

# Vietnam courier



VOLUME 16  
A MONTHLY REVIEW

● POLITICS

● ECONOMICS

● CULTURE

● SOCIETY



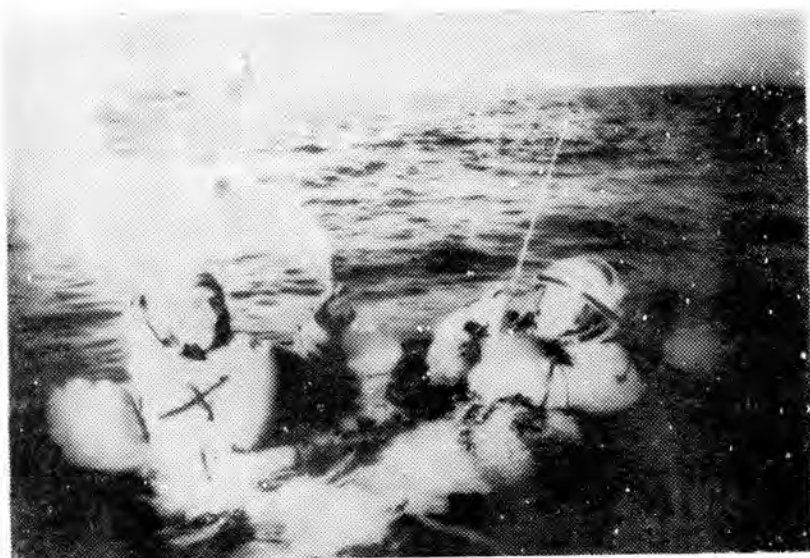
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# THE USSR—SRV JOINT SPACE FLIGHT



2



3



4

1. Vietnamese cosmonauts Pham Tuan and Bui Thanh Liem (stand-by) undergoing training.
2. Training in weightlessness.
3. Training for sea landing.
4. Gorbatko and Pham Tuan in a mock-up module.

*Photos: TASS and VNA*

# OUR MONTHLY COMMENT

- Our Monthly Comment 1
- Statement of the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam 2
- The First Vietnamese Cosmonaut in Space 4
- Vietnam - The 7th Socialist Country to send a man into Space 6
- Vietnam' Initial Steps in Space Exploration for Peaceful Purposes 7

## Contents

- Chinese Expansionism: Root and Essence 9
- 25 Years of Vietnam - Soviet Economic Cooperation 10
- New Features of Family Structure in Vietnam's Rural Areas 12
- Recognition of the People's Republic of Kampuchea by India 12
- Catholicism and the Revolution 14
- The Story of an Exile 17
- Mother-of-pearl Inlay 22
- The Da Nhim Hydropower Station 23
- Sericulture in Vietnam 23
- The Special Relationship between Vietnam and Laos during the anti-US Resistance and at Present 25
- A Visit to Western Kampuchea 27
- Chronology 31

Front Cover:

Cosmonauts Pham Tuan (SRV) and Victor Vasilievitch Gorbatko (USSR)

Photo: TASS and VNA

**Vietnam**  
**COUPLER**

8 - 1980

**F**OR more than a year now the ruling circles in Bangkok, who have secretly colluded with Beijing, the new ally of Washington, which had dragged Thailand into its war of aggression against Vietnam, have been committing real acts of aggression against Kampuchea—acts that fit the definition of aggression as given by the UN General Assembly in 1974.

Thailand has indeed declared that it would adopt a position of neutrality in the "armed conflicts" in Kampuchea—in fact these are but mopping-up operations that any government will conduct against pirates or rebels in its own country. As a neutral party, Thailand should have disarmed the remnants of the Pol Pot army and other reactionary Khmer forces who had fled from Kampuchea and sought refuge in Thailand. It should have put them in camps far from the front, that is, from the border area, in conformity with the 1907 The Hague Convention on the rights and obligations of neutral countries.

Thailand, however, has received all those elements as "refugees" and fed them with the food provided by international organizations. This has been confirmed by some of the latter after investigation, and they have voiced their intention of temporarily stopping that part of their humanitarian aid which had been sent through the land frontier between Thailand and Kampuchea.

Bangkok has authorized the transfer of Chinese weapons through Thailand's territory to equip those Khmer elements, and recruiting operations have been going on under its benevolent eyes. If the "boat people" coming from Vietnam to neighbouring countries such as Malaysia or Indonesia have been, as a rule, directed rather rapidly to countries of final settlement—the United States, Canada, Australia, France, etc., Khmer civilian refugees have been kept indefinitely in camps in Thailand, simply because Beijing and Washington want to build up in this country reserves of cannon fodder for use by Pol Pot and other Kampuchean reactionaries.

Each rainy season, Pol Pot army remnants as well as new recruits are sent by Thailand into Kampuchea to militarily oppose the revolutionary power there. Last year, it was the "pushing back" of refugees, the pretext being Thailand's inability to shelter them. But the move was severely condemned by public opinion as running counter to the principle of "non refoulement" prescribed by international conventions on refugees. This year, a new farce was mounted—that of "voluntary repatriation".

(Continued on page 20)

# STATEMENT OF THE CONFERENCE OF FOREIGN MINISTERS OF LAOS, KAMPUCHEA AND VIETNAM

A conference was held in Vientiane on 17 and 18 July 1980 between Phoune Sipaseuth, Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Keo Chanda, Cabinet Minister representing the Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and Nguyen Co Thach, Foreign Minister of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

The conference passed a resolution on international problems and issued a statement. Following is the full text of the statement.

**S**INCE the Kampuchean people overthrew the genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime, the Thai ruling circles while outwardly claiming to be neutral in the Kampuchean problem, have in fact acted in collusion with the Chinese expansionists and the US imperialists, and allowed their henchmen, the Pol Pot clique and other Khmer reactionaries, to use Thai territory as a sanctuary for training and re-equipping and a staging base for disruptive and subversive activities against the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The Thai ruling circles have pursued a systematic policy of creating tensions along the border between the two countries, violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea. The People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, persistently pursuing a policy of peace, friendship and cooperation, has shown the utmost restraint. But the Thai ruling circles have increasingly pushed ahead, and brazenly interfered in the internal affairs of Kampuchea.

The so-called "voluntary repatriation", a series of armed provocations started by the Thai side along the Thailand-Kampuchea border since mid-June 1980, the campaign to slanderously accuse Vietnam of "aggression against Thailand", the intrusion of bandit groups and Thai patrol forces into Lao territory on 14 and 15 June, and Thailand's unilateral decision to close the whole border with Laos show that a number of people in the Thai ruling circles are making a further step along the dangerous path of following the United States and colluding with China against the three Indochinese peoples, contrary to the true interests of the Thai people and those of peace and stability in this region.

The creation of a tense situation along the Kampuchea-Thailand border at present is part and parcel of a wicked overall scheme of the reactionary ruling circles in China to collude with the United States against the three Indochinese peoples. The same circles are pinning great illusory hopes on the current rainy season, and trying through Thailand to pit remnants of the Pol Pot troops and other Khmer reactionaries against the Kampuchean revolution in an attempt to reverse the situation in their favour, maintain the Pol Pot clique's seat at the United Nations, bring about dissension between the ASEAN and the Indochinese countries, and to undermine peace and stability in Southeast Asia. They have intensified armed provocations and violations of Vietnam's territorial sovereignty on land, in the air and on the sea, delayed the opening of the third round of Vietnam-China talks, and attempted to foment disturbances within

Vietnam itself. They have increased threat and intimidation against Laos, attempting to foment disturbances in that country.

Just as the colonialists and the US imperialists waged wars against the three Indochinese peoples under the pretext of opposing aggression, the Beijing reactionaries are colluding with the US imperialists under the signboard of protecting Thailand's security and are loudly levelling at Vietnam slanderous charges of "aggression against Thailand", actually for the purpose of covering up their own criminal design. China's perfidious policy is to turn the problem between Kampuchea, Laos and Vietnam with China into one between the three countries and Thailand, to pit the ASEAN countries against the Indochinese countries in order to weaken the latter, destabilize the former, thereby facilitating Beijing's expansionist and hegemonistic design in Southeast Asia and endangering peace and security in Asia and the world. The Chinese schemes have met with failure and are doomed to total failure. The situation in Kampuchea is irreversible. The People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, the sole genuine and legal representative of the Kampuchean people and the manager of all affairs of the country, has been recognized by many countries and patriotic movements in the world. The decision of the Republic of India, a great country in Asia which plays an important role in the Non-Aligned Movement and in the world, to formally recognize the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea constitutes a precious support for the struggle of the people of Kampuchea and other Indochinese countries and a positive contribution to the maintenance of peace and stability in Southeast Asia. The militant solidarity among the peoples of the three Indochinese countries who enjoy the strong support of the Soviet Union, the other fraternal socialist countries, the friendly countries, and peace-loving people in the world, is becoming increasingly stronger. The three Indochinese peoples who have undergone the most severe tests are sure to overcome all difficulties and hardships, and successfully defend the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and peaceful construction of their respective countries.

The development of the situation in the region has confirmed that the understanding of, and respect for each other's legitimate interests and the principle of peaceful coexistence between the Indochinese and the ASEAN countries constitute an extremely important factor for peace and stability in Southeast Asia. In this spirit, Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam reaffirm their desire to promote durable relations of friendship and cooperation with the other

Southeast Asian countries on the principles of respect for each other's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and political system, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and settling disputes through peaceful negotiations.

1. Renewing their fundamental proposals as set forth in the Joint Communiqué of the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Kampuchea, Laos and Vietnam, held in Phnom Penh on 5 January 1980, the Conference proposed:

a) To sign bilateral or multilateral treaties between Laos, Kampuchea, Vietnam and Thailand pledging non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and refusal to allow any other country to use one's territory as a base against the other country or countries.

b) To sign bilateral treaties of non-aggression and peaceful co-existence between the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and other Southeast Asian countries.

c) The Indochinese countries are prepared to discuss with the other countries in the region the establishment of a Southeast Asian region of peace and stability and to peacefully settle together disputes in the East Sea.

2. The Lao People's Democratic Republic and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam affirm that the Kampuchean people's resolute action to completely wipe out the Pol Pot clique and the other Khmer reactionaries belongs to the sovereignty of Kampuchea. The People's Republic of Kampuchea respects the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Thailand, but this does not mean that the Thai authorities may arrogate to themselves the right to interfere in the internal affairs of Kampuchea, and violate its sovereignty and territorial integrity without being resolutely rebuffed. The Governments and peoples of Laos and Vietnam fully support that sacred right to self-defence of the Kampuchean people.

The Lao People's Democratic Republic and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam fully support the following four-point proposal of the People's Republic of Kampuchea aimed at easing tension and proceeding to turn the Kampuchea-Thailand border into one of peace and friendship:

a) Kampuchea and Thailand undertake to preserve peace and stability in the border areas, to refrain from using border areas as springboards to violate each other's sovereignty.

To establish a demilitarized zone in the border areas between the two countries, to set up a joint commission to implement agreements guaranteeing peace and stability in the border areas, and to agree upon a form of international control.

b) Kampuchea and Thailand shall cooperate with each other and with international organizations to find a proper solution to the refugee problem in order to alleviate Thailand's burden and contribute to ensuring peace and stability in the border areas between the two countries. To give all facilities to the Kampuchean refugees in Thailand to resettle in other countries in accordance with their wishes. To negotiate a settlement of the question of repatriation of the Kampuchean refugees in Thailand. The refugee camps should be established far from the border to avoid border clashes.

In keeping with the provisions of international law on the status of neutrals, the armed Khmers belonging to the Pol Pot clique and other reactionary forces who have

fled to Thailand must be disarmed and regrouped into separate camps far from combat areas. They must not be regarded as refugees and must not be allowed to return to Kampuchea to oppose the Kampuchean people.

c) The People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea is prepared to discuss with international humanitarian organizations so that relief work may be carried out in Kampuchea in the most effective way on the basis of respect for the independence and sovereignty of Kampuchea.

— Humanitarian aid must not be used as a means to induce Kampucheans to leave their country and become refugees, and to deprive border areas of peace and stability. Humanitarian aid must not be used to feed armed Khmers belonging to the Pol Pot clique and other reactionary forces having fled to Thailand.

— Aid to the Kampuchean people in Kampuchea must be distributed on Kampuchean territory, and not on Thai territory.

— The transportation of aid to Kampuchea must be subject to an agreement between the international organizations and the Kampuchean administration.

d) In order to solve the relevant questions between Kampuchea and Thailand, negotiations could be conducted directly between the governments or between non-governmental organizations of Kampuchea and Thailand, or indirectly through a country representing Kampuchea and another representing Thailand, or through intermediaries to be agreed upon between the two sides.

The agreements and understandings reached between the parties on the above questions could be confirmed and their implementation guaranteed at an international conference or some form of international guarantee could be agreed upon.

3. The Foreign Ministers of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam sternly condemned ultra-rightist reactionary groups in the Thai ruling circles for allowing bandit groups and Thai patrol forces to brazenly intrude into Lao territory to foment disturbances, and for unilaterally closing the entire Thailand-Laos border, thereby straining the relations between the two countries, seriously violating the agreed provisions of the Lao-Thai Joint Statements of January and April 1979. This action is part of the general design of the reactionary Beijing rulers who are colluding with the US imperialists against the three Indochinese countries. The Thai reactionaries' pursuit of a hostile policy sabotaging Lao-Thai relations runs completely counter to the aspirations and interests of the two peoples and is detrimental to peace and stability in Southeast Asia. The Thai side must be held fully responsible for the deterioration in the Thailand-Laos relations.

The People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam fully support the fraternal Lao people in their determination to defend their sovereignty and territorial integrity; they fully support the correct foreign policy and the unswerving goodwill of the Lao People's Democratic Republic which has made persistent efforts to develop good-neighbourly relations with Thailand and scrupulously carried out the commitments mentioned in the Lao-Thai Statements; they firmly demand that the Thai side stop its hostile actions against the Lao people and scrupulously implement the agreed provisions, includ-

(Continued on page 5)



# THE FIRST VIETNAMESE



A press conference of the cosmonauts at Star City

Photo. THE TRUNG - TRAN DUNG

**A**T 21.33. 03 hrs on 23 July 1980 (Moscow time) or 01. 33. 03 hrs on 24 July 1980 (Hanoi time) the Soviet Union successfully launched into orbit the Soyuz-37 spaceship from the Baikonur cosmodrome.

The international crew includes the commander of the ship, pilot-cosmonaut Victor Vasilievitch Gorbakto, twice Hero of the Soviet Union, and cosmonaut-researcher Pham Tuan, Hero of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

Under the flight programme the Soyuz-37 will dock with the Salyut-6 - Soyuz-36 orbital complex, and will conduct a series of scientific researches and experiments for peaceful purposes

The joint flight of the Soviet and Vietnamese cosmonauts is a brilliant expression of the friendship and allround cooperation between the two countries.

To the entire Vietnamese people, this flight is a historic event of great political, scientific and economic significance. It takes place in 1980 - the year of the 50th found-

ing anniversary of the Communist Party of Vietnam, the 35th National Day of the SRV and the 90th birth anniversary of President Ho Chi Minh.

This space flight demonstrates the intellectual power of the Vietnamese people. Thirty-five years ago they still lived in slavery and were mostly illiterate but now they have proved capable of scaling the peaks of science thanks to the assistance of the Soviet Union and the other countries in the socialist community.

A press conference was held in Star City on the outskirts of Moscow before the joint space flight of an international crew composed of two cosmonauts, a Russian and a Vietnamese, aboard the Soyuz-37 spaceship.

At this press conference, Lieutenant General V.A. Shatalov, deputy commander of the cosmonaut training centre named after Yuri A. Gagarin, reported that the crew

had satisfactorily completed the training programme in both theory and practice. Soviet cosmonaut Victor Vasilievitch Gorbakto, who has already flown into space twice, will conduct new scientific experiments and provide coordination and guidance for his companion, Lieutenant Colonel Pham Tuan. To further highlight the excellent results of the training, another deputy commander of the centre, Major General A. Nicolaiev, reported that both V.V. Gorbakto and Pham Tuan had obtained five marks - the highest mark - in all subjects, in both theory and practice.

Asked about the mission of this joint Vietnam - Soviet flight, Soviet cosmonaut, Colonel V.V. Gorbakto, commander of the ship, said they would conduct a comprehensive programme of studies and experiments in various fields of medicine, biology and physics. In their programme of survey of the earth surface they will take more photographs of the earth by means of the MKF-6M multispectral camera, co-produced by the German Democratic Republic and the

# COSMONAUT IN SPACE

USSR. Colonel Gorbatko said that the Soyuz-37 space craft will dock with the Salyut-6 - Soyuz-36 orbital complex then, together with the other Soviet cosmonauts who have been working in the complex, they will continue their research and experiments under the Inter-cosmos programme. For its part, Vietnam has submitted its own programme of research and experimentation such as the Ha Long experiments; the experiments on tropical plants, on bio-medicine and on specimens of *azolla pinnata*; the photographing of Vietnam's territory for the exploration of its natural resources... In all, the crew will carry out 24 scientific and technological experiments while in orbit.

About the difficulties encountered and the successes achieved by the first Vietnamese cosmonaut, the flight commander said, "Lieutenant Colonel Pham Tuan joined the training centre only in April 1979 but he has proved a very able cosmonaut, intelligent, modest and hard working. He has quickly mastered the technique of cosmic flight in spite of the language barrier. It should be noted that cosmic terminology is quite different

from everyday spoken Russian. The abbreviations, for instance, are unintelligible even to ordinary Russians. For the Vietnamese pilot this was twice as difficult. Nevertheless, Pham Tuan has gained perfect knowledge of all subjects: space navigation, celestial mechanics, structure of spaceships and booster rockets. He has also satisfactorily completed the training programme in a simulator space craft as well as with special and general training apparatuses."

Pham Tuan confided that his selection as the first Vietnamese to go into space came to him as a complete surprise. When he joined the army in 1965, he was deemed not physically fit enough to become a jet fighter pilot and consequently was sent to a school for ground crews. However, thanks to persevering training, he was eventually recognized physically fit for piloting jet aircraft.

He said the experience he had gained in training and particularly in combat was an invaluable help to him in cosmic flight training.

Asked about Soviet assistance to his historic flight, Lieutenant Colonel Pham Tuan said the Soviet Union had created the best training conditions for him and many other

candidate cosmonauts from the fraternal socialist countries. The Soviet Party and Government have also cared for every detail of the cosmonauts' life with their families in Star City.

The first Vietnamese cosmonaut then brought out the great significance of this flight in the present conditions of Vietnam which has just victoriously emerged from more than thirty years of continuous fight against foreign aggression, and is now engaged in socialist construction and national defence. Thanks to Soviet assistance Vietnam is the first developing country to join the astronauts' "club". He said the other developing countries and non-aligned countries will not regard this as a success for Vietnam and the Soviet Union alone but as a common success of mankind in scientific research.

He said he hoped that in future interplanetary manned flights there will be cooperation not only among the socialist countries but also among all countries. This cooperation, he added, will increase man's potential abilities in the conquest of space for peaceful purposes and for the interests of the whole of mankind.

## STATEMENT OF...

(Continued from page 3)

ing those related to the border between the two countries, with a view to normalizing relations between Laos and Thailand.

4. The Foreign Ministers of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos strongly condemn the reactionary Beijing ruling circles who are stepping up anti-Vietnam activities, increasing armed provocation and violations of Vietnam's territorial sovereignty on land, in the air and on the sea, threatening aggression and attempting to cause violent disturbances within Vietnam and stubbornly and unilaterally delaying the third round of Vietnam-China talks.

The Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea fully support the fraternal Vietnamese people's just and resolute struggle to defend their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, a struggle bound to end in victory; they support the correct

position and goodwill of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam which seeks to settle through negotiations the problems in the relations between Vietnam and China in keeping with the aspirations and interests of the two peoples, thus contributing to the defence of peace and stability in Asia and the world; they demand that the Chinese authorities put an immediate end to all hostile schemes and acts against Vietnam and agree to an early holding of the third round of Vietnam-China talks as repeatedly proposed by Vietnam.

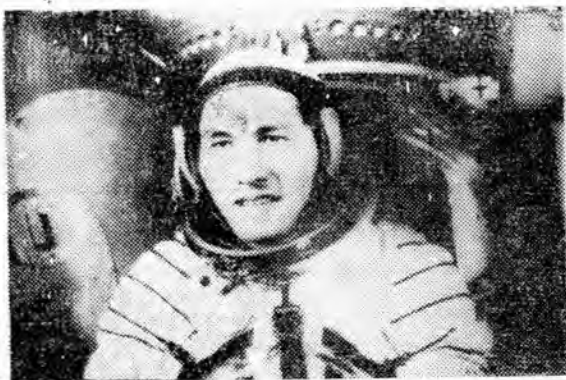
This Statement affirms once again the correct position of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, resolved to defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their respective country, and their wish to contribute to the maintenance of peace and stability in Southeast Asia and the world. The three countries are firmly confident that now as before, this position will enjoy the understanding, approval and strong support of the peoples of the world.

Vientiane, 18 July 1980



## VIETNAM, THE 7th SOCIALIST COUNTRY TO SEND A MAN INTO SPACE

- Soviet Union : On 12 April 1961, Yuri A. Gagarin made the first manned flight into space.
- Joint space flight between the USSR and the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia : 2 March 1978.
- Joint space flight between the USSR and the People's Republic of Poland : 27 June 1978.
- Joint space flight between the USSR and the German Democratic Republic : 26 August 1978.
- Joint space flight between the USSR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria : 10 April 1979.
- Joint space flight between the USSR and the People's Republic of Hungary : 26 May 1980.
- Joint space flight between the USSR and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam : 23 July 1980.



*Pham Tuan was born on 14 February 1947 into a peasant family in Quoc Tuan commune, Kien Xuong district, Thai Binh province, the rice granary of the Red River Delta.*

*In his childhood, Pham Tuan was an excellent schoolboy with good moral qualities. In 1963 he was admitted to the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union.*

*In September 1965 he joined the Vietnam People's Army. After some time he was admitted to the Air Force. Afterwards he was sent to study in the Soviet Union and in May 1968 graduated from the Air Force Technical School of the Soviet Union.*

*Back in the country, Pham Tuan was promoted second lieutenant and became a jet fighter pilot in the Red Star Regiment.*

*In November 1968 he was admitted to the Communist Party of Vietnam.*

*In the fight against the brutal air war of destruction waged by the United States, Pham Tuan proved himself an excellent, resourceful and courageous pilot and was credited with downing many US aircraft. In particular, he shot down a B.52 strategic bomber in late December 1972 when the Americans launched an air blitz against Hanoi and Haiphong.*

*In 1976 Pham Tuan was made deputy commander of the Red Star Regiment and promoted to the rank of major.*

*In 1978 he was sent to study at the Yuri Gagarin Cosmonaut Training Centre in the Soviet Union. He was promoted Lieutenant Colonel in the same year.*

*In April 1979 he became one of the Vietnamese pilots chosen to take part in joint Soviet-Vietnamese space flights.*

*Pham Tuan has been made a Hero of the People's Armed Forces by the National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and has received many army decorations.*

*He is married and has a four-year-old daughter.*



# VIETNAM'S INITIAL STEPS IN SPACE EXPLORATION FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES

Prof. Doctor NGUYEN VAN HIEU  
Vice - President of the Vietnam  
Space Research Commission

**I**N the history of scientific development in Vietnam 1980 marked a new period when outer space began to be explored for peaceful purposes and with a view to serving the building of socialism, within the framework of *Intercosmos*, the international cooperation programme for space research of the socialist countries.

The *Intercosmos* programme was worked out in 1967. A decade earlier, after the Soviet Union had successfully launched the first earth satellite, the socialist countries had already begun their cooperation in space research. Due to the war, Vietnam could not take part in the programme at that time. Nevertheless, in view of the needs for economic development, some Vietnamese scientific and technological establishments began studying questions related to regions in outer space near Vietnamese territory. Among these establishments was the Hanoi Ionospheric Station.

The Ionospheric Station was founded in 1962 and entrusted with the main task of gathering data on the ionosphere serving radio communications. Since 1969 researches at the Ionospheric Station has been conducted in three main sectors: Geo-ionospheric magnetism in Vietnam, solar physics and solar-geomagnetic-ionospheric relations, radio transmission, methods of radio forecast and methods of forecasting conditions of radio transmission.

In 1972 Vietnam began monitoring information from earth satellites for weather forecasting. These data are particularly important for the sea areas where no meteorological station can be set up. The photographs sent by satellites at the rate of one per 12 hours have helped in the detection and assessment of the effect of weather forming conditions, more particularly in the tracking of tropical storms.

Following the conclusion of the war and the reunification of the country, Vietnam entered the period of socialist construction on a national scale. This provided more favourable conditions for

scientific and technological research, including the use of outer space for peaceful purposes, and for quicker progress. On the other hand, the national economy required a better use of the results of space research as well as of outer space itself. It was in these circumstances that Vietnam joined the *Intercosmos* programme and became its 10th member beginning in May 1979. Subsequently the Vietnam Space Research Commission was founded and officially began operating in early 1980.

Composed of representatives of various branches of science and technology the Vietnam Space Research Commission was assigned the task of defining the direction and the plan for applying the results of space research to the national economy, studying the use of outer space for peaceful purposes, coordinating the work of scientific institutions in the country and mobilizing scientific and technological workers throughout the country for implementing this plan.

Under the 5-point *Intercosmos* programme, Vietnam's space research programme embraces research subjects in five areas.

In space physics, research will be conducted on the material components and the physical processes in the lower stratospheres over Vietnamese territory to serve as basis for research and application in the domain of astrometeorology, space communications and exploration of natural resources from outer space. Vietnam's participation in research on the chemical composition and structure of meteors and lunar soil will help promote research on highly sensitive and accurate methods of analysis serving geology, agriculture and other branches. Participation in research on cosmic material industry will greatly contribute to the development of Vietnam's materials science to meet the needs of such technical branches as engineering and electronics.

In space bio-medicine Vietnam will take part in research projects on space medicine and at the same time will conduct research on the growth in cosmic conditions of

some Vietnamese biological subjects such as *azolla pinnata*. The implementation of these research projects will enable Vietnamese biological and medical scientists to follow closely the latest achievements of world science in these domains for application in the study of practical questions in the country.

In space meteorology, research subjects aim to establish accurate and long-term methods of weather forecasting on the basis of satellite-fed data.

In space communications, research projects will promote the development of radio and television communications between Vietnam and the other socialist countries.

Finally, the exploration of natural resources from outer space is very important for the application of the achievements of space science to the national economy. Thanks to photographs supplied by the MKF-6M multispectral camera coproduced by the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union, the exploration of natural resources in Vietnam will not only be promoted but will also yield new results, thus effectively contributing to the development of the national economy.

In the space research cooperation plan among socialist countries under the *Intercosmos* programme a joint Soviet - Vietnam international cosmic flight will be conducted in the near future (1). The Vietnam Space Research Commission has set forth a comprehensive programme of scientific research during this flight. This programme embraces subjects in the following domains: space physics, space bio-medicine and exploration of natural resources. As a new manifestation of Soviet-Vietnam militant solidarity this joint flight will certainly give a new and vigorous impetus to the space research programme of Vietnam.

(1) We received this article before the launching of the Soyuz-37 spaceship - Ed.

# CHINESE EXPANSIONISM:

THE Chinese emperors, from Qin Shi Huangdi to Qianlong, held huge resources in their hands. Still they coveted the southern states of which Vietnam was a strategic strong-point. Holding high the banner of expansionism, all of them waged continuous "conquests of the South" especially against Vietnam. However, during those two millennia, our army and people united under the cause of national independence and through all the dynasties rose up to defeat the expansionism of blood-thirsty Chinese feudalism. Taking advantage of their large population (30 to 50 times bigger than that of Vietnam) the Chinese emperors tried by every means—political, diplomatic, psychological and military—to enslave our people. But they ran against an indomitable, heroic and intelligent people who had the determination and ability to fight.

History turned over a new page. Under the regime of "Zhunghua Minkuo" the new emperor, "President" Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek), also nurtured the ambition of annexing Vietnam. In 1945, some days after the birth of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, two hundred thousand Chinese Kuomintang troops with Vietnamese followers overran the northern part of our country. "Under the pretext of disarming the Japanese army, they actually had three objectives:

- To exterminate our Party,
- To destroy the Viet Minh Front,
- To help the Vietnamese reactionaries to overthrow the people's power and set up a reactionary government, a puppet government" (1). Still, fresh in our memories are the events of the unforgettable year 1946, when the powerful revolutionary tide of our people swept away the traitors and fought back against those who schemed to conquer our country.

The war for national liberation and defence, which started with the August Revolution and ended with the glorious victory of Spring 1975, put an end to the imperialist rule over our country.

New enemies appeared: the new disciples of Qin Shi Huangdi,

Koubilai, Kangxi and Jiang Jieshi. Exactly 2,200 years after the invasion of Au Lac (ancient name of Vietnam) by more than 200,000 Qin troops, those who consider Qin Shi Huangdi as an example and model to be followed, who have destroyed the people's democratic regime and set up in China a Qin Shi Huangdi-type feudalist dictatorship, dispatched 600,000 troops to Vietnam for another "southern expedition", the fifteenth!

By relating these well-known facts, we want to draw attention to the continuity of the expansionist schemes of the reactionary ruling cliques in China to annex and control Vietnam. Throughout those 2,200 years of history one point stands out: all the Chinese rulers, whether they adopt the cult of the emperor or adhere to the *sanmin* (three rights of the people) doctrine or the cult of the Sun, whether they are emperor, president or chairman, pursue the same policy of aggression against Vietnam, and they have the same voice, the voice of force. What is the guiding idea of these ruling circles in their reactionary foreign policy?

Chinese civilisation started in the valley of the Huanghe 4,000 years ago. It developed through the hard labour of hundreds of millions of slaves, and through the continual scramble for power between the slave-owners and the feudalists. Since the empire was unified under the hegemonist rule of the Han, its power had to be continued through expansionism, that is enslavement and annexation of other states and peoples, whether they are civilized or backward. The Han empire subsisted during nearly two thousand three hundred years. It continued and developed the extremely cruel regime of serfdom which had existed over a millennium before. It was the symbol of an extremely reactionary power which relied on coercion, oppression and the trampling of human rights in accordance with a wicked law, the law of the jungle, and was reflected in Chinese recorded history and popular legends. That was the "Heaven-Earth" culture which consisted in the domination of the Earth by Heaven, of the physical world by the metaphysical world. It was the "state" civili-

sation which concentrated power in the hands of a family, of a chieftain. No one can understand China better than the Chinese themselves. "Everything requires careful consideration if one is to understand it. In ancient times, as I recollect, people often ate human beings, but I am rather hazy about it. I tried to look this up, but my history has no chronology, and scrawled all over each page are the words: 'Virtue and Morality'. Since I could not sleep anyway, I read hard half the night, until I began to see words between the lines, the whole book being filled with the two words—"Eat people". The great Chinese writer Luxun thus wrote about Chinese history. He continued: "I have only just realized that I have been living all these years in a place where for four thousand years they have been eating human flesh..."

"How can a man like myself, after four thousand years of man-eating history—even though I knew nothing about it at first—ever hope to face real men?" (2).

As early as under the Chou dynasty, the Chinese ruling nobilities put forth the doctrine of "Heavenly Destiny" and "Heavenly Rule" which was both a religious doctrine and a political line which philosophy turned into an official conception of the universe and conception of life. Also under the Chou there came into being the conception of "the Sun" which was closely linked to the above-mentioned conception.

The universe was conceived as being divided into two: the upper being the metaphysical world or Heaven, "tian"; the lower, the physical world, "tian xia" (under the heaven), made up of "di" (earth) and "ren" (man). The physical world, Earth and Man, is placed under the rule of Heaven and must obey its orders. The Chou kings and the subsequent emperors had the title of "Tianzi" or "Son of Heaven". It was the consecration of royal power through religion which was a social power. Thus royal power was bestowed by Heaven and exerted control over both the body and soul of the oppressed people. The "Son of Heaven" assumed at the same time the function of a prophet: the Chou kings styled themselves "Wang" (monarch.)

# ROOT AND ESSENCE

who controlled *Tian* (Heaven), *Di* (Earth), and *Ren* (Man), as they conceived that "all the lands under the sky belong to the king. Men feed on the yields of the land and are thus the subjects of the king". Hence the cult of the absolute king. The Son of Heaven (*tianzi*) is also the "Sun", the centre of the universe, and since "there is only one sun in the universe" there is only one *tianzi*, one emperor, ruling over the whole world.

These religious and political conceptions were turned by Confucius and his disciples into a philosophical doctrine, which played a great part in the life of China and the Chinese people. The "Gynzi" (superior man) in its original meaning as "the son of the king", just as the king is the "son of Heaven", was a pattern of Man which took form as early as the Chou dynasty. Confucius conceived him as a man "who by obeying the law of Heaven knows his own destiny". The "gynzi" is born to fulfil the obligation of "cultivating his mind, running his family, ruling the country and pacifying the world". That is the political and religious source of the doctrine of "pacifying the world" put forward by the expansionism and world hegemony pursued by the Chinese ruling circles from the ancient times until today.

Orientation occupies an important position in Chinese life. According to the Chinese conception there are five cardinal points: the middle, the East, the West, the South and the North. In order to determine the orientation, one should face the South with one's back turned to the North. The king is the "man who faces South". Thus "Zhung" means the Middle, and occupies the first place in the five cardinal points. From the Middle one can look at the other four points, and the other four points converge on the Middle.

Under the Chou, the Chinese were called the *Hoa* tribe, *Hoa* meaning quintessence. The land of the *Hoa*, that is the Chou state and its vassal states, was called "Zhung-kuo", Middle Kingdom. The *Hoa* tribe was "Zhunghua", the *Hoa* in the middle. The other tribes living in the four other cardinal points were considered barbarous, inferior, stateless peo-

ple. Thus, the Eastern barbarians, the Western barbarians, the Southern barbarians and the Northern barbarians belonged to the four seas or "sihai".

These conceptions are at the root of the superiority complex, and the callous arrogance which are characteristics of the Chinese ruling circle. Thus Confucius said, "The barbarians in the East and the North, even in peace time and ruled by a king, cannot be compared to our country in war time and without a king." Mencius also said, "While I have heard about using the great power's doctrine to convert the barbarians, I have never heard about using the barbarians' doctrine to convert the great power."

The Han traditions of feudalism, nationalism and racial discrimination and the conception of China as the middle, which have weighed heavily on the minds of all generations of Chinese, were theoretically justified by Confucius and his disciples. Over the last two millennia Confucianism has been the orthodox political-ethical doctrine of China. It professes the superiority and monopoly of China and the Han culture and people. Confucianism demonstrates the "sacred" and "eternal" character of the Chinese emperor's power, the power of oppression and the enslavement of morality by the state. Confucianism calls for absolute servility, and non-resistance to exploitation and oppression, it forbade all "violation of power". This "servility", submissiveness to destiny, to the emperor, this spirit of social hierarchy, of Chinese supremacy over other countries, constitutes one of the main teachings of Confucianism. It has become a means in the hands of the ruling class in China, and has been used to promote Chinese chauvinism, great-Han nationalism and expansionism of Chinese emperors throughout history.

No wonder that after 1949 the song "The East is Red" was composed in China, that during the "cultural revolution" the Red Guards praised chauvinistic, expansionist and hegemonistic ideas as "the reddest sun in their heart." And no one was surprised by the callous arrogance of the

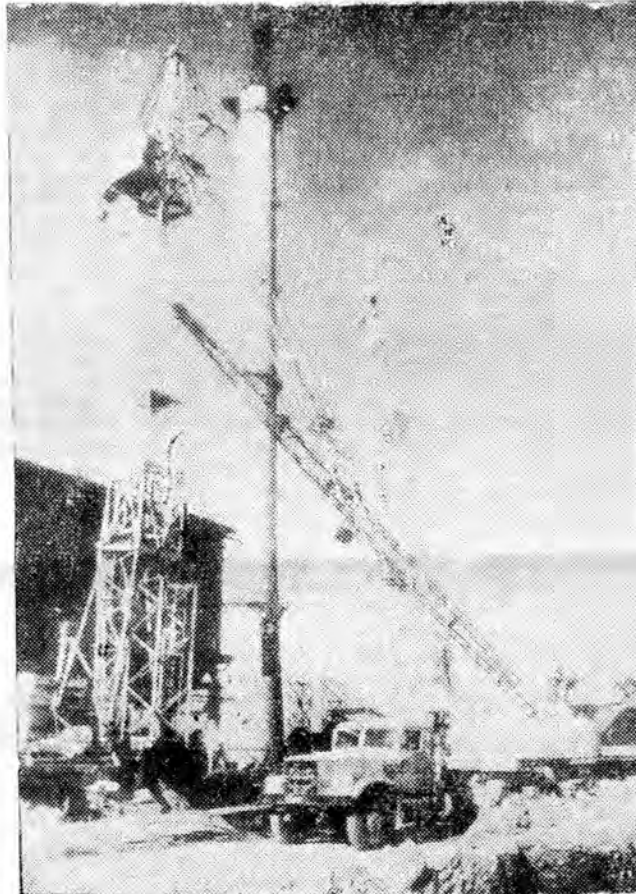
Chinese who said that "China will give Vietnam a lesson" or "China means what she says". The traditions of the bygone generations in China, the traditions of hegemonism, expansionism, the thought that all that is Chinese is superior, that China is the centre of the world's civilization, that China is the oldest power of the world, are deep-rooted in the minds of the Beijing reactionary rulers. These people still nurture and encourage the idea of restoring the ancient glory of China, they make use of the concepts of the "doctrine of the Middle" and of great-Han nationalism to inculcate in the minds of the new generation the evils of hegemonism and national selfishness.

It is not accidental that Mao Zedong wrote, "We must sum up the experience from Confucius to Sun Yixian (Sun Yat-sen) and inherit that rich legacy" and "... China is one of the countries having the earliest prosperous civilization. China has nearly four millennia of history to study" Confucianism and the Heaven-Earth civilization still prevail over the country which, in Lu-xun's words, has "four thousand years of man-eating history". Over the last twenty years Beijing has proclaimed coldly inside and outside China, that "the centre of world revolution has shifted to China", that "China is standing in the middle of the modern revolutionary course", etc. They praise to the skies chauvinism, and great-Han nationalism. In its issue of February 1961, the Chinese review *Nation* wrote, "In our country, where was born the Han people, feudal economy and culture had occupied the first place from the Qin and Han dynasties to the early days of the Qing dynasty (during nearly two thousand years, from the second century B.C. to the 17th century A.D.)."

The Chinese review *Historical Studies*, in its issue of March 1961, praised the exploit of Genghis Khan in restoring "our pluri-national state within its frontiers of the Han and Tang dynasties", praised Kangxi for having set up an empire stretching as far as the

(Continued on page 11)

## 25 YEARS OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION



The Bim Son cement works under construction.

Photo : VNA

**O**n the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the signing of the agreement on economic cooperation between Vietnam and the Soviet Union (15 July 1965 — 15 July 1980) the Hanoi press underlined the importance of this cooperation for the development of Vietnam's national economy.

During the past 25 years, thanks to the assistance of the Soviet Union nearly 200 projects of major economic significance have been put in commission or enlarged in Vietnam.

In Vietnam's first Five-Year Plan (1961—1965) the Soviet Union built 43 major industrial projects including power plants, coal mines and mechanical engineering factories. The coal mines restored in 1962 with Soviet assistance have supplied 3 million tons of coal. The commissioning of the Uong Bi thermal power plant (first phase) has doubled Vietnam's electric output.

The Soviet-supplied projects also include the open-cut coal mines at Ha Tu, Coc 6 and Deo Nai with an aggregate annual output of 3.5 million tons, coal-sorting plants, the coal-mining equipment factory at Cam Pha, the electrical equipment factories in Uong Bi, Dong Anh and Thac Ba together with 2,500 km of electric lines, the Bai Chay — Phu Ly pipeline, automobile repair factories, the Hanoi machine tool factory No. 1, the Tinh Tuc tin mine, the Lao Cai apatite mine, the Lam Thao superphosphate plant, the Haiphong food-processing factory and many tea-processing factories.

The short and medium wave radio broadcasting station, oil storage facilities and many other enterprises were commissioned not long ago. The Soviet Union has also brought to Vietnam many modern agricultural machines and spare parts, large amounts of chemical fertilizer and insecticide, and materials and equipment for 37 State farms specializing in

short-growth and perennial industrial crops like oranges, mandarins, tobacco, tea and coffee. It has also started building many big pumping stations.

The Soviet Union has sent to Vietnam nearly 10,000 specialists who have imparted precious experiences to Vietnamese technicians and workers. It has also helped train more than 60,000 Vietnamese specialists and skilled workers who have been assigned to industrial and agricultural as well as scientific, educational and cultural services.

In autumn 1975 the Soviet and Vietnamese governments signed important documents aimed at further strengthening the friendly relations between the two countries and helping the Vietnamese people rebuild their country after 30 years of war. On this occasion, the Soviet Government agreed to help Vietnam build many industrial, agricultural, communications and transport, cultural and educational projects including such important undertakings as the Hoa Binh hydro-electric power plant on the Da River, the biggest in Southeast Asia to date, the Pha Lai thermal power plant, a nitrogenous fertilizer factory, a caustic-soda factory, a viscose fiber factory and many mechanical engineering factories.

Under the Vietnam-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation signed on 3 November 1978 Vietnamese and Soviet experts are working side by side in building, enlarging or restoring nearly 100 other projects including such important ones as the Da River water conservancy project, the Pha Lai thermal power plant, the Bim Son cement works, the Cao Son coal mine, the Thang Long bridge across the Red River, the Lao Cai apatite mine (destroyed by the Chinese aggressors in February 1979) and other factories. Cooperation has also been extended to the light industries, the production of rubber, medicaments and medicinal plants, fisheries, and pharmaceutical products. The survey and exploration

of oil and other mineral deposits, first of all coal, tin, natural gas and petroleum, are being stepped up.

Trade relations between Vietnam and the Soviet Union are developing satisfactorily. Vietnam's exports to the Soviet Union has increased 205 times and imports from the Soviet Union by 164 times in the period from 1955 to 1979. Exports to the Soviet Union account for more than half of Vietnam's total value of exports. It went up by 2.3 times during the last four years. Main imports from the Soviet Union in 1979: iron and steel 90% of total imports; oil and lubricants 90%, food 77%, fertilizer 89%, cotton 94%.

Scientific and technological cooperation is also on the increase. With Soviet assistance, Vietnam has built a number of research centres, colleges and vocational schools, notably the Hanoi Polytechnical College and the Nghia Do Scientific Research Centre. At present, Vietnamese and Soviet scientific and technical organizations are compiling a vast programme of scientific research for the coming five-year plan of Vietnam and are also working out the main orientations for technological cooperation up to 1990.

The level of allround economic, scientific and technological cooperation has enabled Vietnam to achieve much bigger and more important tasks. A typical example is the agreement on cooperation in the exploration and exploitation of oil on the continental shelf of southern Vietnam.

In July 1980, the Hoa Sen (Lotus) satellite earth station was inaugurated in Vietnam as part of the Intersputnik system helping to further exchanges in science, culture and education through direct telephone, telegraph and television links between the two countries.

On 23 July 1980, cooperation between the two countries in space research was crowned with the launching of the Soyuz-37 spaceship with the first Vietnamese cosmonaut aboard.

## CHINESE...

(Continued from page 9)

Pacific in the east, the Southern Sea islands in the south, the Himalayas in the west and Siberia in the north". It is common knowledge that Genghis Khan and his grandson Kubilai were Mongolians. They destroyed not only the Jin dynasty but also the Han southern Song state, and ruled over China for over a century. As for Kangxi, he belonged to the Manchurian people,

a people who defeated the Han Taiming state and ruled over China for over 250 years. To praise them is to serve the territorial claims, the hegemonistic ambitions of the Beijing rulers, who go to the lengths of affirming, "Until the 15th century the leading position in world history had been occupied by the Asian peoples, that is the yellow race". (*Guangming ribao*, 4 February 1961).

The new great Han people who are ruling in Zhungnanhai are following the beaten path of the

"preceding emperors". They even surpass their predecessors in cruelty, cunning and the scope of their schemes. But time has changed now, and expansionism and hegemonism are doomed to failure.

PHAM NGOC PHUNG

(1). *Ho Chi Minh, Selected Works*, Su That (Truth) Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, page 358. (in Vietnamese)

(2). *Luxun: Selected Short Stories* (Vietnamese translation) Literature Publishing House, Hanoi, p.p. 35 and 46.

# NEW FEATURES OF FAMILY STRUCTURE IN VIETNAM'S RURAL AREAS

**O**VER the past 35 years the profound changes in Vietnamese society have also brought about many changes in family structure in the countryside. First of all, there has been a considerable increase of the rural population. But unlike the past, today there are very few families of 15-20 persons living under the same roof as was common before the August 1945 Revolution. According to a sociological study conducted recently in An Binh commune, Nam Thanh district, Hai Hung province, a rather typical

commune of the Red River Delta with a population of 6,280, large families tend to divide into smaller households. Of the 264 families studied, one-generation families account for 23% (all adults, with no children) two-generation families account for 63% (parents and children) and those with three generations only 14% (grandparents, parents and, children).

A thing worthy of note is that there is not a single four-generation family (grandparents, parents, children and grandchildren). The

majority are two-generation families (63%). This trend toward division of the family into smaller and smaller households is also a common trait in the evolution of the family in the world today. Apart from common social factors, this trend in Vietnam can be attributed to other reasons.

The present average size of a family in An Binh commune is 4.1 persons. The opportunity to build new houses as a result of economic development has accelerated this tendency of family par-

## *Hanoi's Viewpoint*

### RECOGNITION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA BY INDIA

**T**HE decision of the Government of the Republic of India recognizing the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea is an important political event in many respects. Once again, while the situation in the world and Asia becomes complicated due to the alliance between the imperialist forces and the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, India forcefully asserts her foreign policy of peace, friendship and support for the just struggle of nations for their independence and freedom. The Indian Government's correct and clear-sighted policy enhances the prestige of India in the world arena as well as in the bloc of non-aligned countries of which India is a founder and in which she has unceasingly extended her great influence. By recognizing the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the Government of Mrs Indira Gandhi eloquently proves the consistent character of the policy of the Republic of India as mapped out by the late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru—a policy of support to the liberation struggle of the Indochinese nations.

The formal recognition by the Republic of India of the new regime in Kampuchea confirms that the People's Revolutionary Council led by President Heng Samrin is the genuine master of all Kampuchea, and the only legal representative of Kampuchea in her relations with other countries and with international organizations.

By recognizing the People's Republic of Kampuchea, India gives this young revolutionary State a new standing. On this occasion, the Indian Government has evoked the long-standing traditional relations between India and the Indochinese countries. In the present international conjuncture, the strengthening and consolidation of these fine relations assume great significance. Since long Vietnam and India have been bound by untarnished friendship built and promoted by two great patriots, the founders of their respective independence—Ho Chi Minh and J. Nehru. Both countries have participated in the common struggle for independence and freedom, against imperialism, colonialism and other aggressive forces. At present, they are all the more united in their endeavour to maintain peace and stability in Asia and the world, and to oppose the new schemes of the imperialists and international reactionaries. The Vietnamese people will be forever grateful to the Indian people for their precious support to our just struggle against aggression by imperialism and Beijing expansionism.

We support the Indian Government's clear-sighted foreign policy and greatly admire Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's untiring activities for world peace and friendship between nations.

*Excerpts from Nhan Dan editorial  
8 July 1980*

tion in the Vietnamese countryside. Moreover, young married people also tend to live independently from their families. However, most daughters-in-law still live with their parents-in-law when their husbands are away as State employees, workers or soldiers. These cases account for 9.7% of the families studied.

Obviously, this trend toward smaller, independent families is a favourable condition for liberating women from the old feudal bonds and helps reduce the traditional friction between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law which was so frequent in the past.

Changes in rural families are also seen in the economic and social fields. The family is no longer an agricultural economic unit of the type described in this popular saying: "the husband ploughs, the wife transplants (the rice seedlings) and the buffalo pulls the harrow". In An Binh today the purely agricultural families account for 59.2% of the total, the number of families with other occupations besides farming 39.4%, and non-farming families 1.4%. (The last category includes for instance bicycle repairers and tailors).

The number of purely agricultural families with both husband and wife working in the local farming cooperative tends to decrease as industry and handicrafts develop. In families with mixed occupations (39.4%) where the husbands are soliders, public employees or workers, there are increasing opportunities for broader social contacts, better acquaintance with the new way of life, and expanded sources of information even though this has inevitably led to a conflict between the old and the new.

The above-mentioned tendency toward smaller families also results from a changing attitude to the "big happy family". The movement for family planning has yielded some initial results. Today, for the majority of peasants, including the women, the ideas embodied in the popular sayings: "The more (children) the better," and "As heaven creates the elephant it will create the grass (to feed it)" no longer prevail. To the question: "What is the most desirable number of children in a family", 75% of the interviewed said: three or four. Only 2% said five. Although the peasants still prefer son to daughter the idea that "the daughter will be someone else's child (after her marriage),"

has also lost much of its weight. To the question: "What is the most desirable proportion of sons and daughters in a family?", the prevailing answer is a son for a one-child family, one son and one daughter if there are two children, two sons and one daughter if there are three children, and two sons and two daughters if there are four children.

Even though in his subconsciousness the present-day peasant still prefers son to daughter and in a few cases only the sons are considered full members of the family, the interviews show that more and more people tend to give equal consideration to son and daughter. Only in very few instances did interviewed people say they would prefer three sons and one daughter if they were to have four children. In some cases the parents prize daughters more than they do sons because, they argue, sons are more likely to live far from their parents when they grow up whereas daughters can take husbands in a neighbouring village and thus be a source of support and love for their parents in illness or old age.

Equality between wife and husband is also a salient trait in the present rural family. While in the patriarchal family the man supported the whole family and held absolute authority over all of its members, today the situation has changed. It is interesting to note that 60% of the families studied are headed by women. They control the finances in 76.2% of the families while in 9.5% of them such control lies in the hands of the husband's mother. 60% of the wives whose husbands are away working have run the family's economy so well that they have saved enough money to build a house.

In addition to families where the husbands are away working (2.1%) or have died for the revolution (3.4%), in 18.5% of the families old people (men and wife, or only one of them) live alone. Although in many cases they still share the same courtyard with or live close to the houses of their descendants and receive material and moral support from them and from the cooperatives they still feel lonely. These "rural pensioners" deserve still better care in such matters as food supply, housing and recreation.

Generally speaking, the rural families are moving toward greater stability in both structure and membership. In An Binh village 27.9% of the families have four or

five members and 36.3% are complete families (parents and children). In 1979 there were only 7 divorces mostly involving young couples without children. Though most families are engaged in production work, they are no longer economic cells. The tilling of family plots especially in winter is taking almost all members of the family, including seven and eight-year-olds, to the fields. This has adversely affected the education of children, which still consists merely in reminding them of fundamental moral principles in their daily behaviour and encouraging them to study at school, the parents being, generally speaking, less educated than their children.

Some noticeable achievements have been recorded in the building of "cultured families" but the movement is still deficient in both range and depth. The three "sanitation facilities" (well, washroom and septic tank) already built are impressive in number but less so in quality.

There has been a marked change for the better in the relationship between parents and children, the tendency being a more liberal attitude among the former and more independence among the latter. The present-day peasant of North Vietnam wants his children to finish at least the 10th form of general education instead of the 7th form as was his wish a decade or two ago. However, it is alarming to note that almost all the interviewed people said they wished their children would not become farmers. This should be a cause for concern since we are striving to take agriculture quickly to large-scale socialist production.

In a word, relations among members of rural families are becoming more and more governed by equality and independence. The same can be observed in kinship relations in general in the countryside. In particular, marriage is no longer decided by the parents from considerations of wealth and status and has become a voluntary association between man and woman. In quite a few instances the young people's decision runs against the wish of their parents. Division of work between husband and wife also tends to be more equitable. This is a new trait of modern society.

DUC UY and  
VU VAN THAO

## 35th Anniversary of Vietnam's Declaration of Independence

# CATHOLICISM AND THE REVOLUTION

UP to the August 1945 Revolution, the Vietnamese Catholic Church did not exist. There was only an Indochinese Catholic region placed under the authority of an apostolic vicar headquartered in Hue, central Vietnam. According to the book "Catholic Parishes in Indochina" published on 4 January 1940 under the imprimatur of Archbishop Drapier, that region comprised 20 dioceses — 15 in Vietnam, namely Hung Hoa, Lang Son, Bac Ninh, Haiphong, Thai Binh, Hanoi, Bui Chu, Phat Diem, Thanh Hoa, Vinh, Hue, Quy Nhon, Kon Tum, Saigon and Vinh Long; one in Kampuchea (Phnom Penh); two in Laos (Vientiane and Luang Prabang); and two in Thailand (Bangkok and Ratjaburi). At the head of the dioceses in Vietnam were French or Spanish bishops. In the last ten years of French rule, three Vietnamese bishops were ordained: Nguyen Ba Tong in Phat Diem in 1935; Ho Ngoc Can in Bui Chu in 1936; and Ngo Dinh Thuc (elder brother of the ill-famed dictator Ngo Dinh Diem) in Vinh Long in 1938. The Vietnamese bishops were only coadjutors and had no decisive say in the affairs of their dioceses.

In accordance with the colonial tradition, the French did their best to exploit Catholicism, using it as a tool first for aggression, then for domination. Nevertheless, the inequities prevailing in the clergy between European and native priests stirred up much discontent. In South Vietnam Father Nguyen

Truong Luu shot at the French priest Grandmaire. Many priests such as Dau Quang Linh, Nguyen Than Dong, Nguyen Van Tuong (Nghe Tinh province), Hoang Mai Rinh (Ha Nam Ninh) joined the patriotic movements early in the 20th century. Except for a minority who were led astray, the great majority of Catholics have gradually grown conscious of the national interest and have made a worthy contribution to the revolution — the revolution for national liberation formerly and the socialist revolution at present.

### **Contribution to the August 1945 Revolution and the war against the French colonialists.**

Before the revolution, the Vietnamese Catholics formed a kind of separate community with customs, rites and activities of its own; they even had their own peculiar understanding of national history. One of the causes leading to that tragic situation was the harsh rules elaborated by the foreign missionaries with a view to severing all ties between the Catholics and the national tradition. In many localities, the Catholics ran their own schools. They were forbidden to take part in social activities organized by non-Catholic people such as anniversaries, weddings, funerals, festivals. Some Catholic intellectuals were more conversant with ancient Jewish history than with the origins of the Vietnamese nation. The so-called "persecution" policy carried out by the Nguyen Kings in the 19th century was described to them in exaggerated terms so as to set the Catholics against the rest of the nation or at least divorce them from the national community. That policy was indeed erroneous and ill-conceived but it had its roots in the exploitation of the Vietnamese Catholics by the foreign missionaries' pursuing their colonialist aim: Vietnamese Catholics were used either as spies or scouts or even as cannon-fodder for the aggressor's army.

However, in spite of their evil schemes, the French colonialists and their lackeys in priestly garb could not smother the national fire burning in the hearts of the

Vietnamese Catholics, many of whom took part in such patriotic movements early in this century as *Van Than* (Scholars Movement), *Dong Kinh Nghia Thuc* (School for the Just Cause), *Viet Nam Duy Tan Hoi* (Association for the Modernization of Vietnam), *Viet Nam Quang Phuc Hoi* (Association for the Restoration of Vietnam). Founded in 1930, the Indochinese Communist Party, the precursor of the present Communist Party of Vietnam, assumed leadership of the Vietnamese revolution with this political programme: "first the national democratic revolution, then the proletarian revolution", advocating unity of all strata of the population on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the proletariat. Many resounding struggles led by the Party broke out in predominantly Catholic areas and were supported by the great majority of Catholics: the Nghe Tinh Soviet movement (Vinh diocese), the peasants' movement in Tien Hai and Kien Xuong districts (Thai Binh diocese), strikes at the Nam Dinh weaving-mill, various enterprises in Hanoi diocese, the Phu Rieng rubber plantation (Saigon diocese), etc.

The Viet Minh Front, organized in 1941 by the Communist Party, mobilized the people all over the country in the struggle for independence under the slogan "Fight the French and oust the Japanese" and enlisted ever greater support from Catholic people. The Catholics took active part in the general insurrection, which broke out on 19 August 1945 in Hanoi and won power throughout the country a fortnight later. Almost all the Vietnamese priests, including those high in the hierarchy, welcomed the event.

After the declaration of Independence of Vietnam, two bishops, Ho Ngoc Can and Le Huu Tu, participated in the government as advisers. Many priests and their parishioners joined the fight against famine and illiteracy; and took an active part in the "Gold Week" (1) and in the general election that elected the first-ever National Assembly (6 January 1946) of Vietnam. Together with other Catholic dignitaries, Father Trinh



Nhu Khue, who later became the first Vietnamese cardinal, took to the streets in Hanoi to collect rice and money for the famine relief funds. In Southern Vietnam, Fathers Ho Thanh Bien, Le Van Phien, Nguyen Ba Luat, urged the Catholics to oppose the British interventionist troops, fight against the aggressive French colonialists and help organize the general elections to the National Assembly. In Central Vietnam, the bishops and seminaries of Thanh Hoa and Xa Doai staged rallies and street demonstrations to welcome the independence of Vietnam, support the Viet Minh Front and demand that foreign missionaries yield to the Vietnamese clergy the right to run Church affairs.

The seething revolutionary movement among the Vietnamese Catholics made the missionaries more reasonable. Outwardly almost all of them adopted a submissive attitude toward the revolutionary authorities, though in their hearts they were more or less inimical to them. Early in 1946, bishops Artaraz Emaldi of Bac Ninh diocese, François Gomez de Santiago of Haiphong diocese, Santa Chierna of Thai Binh diocese, were cordially received by President Ho Chi Minh; they promised to abide by the laws of independent Vietnam and not to prevent Vietnamese Catholics from fulfilling their duty of working for national salvation. Others showed a hostile attitude, such as Bishops Chaize in Hanoi and Cassaigne in Saigon, but it was not until the comeback of the French colonialists that they dared to act in open opposition to the revolution.

The evil schemes of the reactionary priests were most visible when the resistance of the Vietnamese people against the French colonialists met with difficulties. In October 1949 the French sent paratroops and infantry to occupy the Red River delta including the dioceses of Bui Chu, Phat Diem and Thai Binh. They set up the Bui Chu - Phat Diem Catholic autonomous region. Together with Bishop Pham Ngoc Chi, Bishop Le Huu Tu betrayed the revolution. In Southern Vietnam, though there existed no Catholic region, Bishop Cassaigne sent the Catholics a letter condemning the priests who were siding with the resistance and forbidding the others to follow their example. "Catholic self-defence corps" and "Catholic guards" were set up and used as

"pacification" forces. They accompanied the French troops in their raids in which they tried to capture and kill resistance members and pillage resistance bases. They cynically trampled on other religions, destroyed Buddhist pagodas and temples, planted the cross in those places and forced Buddhists to forsake their religion...

The patriotic Catholics and priests fought stubbornly against the reactionary priests and French aggressors under the leadership of the Communists. The Catholic Resistance Liaison Committee of the Third Zone (Red River delta) was set up in October 1950 on the initiative of Catholic intellectuals and priests of repute in the dioceses of Bui Chu, Phat Diem and Hanoi. They published the "*Sang Danh Chua*" (For the Glory of our Lord) as the organ of their committee. In the Mekong River delta the Association of Catholic Members of the Resistance in Nam Bo, active since 1946, published the paper "*Vi chua vi To quoc*" (For God, For the Fatherland). Catholic associations for the resistance saw the light of day in the Viet Bac Interzone, the Fourth Interzone, and all over the country. Associated with these associations were the names of the following priests, who became famous from North to South: Fathers Pham Ba Truc, Ho Thanh Bien, Vu Xuan Ky, Nguyen The Vinh and others. It can be said that the Vietnamese Catholics had deeply realized that attachment to one's religious convictions cannot be dissociated from love for one's country. Their belief in the Truth of the Gospel was an enlightened one and they were not to be induced by reactionary elements in the hierarchy into betraying the nation. The circular issued in 1951 by the apostolic vicar Dooley, which called on the Vietnamese Catholics to oppose the resistance government, met with complete fiasco.

### Safeguarding national unity.

In the four-century history of Catholicism in Vietnam, never was it so brazenly exploited for political ends as in the period from 1954 to 1975, the period between the Dien Bien Phu Victory and the liberation of Saigon.

It must be remembered that as early as 1950 the Americans had intervened in the Indochina war by granting military aid to the French, only to oust them later

and take their place. After the Geneva Conference in 1954, they refused to admit defeat and proceeded to rekindle the war in Indochina. To prepare for this long adventure, they organized a large-scale exodus of northern Catholics to the South. Those people who left their native regions empty-handed were to serve as mercenaries for neo-colonialism. This exodus, skilfully stage-managed, was aimed at widening the gap between the Catholics and the Communists, damaging national unity, and dealing a stunning blow at the regime in the North pending its liquidation through an aggressive war to be launched from the South and loudly advertised as "Crossing of the Ben Hai river" (2) by the Ngo Dinh Diem administration.

With the backing of the French Government, Washington laid hands on some high-ranking Catholic dignitaries who deeply hated Communism such as vicar general Mai Hoc Ly who said in a sermon delivered in Phat Diem cathedral that "Our Holy Father has ordered all priests in all dioceses to go South. No priests are to remain in the North. You must go South with our Lord." Such allegations as "God has gone South", "the Ho Chi Minh Government compels Catholics to pay a tax for their prayers", "the Americans will drop atomic bombs on the North" were spread during a frenzied mendacious campaign, creating a tense atmosphere in Catholic regions. Parallel with this psywar campaign, the reactionary priests made use of elements who had committed bloody crimes against the people or had collaborated with the French colonialists to pressure the Catholics. Many of the latter, who found themselves on the horns of a dilemma, committed suicide.

Washington's perfidious schemes left hundreds of parishes without priests, many dioceses without bishops, many seminaries without theologians and without books. This situation was most serious in the regions near the 17th parallel, in the coastal areas and newly-liberated zones such as Vinh Linh, Dong Hoi, Xa Doai, Phat Diem, Bui Chu, Hanoi, Haiphong, Quang Ninh. Nearly one million out of the 14 million people in the North were evacuated, most of them by sea in a very confused way. Many families who had been living in peace were torn asunder: old parents and young children were deserted; houses and gardens

were abandoned. Meanwhile the departing Catholics found themselves engaged in a most dangerous adventure: they died either from disease while waiting for the evacuation ships, or from trampling each other when rushing on board, or from shipwreck. There were thousands of victims. The massive evacuation of northern Catholics to the South created disturbances in the new regions of settlement. Without jobs from which to earn a livelihood, young men enlisted in the puppet army, young girls became prostitutes. As there were too many redundant priests from the North, many of them had to do un-religious work; a number of them even enlisted in the Saigon army. When Cardinal Spellman came to Vietnam to prop up the morale of the GIs and puppet troops he "sanctified" the Catholic servants of neo-colonialism as "defenders of God".

To cope with the difficulties created by the US imperialists for the Church in Vietnam in general and in the North in particular, the Catholic clergy and Catholic personalities in the North and those from the South regrouped in the North in accordance with the 1954 Geneva Agreements, held a congress in Hanoi lasting from 8 to 11 March 1955. The Congress declared that worship of God could not be dissociated from love of country, and founded the National Liaison Committee of Vietnamese Patriotic and Peace-loving Catholics. The Church in the North made great efforts to fill vacant ecclesiastical posts. By the late 1960's over forty new priests had been ordained in Vinh diocese, over thirty in Bui Chu diocese, and seven in Thai Binh diocese. Meanwhile in the dioceses of Hanoi, Haiphong, Bac Ninh, Hung Hoa, Thanh Hoa, young seminarists were put in charge of various parishes. A striking fact was that after the forced evacuation of Catholics to the South, no high ecclesiastical posts in any dioceses and districts in the North were held by foreign missionaries. After a break of four years, the Holy See again paid increasing attention to the Vietnamese Church in the North, a church with deep roots in the country, and the northern clergy were gradually entrusted with running dioceses with full rights of an independent church. In 1959, Bishop Bui Chu Tao was appointed to head the Phat Diem diocese and other prelates such as Khuat Van Tao, Pham Nang Tinh, Pham Dinh Tung, Nguyen Quy Quang, were ordained

about that time. In Hanoi Bishop Trinh Nhu Khue was elevated to Archbishop in 1960. (Later with the agreement and assistance of the Vietnamese Government he was made a cardinal in 1978 by the Vatican — the first cardinal of the Vietnamese Church).

Early in the sixties, two events of paramount significance occurred which exerted a great influence on the development of national history: the Third National Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam held in September 1960 decided to carry out simultaneously the tasks of socialist construction in the North and completion of the national liberation revolution in the South pending the reunification of the country. In December 1960, the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation was set up amidst an upsurge of concerted insurrections. It fought against the white terror of the US aggressors and their henchmen and set up resistance bases. In this situation, the Catholics in the North actively participated in the carrying out of the two revolutionary tasks: in many dioceses, a great number of agricultural co-operatives were established in which production teams distinguished themselves by their high productivity and the broad-ranging solidarity among their members, many of whom were Catholics. To resist the air and naval attacks by the Americans on the North, "Committees for the Mobilization of Catholics against the US aggressors" were set up in all dioceses. Many parishes gained high reputation for combativeness and zeal in production. Typical of them was the Don Sa parish in Quang Binh province where the priest and parishioners fought stubbornly and contributed to the downing of many American aircraft. The parish received the title of "heroic commune" conferred by the National Assembly. Besides, tens of thousands of Catholic youths volunteered to go and fight for the liberation of the South.

In the South, despite the slanders and the black-out of news about the North and the liberated zones by the puppet administration the revolution had a strong impact on the population. The movement of "return to our national roots" which was in fact a movement of support to the revolution mobilized a great number of Catholics in the towns in the struggle for national salvation. In Saigon this movement attracted the Catholic intelligentsia with such priests and laymen as Fathers Huynh Cong Minh, Phan

Khac Tu, Truong Ba Can, Professor Ly Chanh Trung and others. They held legal and semi-legal demonstrations and rallies such as marches by the "journalist beggars" and those for "the right to live", and published books and periodicals calling on the Catholics to support the revolution. These activities, combined with the efforts of Catholics in the liberated areas of the South and of the Catholics at large in the North, greatly contributed to the victory of 30 April 1975 which liberated the South. The Vietnamese Catholics have thus gained a meritorious place for themselves in the common struggle for national reunification.

As with the history of the nation, a new page has been turned in the history of Vietnamese Catholicism. The Vietnamese Catholics have closely associated their religious convictions with patriotism and socialism: they are proud to have kept abreast of the developments in national history. The fact that their reunified country has embarked on the road to socialism is creating favourable conditions for the members of the Vietnamese Church to achieve their lofty ideal — to worship God and love their country. Never have Vietnamese priests and Catholic believers achieved such oneness of mind. In the last five years, such high-ranking ecclesiastical authorities as Cardinal Trinh Van Can in Hanoi, Archbishop Nguyen Van Binh in Ho Chi Minh City, Archbishop Nguyen Kim Dien in Hue and other prelates have given proof of their patriotism and done their best to urge Catholic believers to take part in socialist construction and national defence.

For the Vietnamese Catholics at present, to serve God and to serve the country are at one. By taking the road it has chosen, the Vietnamese Church has supplied the Roman Catholic Church with good materials from which to develop new positive theological theories in the spirit of the Second Vatican Council.

NGUYEN HUU CHUNG

(1) *A week of fund-raising for the Resistance (Ed.)*

(2) *River along the demarcation line between North and South.*

# The story of an exile

A memoir by Le Gian (1)

It was a small and thinly populated island off the northern coast of Madagascar. The beaches were beautiful, permanently bathed in sunshine. The sea was of a deep blue and was calm most of the time. But the place could not be thought of as a tourist attraction because the water was alive with sharks. Standing on a cliff on a fine day one could see their big, pointed heads emerging from the water. A man venturing out in breast-deep water would be immediately attacked by a shark.

The island was thickly wooded. It was African jungle, teeming with wild beasts, the most ferocious of which were wolves, which roamed villages at night hunting for goats and pigs.

There were large rivers, rising in the centre of the island. They were alive with crocodiles. Goats and cows grazing on the bank were often dragged into the river by crocodiles if they came too close to the edge of the water. To cross a river safely one had to use a stratagem: a dog was attached to a pole planted on the bank some distance away from the crossing point. The dog's barking would attract the crocodiles.

The island was an ideal natural prison.

The group of Vietnamese political prisoners exiled to the island in 1941 consisted of nine Communists and two pro-Japanese elements, Nguyen The Truyen and Nguyen The Song. Believing that the Japanese would soon seize Madagascar, Truyen and Song did not mix with us. Although on our guard, we treated them with generosity, hoping

that they would behave with dignity, as befits political prisoners.

We were guarded by a gendarme and a squad of native soldiers. The gendarme, Clogenson, was thirtyish, good looking, polite, and knew a lot about politics. At first they treated us with caution, somewhat severely. After some time they began to thaw, reassured by our correct attitude, our knowledge of the world, and our fluent French. Finally we won their respect, and received a much better treatment than that reserved for native prisoners.

We began productive activities, growing vegetables, fishing, raising poultry and, later, goats. The work was supervised by Nguyen Van Ngoc (2), and through our acquaintances among sailors, we got vegetable seeds from the main island. Our gardens thrived on the good soil and in the good climate, and we taught kitchen gardening to the local people whose only vegetable food was cassava leaves. The inhabitants' mistrust waned little by little and they became attached to us. This provided us with opportunities for political proselytizing, in the absence of the guards, of course. We also made charcoal, and in this we relied on the experience of Hoang Dinh Rong (3) and Duong Cong Hoat (4), who used to live in the mountains at home. As we did quite well in growing vegetables and keeping poultry, Clogenson got permission from the French consul for us to keep part of the proceeds in cash. The money was put aside for later use. We also asked friendly sailors to take our coal to the main island, sell it, and with the money

buy us newspapers, books, sugar and milk. Of course, we were at a disadvantage in all that trade. The place also abounded in mangoes and custard apples. The mangoes were as big as the biggest ones in southern Vietnam, and were very sweet. The custard apples were the size of a big bowl. When they were in season the ground was littered with wind-falls. The beach abounded in crabs and oysters, the crabs weighing up to one kilogram apiece. They were yours for the picking. There were also sea turtles, which swarmed about the beach in their egg-laying season. Some were so large that it took several men to turn them over, rope them and drag them home.

It was true that as prisoners we didn't live too badly. But we were all home-sick and longed to return to Vietnam to resume our revolutionary activities. At sunset, we would look out into the sea at white-crested waves, feeling very sad.

Rong was the senior man among the Communists. He had attended the Party Congress in Macao in 1935, had long been engaged in underground activities, and was quite a theoretician. Next to him were Nam and Minh. The three, therefore, were our *de facto* leaders.

More than a month later, a ship came from Saigon with eighteen more prisoners. These included ten Communists, two Trotskyists and six Caodaists, among them Pham Cong Tac — a man over sixty, an admirer of Bushido who had been arrested by the French authorities for his pro-Japanese activities. Truyen and Song immediately

teamed up with Tac, while the two Trotskyists—Long and Phan—sat on the fence.

Life became complicated, and Rong emerged as a natural leader with his thoroughly revolutionary spirit and firm class stand. His policy was to avoid ideological clashes with the non-communists and build some kind of unity among the whole group in order to cope with the schemes of the imperialists. We had to act with caution while giving every possible assistance to the other prisoners. We told the Caoadaists that we would provide them with vegetables if they wished to stick to a vegetarian diet as required by their religion, but they said they did not want to trouble us. That was not the real reason for their refusal, as we later learned from Hien, Tac's personal secretary, who had this to say about his boss: "He is a vegetarian only in appearance. In practice, he will dine and wine at the first opportunity." The Caoadaists, indeed, had a great deal of money with them and not long after their arrival they received more money from Saigon. The money came from contributions by followers of their religion and allowed them to treat themselves and even the gendarme and the guards to frequent banquets.

As for us we were engaged in productive work, and studied classical Chinese, English, philosophy, economics, the theories of bourgeois revolution, scientific socialism, and the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, under the guidance of Hoang Dinh Rong, Hoang Huu Nam (5) and Phan Van Khich (6), who had studied in the Soviet Union. Meanwhile Clogenson had been replaced as prison chief by Freydier, an arrogant, brutal, heartless officer. One day the gendarme sent for the whole communist group. He talked to us at length about the "special treatment" he, "a man of conscience", had been giving us. He asked a lot of questions, and warned us

against holding political meetings. We told him that we were merely studying languages and other things to while away the time. In order not to antagonize Truyen and Tac, who we knew had reported on us, or to arouse the gendarme's suspicion about our proselytizing among the guards, we said that there must have been some "misunderstanding" on the part of the latter. At any rate, we concluded, we could not hope to hatch any revolutionary plot on this hostile island. The gendarme said he would enforce stricter discipline. This he did: the gate was closed at night, and all contacts with the local people were prohibited.

My ill-feeling for Truyen and Tac increased after the incident. Once, I criticized Truyen rather harshly for his neglect of the rules of hygiene, and added pointedly that stool pigeons should beware. Truyen made an insolent retort, and had it not been for the intervention of the other prisoners, I would have given him a sound beating.

The guards remained considerate, although they would try to act severely in the presence of the gendarme. That was because we were always friendly with them. We shared with them profits from our vegetables, poultry and coal, and they would perform sundry services in return. Thanks to local newspapers provided by them, we learnt that the Soviet Union was coping with fascist aggression almost single-handed, and that worried us a great deal. But we were told by Rong, Nam, Khich and Minh (7) — our "theoreticians" — that fascism, the final phase of imperialism, was in steep decline, that socialist revolution in the Soviet Union, led by the working class, which represents the most progressive forces of production, was developing favourably, in line with the laws governing the development of the present-day world. The Soviet Union would win and fascism would be defeated, they assured us.

Our longing for the homeland made the lack of information even more painful. What were the latest developments in the war? What was the situation of the revolution at home? How were my wife and five kids? Often, lost in thoughts, I would sit on the beach gazing at the setting sun or into the blue night. My sorrow became almost unbearable at the approach of Tet.

Rong was a man of unflagging revolutionary optimism. His window was adorned with a plant grown in a coconut shell. It was a sweet potato plant, but he insisted on calling it "Bach Ngoc Lan" (White Jade Orchid). Lying on his cot he would contemplate it while reciting poems by Phan Boi Chau or passages from the "Tale of Kieu" by Nguyen Du. His confidence gave us new strength, and we had a very good time that Tet (1941). There was plenty of home-grown food. They even installed an "Altar to the Fatherland" which was adorned with colour lanterns. Entertainment included poetry recital, folk music, drama, and swimming and running contests which attracted even Freydier, the guards and their families. The most exciting event was an exhibition of traditional boxing exercises performed by Rong, whose great skill as well as muscular body greatly impressed the guards.

Early in 1942, we were informed by the guards that the British would soon come to Madagascar. In fact they had already occupied the military harbour of Diego Suarez. That was bad news for Truyen, Tac and their friends who had pinned great hopes on the Japanese who they believed would come and free them. Then they would return to Vietnam to serve the "Emperor of the Country of the Rising Sun". Their confusion soon turned into disappointment.

Like Tac, Truyen became a butt for general contempt. Finding himself in a political impasse, he became even more sullen and arrogant and kept himself aloof. He lived like a pig, dirty, unkempt, lying dejectedly in a corner all day long. The island was infested with tiny ticks which would get under your nails or even outer skin and lay eggs. These had to be removed before they hatched, otherwise the young ticks would make you feel very uncomfortable indeed. Truyen, however, did not try to rid himself of the insects. The only thing he did was to scratch himself and groan like a dying man. Even the doctor we sent for could not bear Truyen's filthiness. He held his nose and spat with disgust. On rare occasions Truyen would sit in the sun on his haunches, his knees at a level with his ears, his hand absent-mindedly drawing on the ground a sketch of the future tomb he wanted for himself. Indeed, he was the archetype of political opportunism, and his decline illustrated the sorry fate of pro-Japanese politicians.

One day in mid-1942, Freydier arrived at the camp in the company of guards and an administrator. We thought it was just another routine inspection, but Freydier told us: "You've lived here long enough. Now we've been ordered to transfer you to another place." Of course, it would be useless for us to complain being their prisoners. But what annoyed us was that we had to leave that very day. What were we to do with our vegetables, chickens, pigs and goats? "Why don't we sell them to Loret?" Ngoc suggested. That's a good idea. Loret was the light-house guard. He lived on a nearby hill, together with his wife and his children. He was on fairly good terms with us, giving us help in our work, lending us his implements, buying seeds for us and showing us how to take proper care of the animals we kept. He

was a good listener, too. So, Loret agreed to buy our "property" at a reasonable price. The deal was beneficial to both parties.

The twenty-seven Vietnamese prisoners and the guards were jammed into two lorries. Although our departure was not announced, a number of local people came to bid farewell. As the convoy lurched off, we looked back at them, at their waving hands, and felt rather sad. The journey took us five full days, from the northern coast to the southern tip of Madagascar. One afternoon we stopped at a landing-stage outside the town of Nagoaya and waited for the ferry. The clear water of the river was too much of a temptation. We rolled up the legs of our trousers and started wading into the river for a wash when the guards shouted at us and brutally dragged us back. This made us very angry. But when we were in midstream we found the water around the ferry swarming with crocodiles, with heads as big as that of a buffalo. The reptiles followed us, and not until the guards fired at them did they give up the chase.

We entered the town at dusk. There were rows of houses on both sides, and the inhabitants turned out in great numbers to have a look at us. In one of the best-kept streets we saw many French residents. They gesticulated and commented on us. One woman said to a man by her side, "They are quite decent-looking folks, contrary to what has been said about them."

"They look civilized enough to me," the man nodded.

The colonialists must have described us to them as savages.

On the sixth day we arrived at Voudrouzou, a remote place with French-and Chinese-owned cane and coffee plantations. The prison, where we were to stay, was a

part of the barracks built on the brow of a hill, with palm-leaved roof and adobe walls. A small town lay at the foot of the hill, consisting of a few brick houses a grocery store, a restaurant, and a pawnshop. The place was crowded and, to make matters worse, the weather was cold and damp and the soil barren. We could not do much to improve our diet and, besides, were subject to great restrictions. The gendarme, of peasant stock and a former tank-driver, was uncommunicative. The guards, though living close to us, kept their distance. The days of easy friendship with our warders had gone.

Madagascar was entirely taken over by Britain by the end of 1942. De Gaulle set up a French government in exile. One day, a group of British officers arrived at the camp with Freydier. While the visitors were talking with the gendarme, we Communist prisoners lay our heads together. The presence of the British was indicative of the changes in the situation. We decided to tell the new conquerers, as we had told the French before, that we had been exiled by the Pétain administration on account of our anti-fascist stance and our adherence to the Democratic Front. We would ask to be sent back to Vietnam where we would resume our fight against fascism.

The British, after meeting the gendarme, interviewed us individually. They inquired into our backgrounds, asked why we had been exiled, and wanted to know about prison conditions and about our wishes. Since we could not tell the British everything because of Freydier's presence and his uninvited comments, we asked to be left alone with our interviewers. The request was granted, and the interviews went on satisfactorily.

About four weeks later we had a visit of the consul, who came in a car and was quite courteous. On

the same day, the guards, on orders of the gendarme, brought each of us a mattress, a bed cloth, and a woollen blanket. We were told that on orders of the British and the De Gaulle Government we were temporarily released. We said we wanted to be free to go about, to be supplied with newspapers and books, to be allowed to mix with the population, and to have better food. All our requests were accepted. As for Truyen, Tac and Co., they tried to find favour with us, seeing that our prestige had grown while they were treated contemptuously by the British. Now that we could go about freely, we often called at villages, talking to the natives.

Early in 1943, there was a new turn for the better in the war against fascism. Many of Hitler's armies were destroyed at Stalin-grad. The news filled us with confidence in the victory of proletarian revolution. We burned to return to the homeland to resume our activities.

Then one day, we had another visit by the British, four months after the first one. Again we were

interviewed individually. At the end of the meeting one of the British officers told us: "Your requests will be submitted to the British Government. Perhaps your wishes will be fulfilled one of these days."

It was clear that the British were seeking to use us for some political purpose. We decided not to play into their hands but to use them in order to reach our ultimate goal: to return to the country and resume our work in the revolution. Thus we waited in hope and soon the hope became reality.

*Note:* Following the events recounted in this story the author and the other Communist prisoners were moved by the British to Calcutta, it being the intention of Britain, France and the United States to use them as radio announcers in the Indian capital, Sydney or San Francisco. But they asked to be sent back to Vietnam where they would seek to liberate French prisoners from Japanese detention camps. After a period of training in Calcutta Le Gian, Hoang Dinh Rong, Duong Cong Hoat and

Hoang Huu Nam were parachuted on the outskirts of the provincial capital of Cao Bang in September 1944. Since this region was a revolutionary base they were able to establish immediate contact with anti-fascist forces, and were to take a direct part in the General Uprising in August 1945.

1. *Later Vice-President of the Supreme People's Court, (retired).*

2. *Later Deputy-head of the Bureau of Administrative Affairs of the Prime Minister's Office.*

3. *Later Commander of Military Region No. 7, Nam Bo (dead).*

4. *Later Vice-Chairman of the Central Commission of Nationalities, (retired).*

5. *Later Vice-Minister of the Interior during the first war of resistance, during which he died.*

6. *Later an underground Party cadre (dead).*

7. *Also known as Chau Luong, later Director of the Foreign Languages Publishing House (dead).*

## OUR MONTHLY...

(Continued from page 1)

*Each Khmer Rouge or Khmer Seret was told to sign a paper, then was escorted to the border with Kampuchea by Thai troops. Observers note that, for the repatriation of refugees, Bangkok should have at least discussed the matter with the government in Phnom Penh. But the Thai leaders argued that they did not recognize the People's Revolutionary Council headed by Mr. Heng Samrin. However, when it was proposed that negotiation be held between the Red Cross organizations of Thailand and Kampuchea, Bangkok again refused. And yet it should have remembered that at a time when diplomatic relations had not been established between Vietnam and Thailand, discussions were none the less conducted between the Red Cross Societies of the two countries concerning the repatriation of Vietnamese residents in Thailand, as requested by the Thai party.*

*The People's Republic of Kampuchea has many times declared that it would respect Thailand's sovereignty and territorial integrity, but this does not mean that Kampuchea should be deprived of its right to self-defence in case Thailand interferes in Kampuchean affairs and violates its sovereignty and territorial integrity. However, when Kampuchea exercised this legitimate right, the Bangkok authorities, with the strong support of both Beijing and Washington, quickly misrepresented the move as a threat by Vietnam to Thailand's security, and frenzied actions were taken, including suspension of a trade agreement between Vietnam and Thailand. The Thai leaders did not even flinch from such crude actions as to order the unloading of rice being loaded on board a ship bound for Vietnam. With regard to Laos, they ordered the closing of the whole border between the two countries, after sending Thai pirates and patrol units to violate Laos' territory and demanding that Laos "apologize" for its alleged misdeed in driving them back.*

*All students of history know that Vietnam has never committed aggression on Thailand, and that on the contrary Thailand has on several occasions sent troops to invade Vietnam, the last time being in the years when an*

American Expeditionary Corps was also in action in Vietnam. After national reunification, Vietnam proposed to Thailand the signing of a treaty of non-aggression; and at the outcome of their conference held in Phnom Penh on 5 January last, the three foreign ministers of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea declared their readiness to negotiate and sign bilateral treaties of non-aggression with other countries in Southeast Asia, including Thailand. One wonders why Thailand has consistently turned down those offers. Does it want to imitate Pol Pot who had also rejected similar Vietnamese proposals put forward in February 1978 with a view to putting an end to the border conflicts between Vietnam and Kampuchea — conflicts which had been provoked by Pol Pot himself? Or does it want to follow the example of the Beijing authorities who also systematically turned down the Vietnamese proposals advanced in April 1979 following the aggression against Vietnam by 600,000 Chinese troops?

To refuse to sign internationally valid documents in order to keep its own freedom of action and carry on dark designs which would have been forbidden by those documents — this is clear evidence of Bangkok's shortsightedness, its inability to see where the true interests of Thailand lie.

The Bangkok leaders also lack the political realism that would have allowed them to get a clearer view of the situation in Southeast Asia. They should have been aware that the three Indochinese countries — Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea — which had closely united in the common fight to free themselves from the French, then American imperialist yoke, are now even more closely united to defend their national independence in the face of the Chinese hegemonists and expansionists, and to give mutual assistance in national reconstruction. The three peoples share common aspirations which have gone through the test of many decades of common efforts. If Thailand finds it advantageous to combine its efforts with those of the other ASEAN countries in order to attain common objectives, why should it want to deprive the Indochinese countries of the same right? No Indochinese country has ever raised the question of changing the political regime of any ASEAN country, why then should Thailand persist in its demand that a "political solution" be provided to the so-called Kampuchean problem? There is a problem between the Indochinese countries and China, but China is cunning enough to try to turn it into a problem between the Indochinese countries and Thailand — and the other ASEAN countries as well. Thailand, for want of vigilance, has walked into that trap set by Beijing, and now it wants to drag the other ASEAN countries into its own erroneous course.

The Conference of the three foreign ministers of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, held in Vientiane on 17 and 18 July, has made an in-depth analysis of the situation in this part of the world, and pointed out that the tension

on the borders between Kampuchea and Thailand, between Laos and Thailand, and between Vietnam and China, is the result of manoeuvres by Beijing working hand in glove with US imperialism. The Conference has shown that Beijing is endeavouring at present to make use of the ASEAN countries, which in fact are also the targets of its hegemonic and expansionist policy. It is to be regretted that Thailand has become a willing tool in the hands of Beijing.

To solve the present outstanding problems, and to give an evidence of their sincere desire to entertain good-neighbourly relations with Thailand and other ASEAN countries, Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, through the voices of their foreign ministers, have put forward a series of highly constructive proposals: signing of bilateral or multilateral agreements between Laos, Kampuchea, Vietnam and Thailand; signing of peaceful coexistence agreements between the Indochinese countries and other Southeast Asian countries; negotiations on the setting up of a peaceful and stable Southeast Asia, and for the peaceful settlement of issues concerning the East Sea. Kampuchea is ready to undertake to maintain peace and stability together with Thailand in the border area between the two countries, and each is to abstain from using this area as a spring-board for violation of the other side's sovereignty; they will together set up a demilitarized zone in the border area, set up a bilateral joint commission and agree on a form of international control. Kampuchea is disposed to cooperate with Thailand and with international organizations to provide a proper solution to the problem of refugees, so as to alleviate Thailand's burden and contribute to peace and stability in the border area.

The above-mentioned proposals, once acted upon, will certainly ease the tension now prevailing in the relations between the Indochinese countries and Thailand, and create favourable conditions for the development of friendship and cooperation between the various countries of this region.

Thailand should realize where its true national interests lie and give up its illusory hope of changing the situation in Kampuchea during the rainy season. The decision taken by the Indian Government to grant diplomatic recognition to the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea in the present circumstances, and the debate now going on in the Australian Cabinet on the possible withdrawal of recognition to the sanguinary regime of Pol Pot — all this should help the Bangkok rulers get a clearer view of the issue.

Let us hope that they will give a positive answer to the proposals of the Conference of the foreign ministers of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea.

25 July 1980



Making chess-boards (mother-of-pearl and lacquer) at the Binh Minh cooperative (Ha Son Binh province)

Photo: NGUYEN DUNG

## MOTHER-OF-PEARL INLAY

**M**OTHER-of-pearl inlay is an original Vietnamese trade. This was admitted by colonialist scholars.

A number of peoples in Asia and elsewhere also use the iridescent colours of mother-of-pearl to ornamental purposes but they merely assemble several pieces into a back-ground on which carvings are made, or else file bits of mother-of-pearl into geometric patterns, which will then be made into necklaces.

In our country, pieces of mother-of-pearl are filed into various patterns and then inlaid into decorative designs or even pictures. Not only does the craftsman choose the colour of each piece of mother-of-pearl—to make, for instance, a red flower or a green leaf—but he also makes pieces of various colours and assemble them into such designs as a blue butterfly with red spots on its wings... This requires that he makes a hair-thin outer rim, fills this outline with bits of blue mother-of-pearl, bores holes, then fits bits of red mother-of-pearl to the holes. A delicate work indeed. The bits must tightly fit together for the butterfly's wings to show gorgeous colours. Finally, the craftsman carves the wood and glues the finished ornament onto it with lacquer. To make a design more vivid and lifelike—e.g. to add veins to a leaf or scales to a fish—the craftsman will carve the veins or the scales, then fill the grooves with black lacquer. It is clear that this work calls for much patience and

industry besides a sense of aesthetics and a great deal of deftness...

The wood used for mother-of-pearl inlay should be a good variety like *trac* (*Dalbergia Cochinchinensis Pierre*) or *gu* (*Sindora Cochinchinensis H. Baill.*), and the lacquer should also be of excellent quality. Because of their natural beauty, precious woods will bring out the iridescence of mother-of-pearl and make the work look even more magnificent. Should a poor kind of wood or lacquer be used, after some time the inlay will come off, particularly if the work has been taken to a different climate.

According to historical documents, the creator of mother-of-pearl inlay was a man named Nguyen Kim, who lived in Thanh Hoa in the time of king Le Hien Tong (1740–1786). He was a master carver. Walking one day along the seashore he noticed glistening bits of mollusk shell. He picked up some, filed them into various designs and assembled them on a board which he hung on the wall. Later he improved his skill and made for his own enjoyment such articles as betel-boxes and tea-trays inlaid with mother-of-pearl. The local mandarin heard about his products and demanded that they be presented to him. When Kim refused, soldiers were sent to ransack his house. Kim had to move to Chuyen Nghiep village (now Chuyen My commune, Phu Xuyen district, Ha Son Binh province) and subsequently taught his

trade to villagers, some of whom later settled in the capital, Thang Long (now Hanoi). When Kim died, a temple was built to his memory in Cuu Lau hamlet (now Trang Tien Street, Hanoi). Nothing is now left of the hamlet and the temple, but we still have a Tray Street, formerly Inlayers' Street. This is evidence enough of the existence of a thriving trade.

Products of the trade include cupboards, trays, boxes, betel-boxes, parallel sentences, wind screens, sofas, armchairs, stools, swivel tables, writing desks, etc. They have always been prized export items. Under the Le dynasty (15th-18th century) mother-of-pearl inlaid goods were already sold abroad. When the French colonialists occupied our country, they turned the trade to their own profit. At the Colonial Fair in Paris (1885) the colonialist-priest Puginier was awarded 12 gold medals for his collections of Vietnamese art articles including inlaid goods. At the 1886, 1889, 1902... fairs in Paris, mother-of-pearl inlaid articles also received special attention. At the 1897 Hanoi Fair, the first ever held, mother-of-pearl inlaid products took pride of place: windcreens, cupboards, tobacco water pipes, betel-boxes... Later on, the French colonialists and their stooges continued to draw big profits from the trade. At present, Vietnamese mother-of-pearl inlaid goods are mainly for export.

NGUYEN VINH NGO



## THE DA NHIM HYDROPOWER STATION

The Da Nhim hydropower station, one of the main electricity generating plants in the South, lies 250 kilometres northwest of Ho Chi Minh City as the crow flies.

It was built by the Japanese when south Vietnam was under US-puppet rule. The building lasted from 1961 to 1965. During the war, it only supplied a few megawatts to the Da Lat area. Only after the liberation of the South (30 April 1975) has it been put to full use to serve production and the people's life.

At the confluence of the Da Nhim and Krong Let rivers, a 1,400-metre long and 38-metre-high dam called Don Duong was built, which created a 156-million-cubic-metre reservoir.

A 5-kilometre long and 3-4 metre wide tunnel crosses the mountain and brings lake water to two 2,257-metre long pressure pipelines leading to four 40-MW turbines. The water then flows into the Cai river. In Summer it helps irrigate tens of thousands of hectares of cotton land.

Before liberation two of the pipelines were damaged by atmospheric pressure, once in November 1967 and again in 1974.

Following liberation in 1975, the new administration decided to restore the power station. Of course, the Japanese were contacted. The Sakai firm, however, said it would need 12 months to complete the work and asked for a very high price.

So we took matters into our own hands. Work started in December 1975 and immediately ran into many obstacles: sudden changes in the weather, rugged terrain, enemy mines and traps left from the war, not to mention the heavy damage suffered by the pipes...

The first thing to do was to clear the land of mines and traps, repair the roads, remove the damaged sections, prepare materials, muster technical cadres and skilled workers. Technical difficulties were numerous: One of these was the lack of the kind of special

steel required by the Japanese designers. So we just use the steel we had and reinforced the pipes with girdles.

Another difficulty was to pressure-test the pipes. In 1964 the Japanese experts divided the pipes into sections by means of expandable joints. During the tests, a joint burst, followed by others along 120 metres of pipe. The gush of water under pressure killed a Japanese expert on the spot and washed his body into an abyss.

Obviously such a testing method had to be discarded. The cadres and workers in charge of the repair work racked their brains and eventually worked out one which ensured complete safety.

Since May 1976, all the four turbines (160 megawatts in all) of the Da Nhim hydropower station have been working without a hitch. In future, the station will be enlarged and its capacity increased.

*T.T.L.*

## SERICULTURE IN VIETNAM

**S**ERICULTURE is a time-honoured occupation in Vietnam. Along the rivers of the Bac Bo, Trung Bo and Nam Bo plains and in some areas of the uplands, it is practised by the people of many villages. As far back as 1040, King Ly Thai Tong decreed that formal Court dress be made of silk. In the 12th century, Vietnamese craftsmen wore silk fabrics of various colours and decorated with original designs. In the 16th century, Vietnamese silk fabrics were among the goods exported. By 1900, tens of thousands of hectares of land were planted with mulberry trees. War, however, caused a decline. During World War II the Japanese invaders compelled the peasants to grow jute instead of mulberry. During the war of resistance to French colonialist aggression,

French troops destroyed many mulberry-fields. And during the resistance to US imperialist aggression the American imperialists dropped toxic chemicals on crops so much so that in the area along the banks of the Thu Bon river (Quang Nam - Da Nang province) for instance, a region formerly renowned for sericulture, no trace of that once thriving occupation could be found at the time of liberation. Since the complete liberation of the country (1975) sericulture has been restored. By 1977, mulberry was planted on 6,500 hectares and 198 tons of silk were produced. The planned building of material bases for sericulture started on a large scale. Besides the traditional areas in Ha Son Binh, Thai Binh... other bases were set up in Lam Dong and Quang Nam - Da Nang.

In the Hanoi suburbs, people in such districts as Tu Liem, Hoai Duc and Dan Phuong resumed this trade, while in others, such as Ba Vi and Me Linh, the planting of mulberry began on hilly basaltic soil. Up to now, nearly ten silk yarn spinning mills have been restored or built. Much progress has been recorded: selected strains of silk-worms, high-yield varieties of mulberry, mechanized spinning. The silk produced has now attained international standards.

As everybody knows, silk has many advantages over other fibres. It is very light, very resistant to traction when dry, very elastic, and has good insulating properties. Besides traditional silk fabrics—brocade, satin, crepe, gauze, pongee, chiffon—silk products now comprise women's shawls, fishing nets, surgery threads, and, combined with other fibres, parachute cloth. Silk-worm chrysalises are used for food in Vietnam. About 640kg are obtained from every 800kg of cocoons. 100kg of chrysalises contain as much protein as 35kg of pork or 280kg of eggs.

In Vietnam, many agricultural cooperatives get much additional income from sericulture. It is especially suited for women, children and old people. At the Phu Luu Te cooperative (Ha Son Binh), each hectare of mulberry produces about 1,000kg of cocoons, which give 100kg of silk, 600kg of chrysalises and 10 tons of silk-worm waste—besides 10 tons of firewood. The area planted with mulberry accounts for only 15-20%

of the total area but the income from it is 40-60% of the total income of the cooperative. Successful attempts have been made to use mulberry wood to make typewriter paper, wrapping paper, and paper for fire-crackers.

Sericulture in Vietnam faces brilliant prospects. Here one can breed 10 broods a year. In Lam Dong, one can raise silk-worms all the year round. Mulberry can be grown in fields, along rivers, coasts and roads.

Vietnam has experienced breeders as well as plenty of man-

power to develop sericulture. Recently, Vietnamese scientists have created through cross-breeding strains of silk-worms giving fine long-fibred cocoons. They have also grown several varieties of high-yield mulberry and succeeded in raising silk-worms with cassava leaves.

At present when the production of cotton is still insufficient to meet home needs, sericulture in Vietnam has great practical significance. The target for 1980 is 18,000 hectares of mulberry.

A.T.



Checking breeding silk-worms.  
Photo: MINH TRONG

*JUST PUBLISHED*

## **US CHEMICAL WARFARE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES — DOSSIER**

*A collection of studies and documents on the use of toxic chemicals and gases by the US in their war of aggression against Vietnam. The collection sheds some light on Agent Orange which world public opinion has become concerned about.*

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# THE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VIETNAM AND LAOS DURING THE ANTI-US RESISTANCE

## AND AT PRESENT

### **The Anti - US Resistance (1954 - 1975).**

Like the French in the past, the US imperialists considered the three Indochinese countries as forming a single battlefield. That is why, as it broadened its aggressive war against South Vietnam the United States also launched an air war of destruction against North Vietnam (1964), began a special war then an "intensified special war" in Laos (1961) and expanded the war to Kampuchea (1970). To defend their independence and sovereignty and build a life in peace and friendship, the people of the three Indochinese countries had no other alternative but to unite and coordinate their actions in the common resistance against US aggression.

This led to the formation of a *de facto* alliance of the Indochinese peoples through the Indochinese Peoples' Conference (1965) and the Summit Meeting of the Indochinese Peoples (1970). This was the logical development of the Vietnam-Kampuchea-Laos alliance founded in 1951 which now attained a higher level in the new conditions of history.

In the spirit of Indochinese solidarity the armed forces and peoples of Vietnam and Laos coordinated their struggle on the military front, especially along the Truong Son Range between the two countries. More particularly, they together defeated the Lam Son 719 campaign of the US and the Saigon puppet troops in the Highway 9 and southern Laos

areas in February and March 1971. The two sides regularly exchanged fighting experiences and shared weapons and military equipment in the fight to defeat the common enemy.

Vietnam's experiences in production, economic construction and in cultural and educational development helped Laos in building its own liberated zone, fostering its resistance forces and normalizing and improving the life of the people in its resistance bases. The two sides also closely cooperated on the diplomatic front. The signing of the Paris Agreement on Vietnam on 27 January 1973 had the effect of accelerating the negotiations on Laos and led to the signing of the Vientiane Agreement on 20 February 1973 which ended the war and restored peace in Laos. Seizing the rare historical opportunity offered by the great and complete victories of the Vietnamese and Kampuchean revolutions, the Lao People's Revolutionary Party led the Lao people in stepping up the struggle. They drove the United States and its satellites out of Laos, overthrew the more than 20-year-old neo-colonialist regime set up by the US, abolished the centuries-old monarchical regime in Laos, and founded the people's democratic republican regime without blood-letting.

### **The Situation Since the Complete Victory of the Revolution in Both Countries (1975)**

In 1975 the national democratic revolution won definitive and complete success in both Vietnam and Laos. Both countries embarked on the road of socialist revolution on a national scale. Loyal to its internationalist obligation, in April 1976 the Vietnamese Party adopted a resolution on "enhancing the solidarity, mutual assistance and cooperation between the Lao and Vietnamese revolutions in the new stage". The resolution said that the Party, Government and people of Vietnam would increase solidarity and actively cooperate with the Lao Party, Government and people in the defence of the revolutionary gains, in consolidating national independence and sovereignty and in economic and cultural construction and development in order to successfully build socialism in both countries. At the same time the two parties and countries will coordinate their efforts in developing the influence of the revolution in the region, thus contributing to promoting the three revolutionary currents of the world.

This policy was reaffirmed in the resolution of the 4th National Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam (December 1976) and many other subsequent resolutions of the Party.

It has been implemented in four main respects:

1. Vietnam actively helps Laos to increase its defence capabilities

and coordinate its action with Laos in the common programme to defend the borders of the two countries and socialist construction in each country.

2. Vietnam increases economic and cultural assistance to and cooperation with Laos.

3. The two countries jointly build a border of lasting friendship.

4. Vietnam actively helps Laos in the training of cadres for various branches and levels.

The Vietnamese side considers assistance to Laos as a basic, allround, continual and long-term work. The legal basis for this assistance and cooperation is the documents signed in February 1976 and July 1977.

The documents signed in February 1976 laid down the general principles governing the relations of mutual assistance and cooperation between the two countries and worked out some urgent measures for Vietnam to help Laos overcome the aftermath of war and set up the first material and technical bases for economic development. The documents signed in July 1977 lay the foundation for Vietnam's allround and long-term assistance to Laos and for bilateral cooperation in all fields. They also included the Vietnam-Laos Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation, the agreement on the delimitation of the national borders between the two countries and the agreement on Vietnam's aid and loans to Laos for the period 1978-1980.

The Vietnam-Laos Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation lays stress on socialist internationalism and on the principle of complete equality, respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each other, respect for the legitimate interests of each other, and non-interference in the internal affairs of each other.

About the 1,650km-long common border, Article 4 of the treaty

stipulates: "The two sides affirm their determination to build the Vietnamese-Lao border into a border of lasting friendship and fraternity between the two countries." On this basis the two sides signed an agreement on the delimitation of the national borders between the two countries which provides a model for relations of good neighbourliness and friendship between two countries. The two sides have jointly conducted a series of investigations and surveys to delimit the national borders, planted border markers, discussed the setting up of border posts and laid down principles for the operation of border crossing points.

When the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists massed their troops along their border with Laos and even crossed into Laos, threatening direct aggression against this country, the Vietnamese side, at the request of the Government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, and in execution of the signed treaty, sent armed forces equipped with appropriate means of war to help Laos strengthen its national defence capabilities.

On the economic plane, Vietnam's assistance, begun right after the birth of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, has helped Laos overcome enormous difficulties caused by the war and by successive natural disasters (the drought of 1977 and the flood of 1978 were the worst natural calamities and caused the biggest damage to Laos's economy in the past half century). This assistance also helped Laos defeat the plan of economic blockade and pressure of the United States and its agents.

Afterwards, in spite of its own enormous difficulties, Vietnam continued to assist Laos in the fields of agriculture and forestry in particular, focusing on a survey of Laos's agricultural, forestry and stockbreeding potentials. Vietnam has helped Laos conduct basic surveys, then build a series of production and experi-

mental establishments such as plant and animal nurseries, State farms, afforestation centres and logging camps, roads for the transportation of timber and forestry products, sawmills, turpentine and shellac extraction factories and factories manufacturing such production means as farm implements, fertilizers, insecticides and animal feed. Vietnam also helped in the survey and construction of small- and medium-sized hydraulic, irrigation and hydro-electric projects.

In agriculture, Vietnam also helps Laos in the programme for step-by-step agricultural cooperation and in the growing of Spring-Summer rice crop as well as in the application of new techniques of cultivation and stock breeding.

In industry, Vietnam supplies to Laos raw materials, fuel and equipment to expand and build a number of industrial establishments to produce tools, cement and building materials, engineering factories for the postal and communications and transport services, a number of consumer goods factories as well as some mining enterprises (tin and gypsum).

Vietnam is also helping in the repair and upgrading of old roads and in the building of new roads and bridges, in improving the navigability of its rivers, the building of ferries, and vehicle repair shops. A major joint project is being undertaken by Vietnam and Laos: to build roads from Laos to the Vietnamese ports of Vinh-Ben Thuy and Da Nang across the Truong Son Range. The transit through Vietnam of goods imported into Laos has also been scrupulously handled by the Vietnamese side under the terms of an agreement to this effect.

Vietnam's assistance and cooperation in the domain of culture and education has helped Laos shoot a number of documentary films, provide vocational training for Laos's art troupes and build

*(Continued on page 30)*

# A Visit to Western Kampuchea

I was lucky to spend a whole month of the dry season in the mountains of Western Kampuchea, staying with revolutionary combatants who were defending the border, and with peasants engaged in rebuilding their villages. What I saw contradicted rumours spread by radio Beijing and by some ASEAN sources which are based on biased reporting carried out from the other side of the border and on tall stories about "basecamps" of Khmer Rouge remnants, and are designed to create instability in the area of the Cardamom Mountains.

An HU-1A helicopter was taking us along the western border of Kampuchea. We were in the dry season. Below us ran the Cardamom Range with its white peaks, deep gorges, and boulder-strewn streams. A year ago this was a hideout for remnants of the Pol Pot army. Now we could see smoke rising from fires started to clear the jungle for cultivation. On fireblackened spots from which the brush had been cleared we saw people working. Many waved greetings at us.

The Kampuchean - Thai border followed the western slope of the range, and on far-away peaks border posts could be seen which looked like houses on stilts of the Meo minority. In the days of Sihanouk, then of Pol Pot, the Carda-

mom Range was deserted by both the Royal Army and the Khmer Rouge, and border posts were set up far from the border, at a distance of twenty or even thirty kilometres. Now the Revolutionary Army has taken up positions as close as possible to the frontier.

We landed on the most advanced position which had a commanding view of the border. It was garrisoned by a company lodged in a dozen big wooden houses erected on the slope among green trees. In between the houses were vegetable gardens, volley-ball courts, and paths leading down to a stream. The border-guards, after a busy day, were playing volley-ball, tending gardens, or chatting in small groups. The officer on duty gave a blow of his whistle, calling his men to the dining hall. The food was plain - just boiled rice, salt and vegetables, but everybody seemed to like it well enough. The guards told us they knew that difficulties would remain for a long time, but that they were pleased with what they were doing.

On the bank of the Khlung Khlum river the scouts showed us a dirt trail weaving among the reeds and underbrush. It was interrupted by dried up streams, and disappeared completely on the western bank. Was that the "corridor" along which, according

to Radio Beijing, supplies were flowing to Pol Pot remnants hidden in the most inaccessible mountain area at "co-ordinate 50"? The trail was discovered a month ago and today the guards had got hold of a man who knew something about it and about the people frequenting it. The man said his name was Xieng Go. He had just been arrested and had been given a ball of rice and a pinch of salt. This, for him, luxurious repast loosened his tongue.

"How often have you taken this road?"

"I took it for the first time today."

"What unit do you belong to?"

"I do not belong to any unit now. I came from Phuon, a camp in Thailand."

"What position did you hold there?"

"I was commander of Battalion 11, Regiment 12, Division 221. My division was battered in the last dry season and took to the mountains on the border. Only 27 men were left of my battalion when we finally made it to Thailand. Now I'm just a soldier."

"Who were you working for?"

"It's difficult to say. Someone said I should consider myself under Mr Son Sann. Others said I was serving Mr Kong Silek. Still others insisted that we belonged to the 'Angkor Khmer'. In the camp

must have heard the names of at least ten different groups and parties—the 'Blue-Tusked White Elephant', the 'Wheel of Evolution', the 'Khmer Soul', the 'Angkor Khmer', the 'White Stork', and so on. The Khmer Serei is headed by Mr Son Sann, and the Khmer Serei army is commanded by Mr Deng, a bandit chief from the time of Lon Nol. They are armed with rifles marked with the initials RTA (Royal Thai Army). They rob people of their gold, money and clothing, and have contacts with Thai smugglers."

The interrogator told us a few details about Kong Silek and his men. Silek was a Navy captain under Sihanouk. He had recruited Pol Pot remnants and formed a pro-Sihanouk army called Molinaka (Movement pour la liberation nationale du Kampuchea). Silek's troops, numbering a few hundred and armed with Chinese weapons, would break into refugee camps and take away teenagers to form an army patterned on the Chinese "Red Guards". The children are trained in killing technique and, according to confessions by captives, are even initiated into blood-drinking in preparation for a return to Kampuchea for "revolutionary activities". There are a dozen such "armies" and "parties" in Thailand. They are massed along Kampuchea's western border under the protection of Beijing, the United States and some other countries, and are given high-sounding names to create the false impression of a "united front". They live on international relief food supplies brought in through Thailand, and are responsible for the troubled situation along the border.

The interrogation continued.

"What were you doing here, Xieng Go?"

"Planting mines. I was given six mines of the P2 and KP6 types (Chinese-made—Ed.), and three kilograms of rice and a can of salt."

"What have you done with the mines?"

"I'd planted three of them, but none exploded as yet. So I just waited. I had been told to wait until all the mines had exploded and then come back with the ears of my victims as evidence of fulfilment of mission."

We met three other prisoners when we called at Vietnamese Unit 39 which was also helping Kampuchea defend her western border along the Khlung Khlum river. It would be more correct to say that the prisoners had been "picked up" rather than captured. They were all females—Mao On, 35, from Kompong Chhnang, and Uylim, 19 and Hong Vuy, 15, from Battambang. They said they were from Transport Company 55, Regiment 210. Their company, they said, consisted only of thirteen persons. They had gone to the mountains the year before, from Pursat province, provided with some rice and salt which lasted them only a few months. Since they could not subsist on leaves and roots alone they turned to cannibalism. A list was drawn up by their commanders of those destined for butchering. The three prisoners were at the bottom of the list and were thus able to witness horrible scenes. When their turn drew near—only seven persons were left of the company—they decided to run away.

They were picked up by Vietnamese soldiers as they lay dying on a jungle trail. In the wicker basket carried by Mao On were a human hand and a few parcels of dried human flesh.

So much for the "resistance bases" of the Khmer Rouge Army in the Cardamom Range.

"What do you think made the Khmer Rouge eat one another?" the unit commander asked me.

"Hunger."

"Partly that. But the root cause is Pol Pot's genocidal policy,

which has created a completely dehumanized army."

From the border we went inland to Lech, the capital of Krovien district. The district chairman was Tum Len, 52, a native of Pursat. He and his little daughter were the only survivors of his family. The other members had been put to death under Pol Pot.

"Those days were so terrible that I often wondered if my hair had all turned white," Tum Len recalled.

From him we learned that in the four years under Pol Pot the district of Lech was a huge prison where were detained hundreds of thousands of Kampuchean including intellectuals, city-dwellers, foreigners, and also quite a few relatives of Sihanouk and Lon Nol. They were jammed into small huts and were worked till complete exhaustion—logging, building irrigation canals, making bricks—and then were thrown into huge mass graves.

"More than thirty thousand people have now come to Lech to build a new life," Tum Len said. "When we first came we had nothing to eat. We are sick and in rags. There were no shelters. Since relief food was insufficient we had to rely on help from the Revolutionary Army and the Vietnamese forces to avoid starvation. The troops, in order to spare food for the population, had to live on thin rice gruel for months on end. It was thanks to them that none of us died of hunger all through those six lean months. Now we are no longer threatened by famine. We've brought in a rice harvest, and life is gradually returning to normal."

The district town had become busy again with a market, a school and a medical station. One night we attended a wedding. People sang and danced till dawn to the

rhythm of drums. Among the guests was a teacher at the primary school, who had been taken to Lech from Phnom Penh by Pol Pot forces. "I was detained here," she told us. "I tried to escape but none of my attempts was successful. Now the revolutionary authorities say they will help me to return to Phnom Penh if I wish. But I don't think I want to leave: I feel attached to my 54 pupils, all orphans."

Thoong Na was another friend we made at Lech. Once we joined her in a day-long trip through the jungle to Serey, a hamlet at the foot of Mount Krovin.

Thoong Na, a native of Battambang, was 24 years old, tall, with a brown complexion and very beautiful. In 1975, when she was preparing for high school graduation exams, the city was overrun by Pol Pot troops. Thoong Na was driven from her home, like tens of thousands of other hapless people. She finally arrived at Krovin, where she lived in utter misery. A few days after liberation she joined a newly formed brigade of volunteers. For a year now she has been busy helping people settle down and tracking enemy troops hiding in the jungle.

She was leading the way at a good pace, a bag stuffed with medicines and bearing UNICEF markings and two rifles dangling from her shoulders.

"Hello, Thoong Na," the hamlet chief greeted her as he would an old acquaintance. "What is it this time?"

"Medicines for the children," Thoong Na answered.

"Anything for the militia?"

"Yes. Two rifles."

"Good."

Night fell. A big fire was built. A crowd of villagers came. The man and the girl talked for a

while then the hamlet chief said turning to the other people.

"Let's begin."

Now we understood why Thoong Na had requested our company. She wanted us to witness an anti-illiteracy movement she and her friends had started at the hamlet.

The learners, old and young, sat around the fire. Some had notebooks or slates. Others had only bits of charcoal with which to write on the ground. They laboriously copied down letters written by the teacher on two wood planks taken from an old door. Their attitude bespoke great zeal and patience. That people should have begun to think of learning showed that they felt secure and able to stave off famine.

During our overnight stay with a border-guard unit stationed in the western part of Krovin district, we made the acquaintance of a Vietnamese engineer, a man over forty with greying hair. Dieu, the engineer, was helping our Kampuchean friends build a new road. He had spent many years building roads along the Truong Son Range. He said: "This region was never developed under Sihanouk, Lon Nol and Pol Pot. Even on recent military maps it is described only very sketchily. This makes our work very difficult."

Dieu spread out a map and continued: "This red line represents the new road. It will reach the Khlung Khlum river. It took me and Kampuchean surveyors three months of labour in the jungle to chart its course. This rocky range is a very hard nut to crack. It's more than one thousand metres high and the question arose whether to skirt it or cross it. A detour would take us through many valleys and across many streams, and that would mean a

much longer road. So after surveying the area thoroughly, we decided to build a short cut across it."

Dieu predicted a great future for the road. It would remain open even in the rainy season and would be used not only for supplying border posts, but also for long-term development projects. Then the Cardamom Range would no longer be a mountain wilderness.

For the moment there were great difficulties to surmount.

In the terrible heat of the dry season, Vietnamese and Kampuchean soldiers had to move hundreds of thousands of cubic metres of earth and rock.

From where we were, we could hear the continual thunder from dynamite charges being set off. If this were heard, I wondered, by some sensation-hunting Western journalist on the Thai side of the border wouldn't he hasten to send home a report to the effect that "fierce fighting has been going on inside Kampuchea!"

East of the Cardamom Range was Highway 5, the main approach to the western border.

Our eastbound jeep bumped over pot-holes and hastily repaired sections of the highway. In the last dry season, the Pol Pot army had taken this same road to flee to Thailand. To cover its rear, it had dug ditches lengthwise on the road, blown up bridges and culverts, razed villages and hamlets on both sides, and forced the population to leave. The troops, mad with panic, would kill any civilians who refused to go, and would fight one another for booty. The road was littered with corpses.

Much has been done to repair Highway 5. There are new bridges and villages are being rebuilt on

either side. We drove past newly restored paddy fields, and saw peasants working in groups, some for want of implements, using their hands to break up earth clods.

Also heading east were long lines of oxcarts, carrying people native of Svay Rieng, Takeo, Kandal and other interior provinces, who had been dragged to Thailand by the Pol Pot army, and who had managed to escape from so-called refugee camps there. For their homeward journey, they had received food and means of transport from local revolutionary

administrations. The journey would be a long one, but no one seemed to care. On some of the carts we saw wooden boxes filled with earth, from which vegetable seeds were sprouting.

\*

Both the civilians and soldiers we talked to vividly recalled how hard it had been "last year". "There were no houses, no barracks last year." "Last year we were threatened by famine." "Last year Pol Pot troops

would attack hamlets and rob the population of rice." People seemed to be pleased with "this year", the beginning of a stable life.

I believe that even the peasants I saw breaking clods with their bare hands along Highway 5 are pleased with the new life. At least they know that now they are safe from the enemy, and are free to work their own land.

*After a report by  
HA DINH CAN*

## THE SPECIAL...

*(Continued from page 26)*

the first material and technical bases for cultural and artistic work including a film studio and expand information and exhibition work. Many Lao students have been sent to study in Vietnam. Vietnamese cadres have also helped Laos to carry out an educational reform, improve school curricula, compile text-books, and open vocational schools and a teachers' college.

In the medical field, apart from supplying medicaments and medical apparatus and sending medical workers and specialists to help in disease prevention and treatment, Vietnam has also helped Laos to conduct basic surveys about some widespread diseases and local pharmaceutical resources.

The allround Viet-Lao mutual assistance and cooperation is also carried out at the local levels. Many Vietnamese provinces have sworn sisterhood relationship with Lao provinces:

Hanoi capital city has sworn sisterhood with Vientiane capital city; Lai Chau province assists Phongsaly province and a district of Luang Prabang province; Thanh Hoa province assists Sam Neua province; Son La province assists Muong Son district of Sam Neua province; Nghe Tinh province

assists the provinces of Borikham-say, Kham Mouane and Xiengkhouang; Binh Tri Thien province assists Saravanne province.

The assistance of Vietnam's provinces centres on the supply of agricultural materials and equipment, the building of economic and cultural establishments, hospitals, irrigation and hydraulic projects, and some industrial enterprises and small industrial and handicraft workshops.

Hundreds of delegations of the Party, mass organisations and services at all levels of both sides have exchanged visits during which they discussed and mapped out concrete plans for assistance and cooperation.

\*

The special relationship between Vietnam and Laos has stood the test of time. Kaysone Phomvihane, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, said: "The militant alliance between the Lao revolution and the Vietnamese revolution, between the Lao people and the Vietnamese people... is an alliance for the survival of both nations, for the lasting independence and the prosperous development of both countries... On the basis of the complete identity of line between the two parties, the revolutions in the two countries fully support each other, wholeheartedly assist each other, create all favourable

material conditions for each other—each taking upon itself the difficult part—coordinate their struggles on all fronts—military, political, economic, diplomatic... The allround, steady and untarnished militant alliance between the two peoples of Laos and Vietnam is a rare model of proletarian solidarity and internationalism. It has played an extremely important role and assumes the character of a law in the revolutionary struggle of the people of the two countries."

Le Duan, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, also said: "The relationship between Vietnam and Laos, built on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, has created a wonderful spiritual and material strength to help the peoples of the two countries clearly recognize their enemies and see through their wicked schemes, overcome all dangers and all reactionary forces, and take the two nations to their glorious destination... In the present conditions the special relationship between Vietnam and Laos has an even steadier basis on which to consolidate and strengthen itself and will surely increase several fold the strength of the people of each country in their endeavour to defend their respective countries and successfully build socialism in their motherlands."

*KY SON*



# CHRONOLOGY

(16 JUNE - 15 JULY 1980)

## June

16. The SRV Foreign Ministry sends a note to the Chinese Foreign Ministry proposing the opening of the third round of Vietnam-China talks.

17. Inauguration in Prague of the 34th session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON). Premier Pham Van Dong, head of the Vietnamese delegation, delivers a speech.

- *VNA*: Le Duan, General Secretary of the CC of the CPV, receives a delegation of the Communist Party of Australia on a friendship visit to Vietnam, led by Joint National Secretary Eric Aarons.

18. On the occasion of the 19th founding anniversary of the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army (19 June 1961-19 June 1980), General Van Tien Dung, Vietnamese Minister of National Defense, sends a message of congratulations to Penn Sovann, Vice-President of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council, Minister of National Defense and Commander-in-Chief of the Kampuchean revolutionary armed forces.

- Nguyen Co Thach, SRV Minister of Foreign Affairs, leaves Hanoi for an official visit to Indonesia.

- Signing in Ulan Bator of documents on the coordination of the five-year plan (1981-1985) of Vietnam and Mongolia.

19. Signing in Prague of documents on the coordination of the five-year plans (1981-1985) of Vietnam and Czechoslovakia.

20. *Nhan Dan*: The SRV Government decides to participate in the three documents on disarmament.

- A grand ceremony is held in Hanoi to confer the International Lenin Prize "For the Promotion of Peace Among Nations" on Le Duan.

23. The Vietnamese Foreign Ministry sends a note to the Chinese Embassy in Hanoi demanding that the Chinese side stop all hostile actions and slanders against Vietnam.

26. *Ha noi*: Hoang Van Hoan, who has defected to China, is sentenced to death for treason (in absentia) by the People's Supreme Court. All his personal property are confiscated.

- *Quan Doi Nhan Dan* (People's Army daily): Thailand has unilaterally decided to suspend all trade relations with Vietnam and cancelled all trade agreements between the two countries.

27. The Secretariat of the CC of the CPV issues instructions on strengthening leadership of the socialist emulation movement in the new situation.

- The SRV Foreign Ministry issues a statement on the tense situation at the Thailand-Kampuchea border, rejecting Thailand's slanderous accusation of "aggression by Vietnam against Thailand".

- Signing in Havana of documents on the coordination of the five-year plans (1981-1985) of Vietnam and Cuba.

- In Hanoi, the General Company for Equipment Import and Technical Exchange under the Ministry of Foreign Trade, using the long-term loans granted by the Special Fund of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPECSE) and the Kuwait Funds for Arab Economic Development (KFAED) for the third time invites tenders for the supply of materials and equipment for the Dau Tieng irrigation works. Eight manufacturing and commercial companies have sent in tenders, related to 17 projects.

28. Le Duan, General Secretary of the CC of the CPV, leaves Hanoi for the Soviet Union on a visit.

29. Minister Phan Hien, envoy of Acting President Nguyen Huu Tho and Prime Minister Pham Van Dong, concludes his visit to Kuwait begun on 25 June 1980.

1. Decision by the Government Council on unifying agricultural management and intensifying this work in the whole country.

2. Signing in Tirana of a protocol on scientific and technological co-operation between Vietnam and Albania.

3. On behalf of the SRV National Assembly Standing Committee and Government, Le Duan confers "Gold Star" Orders, the highest in Vietnam, on Soviet leaders L.I. Brezhnev, A. N. Kosygin and M.A. Suslov. A ceremony is held in the Kremlin in Moscow to this effect.

- Signing in Moscow of an agreement between Vietnam and the Soviet Union on the exploration and exploitation of oil and natural gas on the continental shelf of southern Vietnam.

- The SRV Ministry of Foreign Affairs sends a note to its Chinese counterpart demanding that the Chinese side keep the promise contained in its note of 6 March 1980 to begin the third round of Vietnam-China talks "in the last six months of 1980".

4. The SRV Central Television Station telecasts the first Soviet programme received through the "Lotus" satellite earth station.

- The Vietnamese Foreign Ministry sends a note to the Chinese Embassy in Hanoi, protesting against recent armed provocations by the Chinese authorities along the Vietnam-China border.

- Minister Phan Hien, envoy of Acting President Nguyen Huu Tho and Prime Minister Pham Van Dong, concludes his visit to Syria begun on 29 June.

6. According to the data of the Commission of Inquiry into the Chinese Expansionists' and Hegemonists' War Crimes, in June 1980, the Chinese side conducted almost 200 military provocations along the Vietnam-China border, causing great losses of life and property to the local people.

- Acting President Nguyen Huu Tho receives Krishna Iyer, President of the Indian Lawyers' Association, Judge of the Supreme Popular Tribunal, on the occasion of his visit to Vietnam.

- *VNA*: The Lao National Radio broadcasts a commentary condemning the Thai authorities for their unilateral decision to close the Lao-Thai border.

7. The Indian Government officially announces its diplomatic recognition of the People's Republic of Kampuchea headed by President Heng Samrin.

9. The Supreme Presidium of the Soviet Union confers the "Friendship Among Nations" Order on SRV Acting President Nguyen Huu Tho, on the occasion of his 70th birth anniversary.

10. A delegation of the Vietnam Olympic Committee, led by Le Duc Chinh, Director of the General Department of Physical Education and Sports, President of the Vietnam Olympic Committee, leaves Hanoi for the 22nd Moscow Olympics

- *AFP*: Three international organizations, ICRC, UNICEF, and WFP stop their food aid supplies via the Thailand-Kampuchea border after learning through investigation that the food supplies have not reached the Kampuchean refugees but have been diverted to the remnants of the Pol Pot army and the other Kampuchean reactionary forces.

- Inauguration in Hanoi of the first national seminar on folk culture.

12. A seminar on the national hero Nguyen Trai is held in Ho Chi Minh City on the occasion of his 600th birth anniversary.

13. A delegation of the Party and Government of the SRV, led by Vice-Premier Le Thanh Nghi, leaves Hanoi for Nicaragua for the first anniversary of the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution.

15. A delegation of the Soviet Government, led by N.V. Talyzin, member of the Central Committee of the CPSU and Minister of Communications, arrives in Vietnam to attend the celebrations of the 25th anniversary of the signing of the Vietnam-USSR Agreement on Economic Cooperation. An agreement is signed on Soviet assistance (with the money collected by the Soviet people in a communist labour day throughout the Soviet Union) to help Vietnam restore the enterprises destroyed by the Chinese troops during their aggression against Vietnam in February 1979.

- In the southern towns and provinces, 60,000 students sit for entrance examinations to various universities, colleges and vocational secondary schools for the 1980-1981 school year. On 8 July, 170,000 students in the North sat for similar examinations.

- *VNA*: The Australian Foreign Minister, Mr. Peacock, declares that his country will adopt a neutral position with regard to Kampuchea and no longer recognizes the Pol Pot regime.

# THE USSR—SRV JOINT SPACE FLIGHT

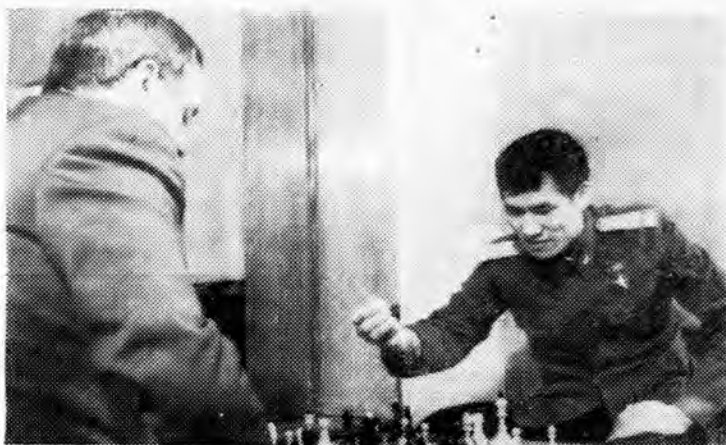
Prime Minister Pham Van Dong receives Pham Tuan, Bui Thanh Liem, and their families, before the cosmonauts' departure for the Soviet Union.



Gorbatko and his wife visit Pham Tuan and his family in Star City.

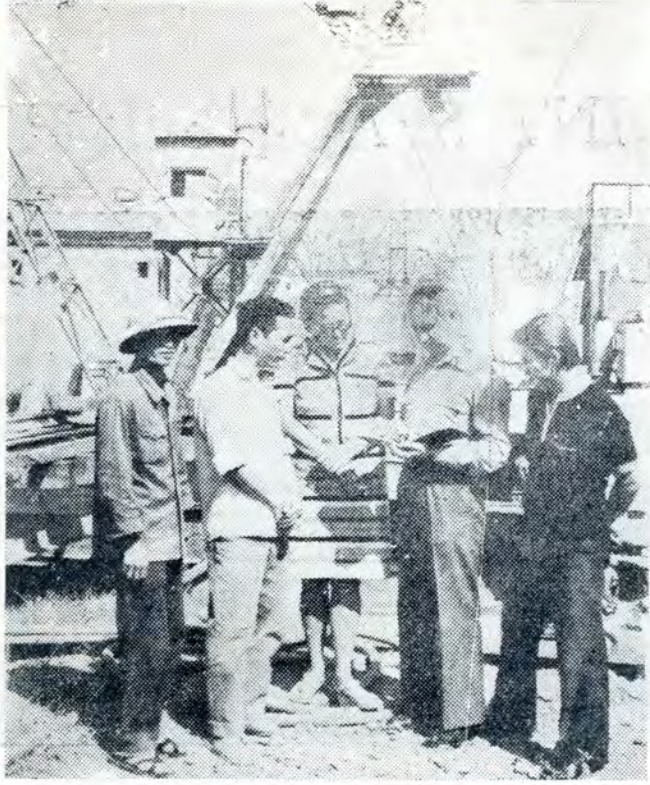


Relaxing

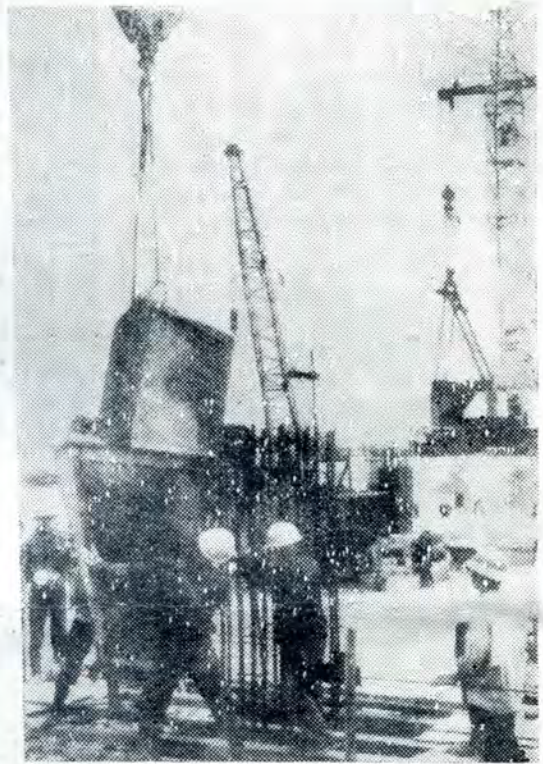


Photos: TASS and VNA

# TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF VIETNAM - USSR ECONOMIC COOPERATION



A NUMBER OF PROJECTS BUILT  
WITH SOVIET ASSISTANCE



## CLOCKWISE

*Soviet and Vietnamese engineers on the construction site of Thang Long Bridge (on the Red River), a project from which Chinese aid was withdrawn.*

*On the construction site of the Pha Lai thermo-electric power plant (capacity equal to the total capacity of all existing power plants in northern Vietnam).*

Photos: NGUYEN THU

*Inside the Bong Sen (Lotus) satellite earth station.*

Photo: CAO PHONG



**Vietnam  
Courier**

**НОВОСТИ  
ВЬЕТНАМА**

**Le Courrier  
du Vietnam**

**El Correo  
de Vietnam**

*Báo đối ngoại* **TIN VIỆT NAM**

Ra hàng tháng bằng các ngữ Anh, Pháp, Nga, Tây ban nha

Tòa soạn: 46 TRẦN HƯNG ĐẠO, HÀ NỘI

**DÂY NÓI: 53998**

In tại Hà Nội

Chỉ số: 12462