: "How foolish and idiotic they are, both masters and servants!" Why did they destroy porcelain toilet bowls and replace them with big jars which people had previously used to store sugar, as though toilet bowls existed only under capitalism? A jar with two wooden planks placed on it symbolizes the progress and civilization of the Pol Pot regime! These "toilet-jars" were all over in the town parks. Sometimes rotting corpses were found dumped in them.

As I walked through the streets of Kampot I decided to see if I could find any piece of paper carrying words or sentences in any language whatsoever pasted up, or any words written on a wall. But I did not succeed. Only in two places did I see any words. Firstly, the signboard "Phnom Khieu Hotel" high above the balcony of a four-storeyed building (perhaps the Angkar

did not have time to rip it down). Farther along, I saw the words "Photo Studio" on the wall of a house. That was all. The next morning I saw some more writing. It was a page from a colour magazine, screwed up and thrown into a ditch near the "Imperial Garden", which was reserved for Chinese advisers. The captions were in Khmer and the picture showed some bobbed-haired (a popular Chinese hair style) Kampuchean girls, with Chinese straw hats and dressed in black like Chinese women.

They were threshing rice and looked very miserable. The captions read, "Shock brigade girls threshing rice during a bumper harvest." I smiled. These were the shock brigade girls I had been told of by some women in the suburbs of Kampot. They said that when these shock brigade girls who lived in "concentration camps" returned home to visit their mothers, their mothers had to share with them their own daily food ration.

The next day I showed the picture to a girl who was chosen to present a bouquet to the

Presidium of a meeting in celebration of the Kampot people's victory. She was twenty years old and had completed general education in Phnom Penh. She spoke fluent French. She had had to do hard labour in a salt marsh at Kep. Nearly all the members of her family had been killed. As for her mother and elder sister, she did not know their whereabouts. As she held out her hand to take the page of the colour magazine I saw that it was calloused. She glanced at the photograph and said:

"This is the first time for nearly four years I have seen a piece of paper with writing on it. Nobody knows where this comes from."

A Kampuchean soldier who was standing nearby said to me:

"Oh, it was printed in China and published by the Pol Pot regime to fool the world. Apart from the big bosses nobody was allowed to see such things."

No wonder that someone had told me that Angkar forbade people to listen to the radio.

Now on the asphalted roads we saw many happy sights: old and young women and little children going about talking and laughing. With sickles and knives they went to gather in the rice harvest or to fell trees. All of them were dressed in black or in dark colours like the Chinese. Here and there were some coloured skirts or nylon blouses. I understood the risks they must have taken to keep those clothes.

Looking at their happy faces as they walked and chattered, at first sight their joy could be put down to their escape from a hell-on-earth. But they had another reason to be so happy: it was the first time for many years they could walk freely along the road. Over the past four years they had had to cut across the fields. Nobody had been allowed to walk on the road, even if they were only going twenty metres. The roads had been reserved for

envoys from the "Celestial Empire" and for members of the Angkar. Even working the fields beside the road was a privilege only for those who had been given strength and health as a special favour from God!

Access to towns and cities had been forbidden too. In the town I saw an old woman crying bitterly beside a coconut palm near her door. She affectionately embraced the tree trunk as if it was an old friend she had long been separated from.

When we met a woman in a street in Kampot we wanted to inquire after her family. Each time we got the same answer: "My husband was taken away to be killed" or "I loss three, five, ten members of my family."

One afternoon, we visited a "big family" in the outskirts of Kampot who had just returned from a concentration camp. It consisted of 17 households and lived in a house which had been abandoned for nearly four years. Where the owner of the house was nobody knew. All the members of this "family" were widows as all their husbands had been killed. Altogether more than thirty of the menfolk members had died!

One of the women was weeping and said to me:

"The Angkar broke their sku's with sticks and used their bile to make medicines. The children were killed because they were plump and palatable". By "palatable" they meant that their bile would be excellent for making medicines.

At my request, she told me why the men of this "big family" had been killed.

One because he had stolen a coconut in the commune's immense plantation of coconut palms.

Another because he had run away from the "concentration camp" to stay one night with his mother whom he had missed so much. Children above eight years old had to live in the camp. They had to work from 3 o'clock in the morning till night, collecting dung for the commune. They

were given a bowl of thin gruel at midday. At night they had slept without mosquito-nets. Their bodies were covered with mosquito bites and their sleeping mats were crawling with lice.

Some others were guilty of crying when their children were taken away to be killed. (That is why over the past few years there were no laughter nor even any tears in Kampuchea).

But most of them had been killed because they were intellectuals: teachers, physicians, engineers, writers, journalists, etc. Or just because they were male.

I jotted down the names of the families whose members had been killed. All six members of Nhang Xieng had been killed. All ten members of Xuon Uon had been killed, as also Hen-tri's five-member family. The only ones to survive had enrolled in the Pol Pot army, or joined the youth shock brigade.

What was sickening too was that the people did not all belong to the third category of citizens, i.e. were of Vietnamese extraction, but had been living here for many generations. What was the purpose of the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique's indiscriminate massacre, if not to carry out the Peking reactionaries' policy of exterminating the Kampuchean nation?

I visited a rice-husking mill in a so-called commune. It was a long thatched hut divided into twenty or so compartments, with a row of stone rice-huskers and a row of pestles and mortars for polishing. Each stone husker was as large as a boulder and the mortars had been improved in a strange manner. On each handle there were three pestles striking three mortars simultaneously. Back-breaking work! People had to work for many hours at a time, and were allowed to stop only when the gong sounded, according to the Angkar's regulations. At night, they had to sleep beside the mill near a pile of burning paddy husk so that they could wake up at three o'clock and get back to the work. "Doing work like that the Kampuchean

people would have soon died out. How could a child have been conceived when people were working from morning till night, even if the Angkar had allowed couples to live together," an old woman said to me.

We attended the victory celebration ceremony in Kampot town. Three thousand people had come from all over the province. Many of them had walked from Kep, Kompong Trial, some fifteen kilometres away. They were laughing and joking. Many women carried tiny babies. They ate their meals from old tin cans with spoons taken from the commune's store houses (Under the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary regime even spoons were "common property").

The meeting was first and foremost a family reunion. Husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, mothers and children met again. Ms Roi Kim Hai had just taken her seat as a member of the Presidium when an old woman ran up to her and hugged her affectionately: it was her aunt. Both wept. In 1976 when her husband, a nurse, was killed, she fled to Vietnam with her two children. Soon after recovery from the shock she returned to Kampuchea and joined the revolutionary army. Her aunt told her that the other members of her family had been killed.

I saw many other people reunited. A girl clutched at the arm of a Kampuchean revolutionary soldier and burst into tears. Through her sobs she told him about her experiences. The man's was visibly shaken. He told me later that the girl was his niece. His wife and three children had been killed soon after he fled the country. He and his wife had been school teachers in Kampot. I do not know how many family reunions there were at the meeting, but the whole atmosphere was one of joyful reunion mixed with grief — tears and smiles.

The meeting was held in the open air, in the scorching sun of a tropical dry season. After the meeting the provincial revolutionary theatre group gave a performance of folk songs and dances. When the show was over

both artistes and spectators were tired, but no one wanted to stop. It was the first time for more than a thousand days that they had been able to enjoy singing and dancing. This could not be farther from holidays under the old regime. On traditional holidays they had had to sit in long rows to listen to the Angkar's lengthy "instructions". It was forbidden to sing even the traditional "lam thon" folk song. Now they could sing to their hearts' content. Each song struck a blow at the butchers still hid-

ing somewhere in their beloved fatherland. Peking had manipulated the monster Pol Pot administration and is still trying to cover up the crimes of that political corpse to fool world public opinion.

As I was saying goodbye to the land of Angkor, to Kampot, to the fields of sugar palms looking just like mourning long-haired women in the devastated landscape, I suddenly remembered what my little boy had said. "Daddy, don't forget to bring me back a present

from Kampuchea!" His childish request made me smile and then saddened me. What would I tell him when I got back? How could a child imagine a country with no money, no toys, no sweets for children, no schools, no smiles or songs? A country whose *raison d'être* was massacre and death, a twentieth-century hell-on-earth.

Fortunately a great victory has been won; the people of that country have risen up!

9 February 1979

NGUYEN KHOA DANG

Conversation ...

(Continued from page 9)

Vietnam and Kampuchea is to equate aggressors with victims of aggression. This new understanding of the events on the

VIETNAM COURIER: *The Conference achieved great success. But has it agreed on any concrete measures to launch specific movements against the plots and actions of the Chinese hegemonists and expansionists in regard to Vietnam and the other Indochinese countries?*

PHAN ANH: The Conference issued a declaration and an appeal to the peoples of the world. These documents reflect the views of the Conference participants who realized the danger caused by Chinese hegemonism and expansionism to Vietnam and Laos in the first place, and also to other countries in this region. Their demand was that China immediately, completely and unconditionally withdraw its troops from Vietnam and put an indefinite end to its aggression. The Conference also issued an appeal to the Chinese people calling on them to stop the aggression by the Chinese reactionary rulers, who are bringing disgrace to the Chinese people.

The Conference adopted a concrete programme of action for the people of various countries to combine efforts with the Vietnamese people and to unite with Vietnam in order to fight and defeat the enemy. Under the Programme of Action, the Conference participants are requested to widely disseminate the documents and conclusions of the Helsinki Conference, to

Indochinese peninsula — including Chinese threats to the security and territorial integrity of Laos — led to a general consensus at the conference that there was only one question in Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea — the question of containing Chinese hegemonism and expansionism.

set up an international coordination organization to mobilize international opinion in defence of Vietnam, and to reactivate or set up in all countries committees for solidarity and friendship with, and for the defence of Vietnam. These committees shall have the tasks of explaining to everyone the reactionary Chinese policy in Southeast Asia and Peking's collusion with imperialist powers. They will also bring pressure on their governments and their countries' political parties to force China to stop its aggression against Vietnam, launch a campaign against the supply of arms and war

material to China and against military alliance with China, and investigate and denounce the crimes committed by the Chinese aggressors in Vietnam. All possible mass media should be mobilized for this purpose. The Programme of Action also calls for emergency material aid to the Vietnamese people, the victims of Chinese aggression: food supplies, clothing, medicines, paper for schools. And in this "International Year of the Child" special attention should be paid to the Vietnamese children. Immediate aid should be sent to the Vietnamese people to help rebuild houses, schools, hospitals, kindergartens, and so on, in areas ravaged by the Chinese aggressors.

In short, the International Emergency Conference in Support of Vietnam reflects the strong and prompt support for the Vietnamese people from the three revolutionary currents, and the determined struggle of the world-wide forces of peace, democracy and progress against the Peking rulers' war of aggression in Vietnam and their sabotage of peace in Asia and the world.

Recorded by NGUYEN HOANG

One and a Half Million People Rendered Homeless

As a result of the Chinese war of aggression, 1,500,000 people out of the total population of 3,500,000 in the six Vietnamese provinces bordering on China had to evacuate some 70—80 kilometres away from the border. International aid is very much needed to help them return to normal life.

CHRONOLOGY

16 February — 15 March

FEBRUARY

16. The SRV Government delegation, headed by Prime Minister Pham Van Dong, leaves Hanoi for an official friendship visit to the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

17. China starts its war of aggression against the SRV all along the Vietnam-China border from Lai Chau to Quang Ninh.

— The SRV Government issues a statement on the Chinese war of aggression against Vietnam calling on the Soviet Union and the people of the world to unite with, support and defend Vietnam.

— SRV Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Nguyen Duy Trinh sends urgent messages to the President of the UN Security Council and the UN Secretary-General informing them of the Chinese aggression against Vietnam.

18. The Vietnam — Kampuchea Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation is signed in Phnom Penh.

— The governments of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Laos, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Mongolia and Poland and the Indian Prime Minister issue statements in support of Vietnam and condemning the Chinese aggression against Vietnam.

— A basic agreement on cooperation between the World Food Programme and Vietnam is signed in Hanoi as well as an agreement on WFP additional emergency aid of 10,000 tons of wheat flour to Vietnam to overcome the consequences of floods.

19. Hanoi: Signing of a 15-year contract for cooperation in pharmaceutical production between France and Vietnam and an agreement on the establishment of a mixed pharmaceutical company called VINASPECIA in Vietnam.

20. *Kyodo*: China prohibits all demonstrations, mass rallies and news reporting concerning the China-Vietnam war.

21. Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro says at a mass rally in Havana: No peace-loving people could abstain from condemning the criminal acts committed by China against Vietnam.

— A delegation of US Congressmen arrives in Vietnam on a visit.

22. The SRV Government recognizes the Government of Santa Lucia and declares its readiness to establish diplomatic relations between the two countries.

— A delegation from Vientiane, capital of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos, led by Phau Pimphachanh, President of the city's People's Revolutionary Committee, arrives in Hanoi on a visit.

23. *Reuter*: The international film festival in Tampere (Finland) decides to cancel the inclusion of a Chinese film because of its war-like character, especially at a time when Peking is waging a war of aggression against Vietnam.

27. At the UN Security Council, SRV Ambassador Ha Van Lau refutes any allegations linking the Chinese aggression against Vietnam with the so-called "Kampuchean issue".

MARCH

1. The spokesman of the SRV Ministry of Foreign Affairs issues a statement protesting against the violation of the territory of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

2. Mr. Gezahegn Worke, member of the Provisional Military and Administrative Council of Ethiopia, special envoy of President Mengistu Haile Mariam, arrives in Hanoi.

— The SRV Government recognizes the Government of the Arab Democratic Republic of Sahrawi.

3. A Lao Government economic delegation arrives in Vietnam to attend the third session of the Vietnam — Laos Commission for Economic, Cultural, Scientific and Technological Cooperation.

— A Vietnamese delegation, led by Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Hoang Bich Son, leaves for the Philippines to attend the 35th session of ESCAP (UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific) to be held from 5 to 16 March 1979 in Manila.

4. Appeal by the CPV Central Committee against Chinese aggression.

— The SRV Government issues a statement condemning Chinese threats against Lao independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

5. Hanoi: Proclamation of the order for general mobilization throughout the country.

— The SRV Government Council issues a resolution on arming the entire people and calling on them to adopt a military lifestyle in order to defeat the Chinese aggressors.

— Peking is forced to declare its troop withdrawal from Vietnam.

6. The spokesman of the SRV Ministry of Foreign Affairs states: Vietnam is prepared to negotiate with China on the normalization of relations between the two countries after the withdrawal of Chinese troops to the other side of the historical border which the two parties have agreed to respect.

— Vo Dong Giang, SRV Ambassador to Kampuchea, arrives in Phnom Penh.

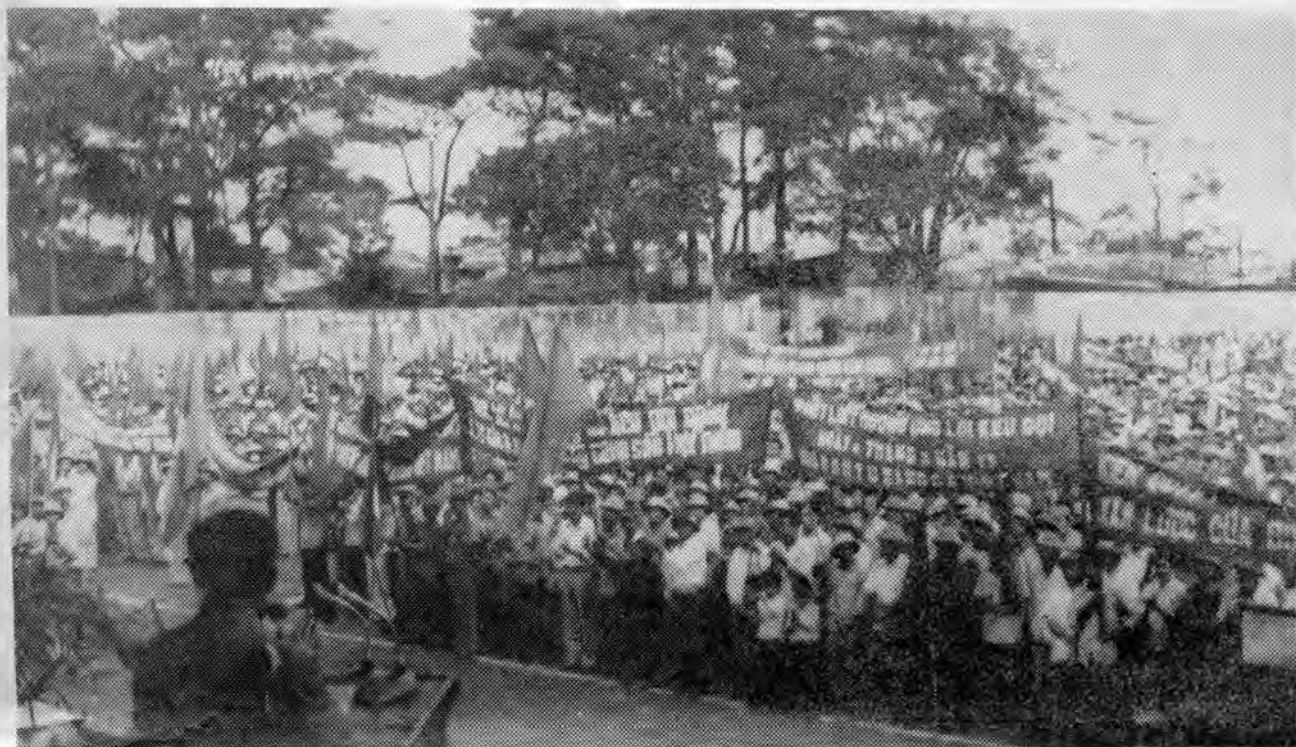
— The Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos issues a statement on Chinese threats against Laos.

7. The PDRL Ministry of Foreign Affairs sends a note to demand that the Chinese Government recall all Chinese road builders from Laos.

8. Helsinki: Closure of the International Emergency Conference in Support of Vietnam.

15. The SRV Ministry of Foreign Affairs sends a note to its Chinese counterpart specifying the date, venue and contents of the negotiations between the two countries after China has withdrawn all its troops from Vietnam.

**RESPONDING TO THE APPEAL OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF VIETNAM AND THE ORDER FOR GENERAL
MOBILIZATION**



A mass rally in Gia Lai — Kon Tum province to condemn the Chinese aggression.



Young Hanoians leave for the front.

*Vietnamese tank in action in
Lang Son town.*



*Hotly pursuing the enemy
troops.*



RESISTANCE TO CHINESE AGGRESSION

A captured Chinese soldier.



XUẤT BẢN BẰNG CÁC NGŨ:

- VIETNAM COURIER
- LE COURRIER DU VIETNAM
- HOBOCTИ BЪETHAMA
- EL CORREO DE VIETNAM

BÀO ĐỐI NGOẠI TIN VIỆT NAM

TÒA SOẠN: 46 TRẦN HƯNG ĐẠO - HÀ NỘI
DÂY NÓI: 53998

In tại Hà Nội

Chi số: 12462