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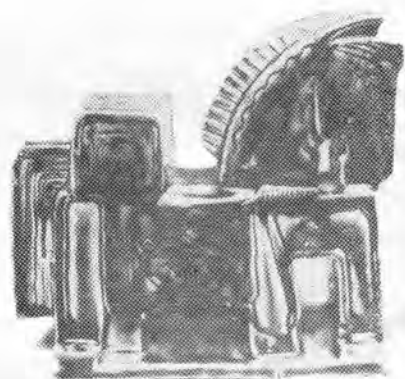
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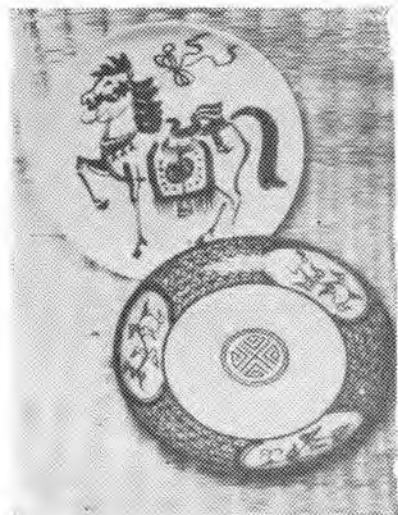


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PLATES



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Vietnamese ceramics, made by hard-working and skilled craftsmen, bear a traditional national stamp.

By their plastic beauty, colours, harmonious enamels and popular decorative designs they are highly appreciated by our foreign customers.

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Front Cover: SPRING

Photo: Do Huan

*I*N 1978, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam faced tremendous difficulties and serious trials: the Peking expansionist forces tightened their vice one jaw of which bore on our northern and the other on our southwestern border while within the country natural calamities were added to the as yet unhealed wounds of war.

1978 began with a series of attacks, both military and verbal, by the Chinese hegemons through their agents in Phnom Penh. The war along the border with Kampuchea showed increasing intensity, shifting Vietnam from peaceful construction to a state of half-peace half-war and compelling her to reserve part of her human, financial, and material resources to national defence. Tension increased further with the "victimized Chinese residents" campaign launched by Peking — 160,000 Hoa (people of Chinese extraction) who had been living peacefully in Vietnam suddenly left the country en masse for China. Then came the cutting off of all aid by China, the withdrawal of all Chinese experts, and the stepping up of intrusions into and encroachments on Vietnamese territory along her northern border. Of course, the above-mentioned actions had an adverse effect on the economy of the country and on internal order and security. All this, while all the craters left by US bombings had not yet been filled, trees defoliated by US toxic chemicals had not yet recovered their green foliage and such social evils as unemployment, prostitution, drug addiction... — the consequences of US neo-colonialism — had not yet been eradicated. On top of everything, disastrous floods occurred in all parts of Vietnam, the North, the Centre, and the South, something rarely seen in the country's history, resulting in a loss of 3 million tons of food grain, innumerable domestic animals, houses and much property.

A number of people in the southern provinces who formerly had led an easy life thanks to American aid were unable to face the changes and left the country. A number of Western journalists became the mouthpieces of governments hostile to socialism in

general and to socialist Vietnam in particular, which has set an example of staunchness and tenacity in resisting imperialism. They hurriedly exploited this situation and depicted it as evidence of violations of human rights. In fact, one unavowed intention was to please the Peking authorities, the new allies of the imperialist forces.

These adverse circumstances highlight the significance of the achievements recorded by the Vietnamese people in 1978. They bring out the strength of a political system which has won the support of the overwhelming majority of the Vietnamese people.

Indeed, without this support, how could it have been possible, in March 1978, to completely eliminate private capitalist trade in the South, especially in Cholon, a veritable stronghold of the bourgeoisie of Chinese origin. Peking called these people "Chinese residents" and considered them as a class it wished to win over.

Then came the stepped-up socialist transformation of industry and particularly of agriculture, aimed at creating a solid basis for the economic development of the southern provinces. The initial results were very heartening. A number of provinces, such as Quang Nam—Da Nang and Nghia Binh, which had previously suffered from chronic famine now became not only self-sufficient in food but were also able to contribute supplies to the State.

The improved management of agricultural cooperatives, the completion of the irrigation system in the North, the effective application of scientific methods of seed selection, the expansion of areas under subsidiary food crops, brought no small contribution to food production. The 1978 targets of the State plan would certainly have been reached, had it not been for the floods.

China cut off all aid but thanks to the spirit of self-reliance and the active assistance of the socialist countries in the COMECON—of which Vietnam became a full member—and of other friendly countries, economic construction was stepped up especially in the fields of communications, industry, and agriculture and promised to reach still higher rates of development in the coming years.

The redistribution of the population and the establishment of new economic zones leading to an increase of cultivated areas were carried out actively, in spite of the

difficulties caused by the lack of capital, thanks to the participation of hundreds of thousands of people, who stood ready to accept all kinds of hardships in their advance towards a bright future.

Along with the economic achievements, the gains in the cultural and social fields were a source of legitimate pride for the socialist regime. The number of students at all levels increased steadily, the medical network reached down to the village level in the newly-liberated provinces of the South. Malaria and many other epidemic and social diseases were on the way out.

An even greater source of pride was the one-mindedness of the people in face of the wicked manoeuvres of the Peking expansionist forces. Young people enthusiastically joined the army or the work-brigades for economic construction; women once again stood ready to assume most of the burden of local production work; religious people, enjoying complete religious freedom, maintained very good relationships with the State; the ethnic minorities inflexibly turned a deaf ear to the propaganda themes of foreign reactionaries in the border regions.

In the diplomatic field, in 1978, the position of the SRV was further consolidated, despite strenuous efforts by Peking to erode it and the hostile schemes of the imperialist forces.

The signing of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with the Soviet Union was the most prominent event. It was fully in keeping with the foreign policy mapped out by the Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam which gave prime importance to the tightening of relations in all fields with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries.

Mutual understanding and regional cooperation were clearly strengthened between Vietnam and other Southeast Asian countries through the mutual visits made by their leaders. The policy of the SRV, which is based on respect by all countries concerned for each other's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity and absolute non-interference in each other's internal affairs, was widely approved of by public opinion in the region. By pursuing this correct policy, Vietnam proved to be a factor of peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

(Continued on page 32)



TASKS UNDER THE 1979 STATE PLAN

Excerpts from the Government report presented by Deputy Prime Minister Le Thanh Nghi before the National Assembly on Dec. 22, 1978.

Present Economic Situation

OVER the past three years (1976-1978), in the course of the implementation of the 2nd Five-Year Plan (1976-1980), new and important factors have emerged and developed in the economy of our country.

In that period our efforts in building the material and technical bases of socialism have further increased the productive capacity of the various economic branches. In agriculture, nearly one million more hectares have been reclaimed, another 450,000 hectares irrigated, 160,000 hectares drained and as many protected against salt water; 13,000 more tractors, half of them big-sized ones, have been supplied to agriculture. The new economic zones have drawn a total of 1.3 million settlers, 680,000 of them of working age. The forestry service has afforested another 400,000 hectares, built or upgraded nearly 2,500 km of road, and been supplied with another 1,100 lorries, timber-hauling and road-building machines. The marine products service has been supplied with more diesel-powered fishing trawlers and has built 14 more freezing plants.

In industry, there has been an increase of 88,000 kilowatts in electrical output, (not including the power diverted from surplus to deficit localities), an increase of 1.9 million tons of coal, 610,000 tons of processed apatite, 220,000 tons of cement, 480 million bricks, 12,500 tons of yarn, 66 million metres of fabrics, 10,000 tons of paper, 20,000 tons of glassware and 87 million pieces of porcelainware.

In transport and communications, the rail and motor road systems have been restored and further consolidated, the sea and river ports and warehouses expanded, and a sizable quantity of transport means added. In 1979, with the commissioning of a number of projects now under construction and the newly supplied equipment, the productive capacity of many branches, especially agriculture, and such industries as electricity, coal, mechanical engineering, building materials, yarn and thread, earthenware, porcelainware and transport will be further strengthened.

Socialist transformation is being pushed ahead in the South along with the consolidation and perfection of the socialist relations of production in the North, the reorganization of production and the unification of economic management on a national scale, which will create new conditions for the development of production and the building of socialism.

The mass movements of emulation for productive labour and economy continue to develop vigorously: to build irrigation works, reclaim waste land, build new economic zones, plant more subsidiary food crops, expand the areas under winter crops, organize agricultural cooperatives, reorganize agricultural production, improve techniques, save raw materials, find substitutes for imported materials and raw materials...

A movement to promote food production under the watchword "an inch of land is an inch of gold" is spreading throughout the country.

In a number of provinces conditions are ripe for a high tide in agricultural transformation and development in 1979. Quang Nam — Da Nang province has pledged to achieve one year ahead of schedule the main targets for agricultural cooperativization and food production set in the 1976-1980 State plan. The provinces of Ha Son Binh, Ha Tuyen, Hoang Lien Son, Binh Tri Thien, Dac Lac, Phu Khanh and Nghia Binh have announced plans to fulfil and even surpass the targets for food production under the 1976-1980 plan before the end of 1979.

We acclaim the imaginative ways in which the three revolutions (revolution in relations of production, scientific and technological revolution, and ideological and cultural revolution. — *Ed.*) have been carried out simultaneously in order to build the new regime, the new economy and the new culture, form the new man, and build a socialist way of economic management, as has been done at the Vu Thang and Dinh Cong agricultural cooperatives in the North and some agricultural cooperatives and production collectives in the South, in a number of districts where good examples have been set in intensive cultivation and reorganization of production such as Hai Hau, Quynh Luu, Gia Loc, or in State-run factories where the Rules of State-owned industrial enterprises have been correctly implemented.

Positive factors have not ceased to emerge and develop in spite of new difficulties and trials.

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However, we must admit that the achievements and progress already recorded still fall far short of the requirements of the 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan. Many new factors have emerged but have not been sufficiently developed and the examples of many front-rank units have not been sufficiently emulated.

On the whole, the realization of the 1978 plan in all branches, localities and grassroots units still falls short of the requirements.

There have been serious crop failures. For many important industrial crops such as cotton, jute, soya, peanuts, and sugar cane, yields were below plan. The big fall in food production has seriously affected livestock breeding. Of the newly reclaimed area only a little more than 60% have been brought into cultivation. The survival rate of newly-planted trees on forest land is low.

In industry, the production of coal, some engineering products, timber, bricks, tiles, fertilizers, etc. falls short of the targets. The consumer goods industries faced serious difficulties in raw materials and for some products the plan was only 75-90% implemented.

There has been a slow increase in the value of exports.

In capital construction only 87% of the total investments and 89% of the building and assembly investments have been used.

The communications and transport service has not satisfactorily met the needs of the national economy. Transport from north to south, transport of timber and apatite and transport serving

capital construction work and the provinces in the former 4th interzone (from Thanh Hoa to Binh Tri Thien — *Ed.*) fall short of the planned targets.

There has been slow progress in the circulation and distribution of goods.

The policy on economic contracts between the State on the one hand and the collective sector, the farmers, fishermen and craftsmen on the other, has not been correctly implemented. The amount of farm produce and industrial and handicraft goods purchased by the State has not matched the amount of materials and goods supplied by the State to agriculture, small industries and handicrafts. Many shortcomings and illogicalities remain in the distribution of goods. The management of the market still shows many weaknesses and the rigid method applied by some localities in this respect has caused impediments to the normal circulation of goods. Likewise, financial, credit, monetary and pricing operations have not sufficiently developed their positive effects on production and the circulation and distribution of goods. Negative acts and habits such as collusive dealings, corruption and arbitrariness have not been combated as effectively as desired.

What should be our greatest concern at present is that we have not yet fully used our great manpower resources, that our agricultural and forest land, our sea and other natural resources have not yet been properly exploited, our material-technical bases not effectively used and economic and technical norms not correctly implemented.

The work force in both the rural and urban areas, the State-owned factories and the agricultural cooperatives has not been properly used. The redistribution of the work force lags behind. The administrative apparatus remains cumbersome. In all productive and trading branches and enterprises, there are too many non-productive personnel. Both work time and productivity remain inadequate.

In agriculture, progress has been slow and inefficient in the use of land. Many reclaimed areas have not been put under cultivation. This is particularly the case in many State farms. The one-rice-crop area remains large and even in the plains and uplands of Bac Bo much land is still left fallow. The zoning of areas under industrial crops makes slow progress. Areas in the South which could be planted with a number of industrial plants such as rubber and coffee have not been fully used and output in those under exploitation remains very low. Many pigsties and cattle sheds in some State breeding farms are empty.

In all branches, localities and grassroots units there is still low efficiency in the use of machinery and equipment.

Control over the use of materials and the fulfilment of technical norms remains loose.

Production costs and transport and distribution costs are still too high for many products. Control of costs in capital construction is still loose. The quality of products as well as of services remain low.

In view of this situation the overall rate of development of the national economy in 1978 has been low. The life of the working people, especially in the flood and typhoon-stricken areas, still meets with many difficulties.

Why is it that our efforts during the past few years have not brought about the desired changes in the economic situation, and that instead the difficulties and major imbalances in the economy tend to increase?

First of all, this is due to the backwardness of the economy of our country and the heavy consequences of war and the neo-colonialist regime, which have caused serious imbalances in an already underdeveloped and crippled economy.

While the sequels of war remain to be solved and the potentials of our national economy have yet to be better exploited a series of new difficulties have cropped up.

The hostile acts of the international reactionaries and their henchmen in Kampuchea have caused more impediments.

For two consecutive years adverse weather conditions have caused heavy losses to agricultural production in our country. In particular, successive typhoons and floods which struck both zones of our country in 1978 on a scale rarely seen in our history have caused food output to drop by 3 million tons below the expected figures. About 20% of the cattle were lost. Many dams, canals, machines and other production means were heavily damaged. Half a million houses were submerged, damaged or washed away by flood waters. Nearly six million people were affected by the floods. Many industrial establishments and many portions of roads and railways, many bridges and culverts, schools, hospitals, crèches, infant schools and stores were either destroyed or heavily damaged. These losses necessitate big emergency expenditures by our State and people for restoration and repair.

For an economy like ours in which almost half of the national income depends on agriculture, natural disasters affecting four successive crops could not but cause big losses which led to imbalances in many spheres of the economy.

We must correctly assess these objective difficulties some of which will take many years to overcome. On the other hand, we should also face our own shortcomings in management and operational guidance.

— *Firstly*, our country having been reunified, the most important task is to build an independent and sovereign economy. We have charted a correct line and orientation for the implementation of this task in order to take the economy of our country from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. However, most branches and levels have not yet shown enough determination to move ahead and solve the urgent problems of the economy along an independent and sovereign line. The Party line has not been fully reflected in the concrete economic policies, in the overall plan as well as in the plans of each branch and each locality.

The various branches, localities and production establishments have not yet given full play to their dynamism, spirit of initiative, and sense of collective mastery and worked out judicious economic and technical plans to serve as a firm basis for their production and building plans and fully exploit their capacities. We could have done many good things on our own initiative such as promoting the cultivation of subsidiary food crops along with

intensive cultivation to get more food, or promoting livestock-breeding along with growing azolla pinnata and other plants for green fertilizers in order to get more fertilizers, or planting mulberry, rearing silk-worms, planting jute and cotton to get enough textiles for clothing, or finding local substitutes to reduce imports of materials and equipment. But we have done little in this sense, hence this paradoxical situation: while our manpower and land resources have not yet been fully used, we are short of products.

We have not really concentrated and co-ordinated our efforts on developing agricultural production, especially with regard to the main agricultural areas, units and agricultural products.

We have not paid adequate attention to expanding and supplying new equipment to the existing establishments in order to put them to better use and quickly increase the capacity of our industry. We have not concentrated on building key projects, first of all engineering and energy projects. We have been slow in overcoming the weaknesses and defects in the material and technical bases of the communications and transport service, slow in strengthening material and technical conditions and working out adequate policies and methods of management to better exploit existing capacities and increase the export of agricultural, maritime and forestry products, coal, and goods made with materials supplied by foreign countries.

— *Secondly*, some of the policies and managerial procedures still fail to reflect a correct and creative application of the economic laws of socialism in the practical conditions of our country. They fail to achieve this basic aim: to require that all branches, all levels and all working people give the fullest measure of their capacities, observe technical norms, labour discipline, practise economy of labour, materials and capital, and obtain high productivity and efficiency, while encouraging them to do so. In particular, we have been slow in overcoming the administrative style in management which leads to a tendency among the branches and localities to disregard economic efficiency.

— *Thirdly*, many shortcomings remain in organization and management, and in operational guidance.

The system of organization of production has been slow in reorganizing. Relationships among the various branches and levels, between the central economy and the local economies have not been satisfactorily worked out in order to build quickly an industrial-agricultural economic structure on a national scale and in each locality. We have also been slow in forming specialized units for cooperative production in each branch. The organization and management of production at the grassroots units remains sloppy. The building of the districts (as main economic and administrative units — *Ed.*) has not been given adequate attention.

The administrative and managerial organs have not yet correctly and fully discharged their functions and responsibilities. In production and trading, managerial bodies as well as the grassroots units are not yet strong enough, nor are they provided with the necessary conditions to attain high economic efficiency.

Organization and operational guidance remain inadequate, loose, and tardy at all levels. The guidance of production is not closely linked to the guidance in the supply of materials and the purchase of products. Many good experiences and examples, though universally recognized, have not been acted upon. Control and supervision work has not been given due attention. Political and ideological education is still divorced from realities and should be given a higher educational and militant character by improving its contents and diversifying its forms.

The distribution as well as training and fostering of cadres still fall short of the requirements and have not concentrated on the crucial tasks. We have not yet made full use of upright and capable cadres and are slow in replacing those with poor moral and professional standards.

Each branch, level and unit should engage in severe self-criticism and take the necessary measures to correct their mistakes and shortcomings without trying to put the blame on other organs and other persons. That is the first and most important measure if we are to change our way of thinking and style of work and create the necessary change in organization, management and operational guidance and take our economy step by step to a higher level.

Tasks of the 1979 State Plan

1979 the fourth year of the 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan, holds a very important place and has very heavy tasks to fulfil.

The present situation requires that our entire Party, people and army carry out simultaneously the following three general tasks:

— **To stabilize conditions and ensure a normal life for the people.**

— **To strengthen national defence and security, to defend the motherland.**

— **To continue building the material-technical bases of socialism aimed at meeting the immediate demands of economic development while at the same time preparing conditions for future development.**

In working out the 1979 State plan it is necessary to fully grasp the Party line and establish satisfactory relationships between these three general tasks.

We must give utmost importance to stabilizing conditions and ensuring a normal life for the people. This is a very urgent demand: we must foster the people's strength, consolidate and develop the system of socialist collective mastery of the working people over society and promote the three revol-

MAIN TARGETS OF THE 1979 STATE PLAN

(Approved by the SRV National Assembly
on December 29, 1978)

Food output	: 16 — 16.5 million tons including 12 — 12.5 million tons of paddy and 4 million tons of subsidiary food crops (paddy equivalent).	Volume of goods transported in the country	: 15 per cent increase in ton and 18 per cent increase in ton/km over 1978.
Land reclamation	: 200,000 ha, of which 160,000 ha will be brought into cultivation.	Capital construction	: 4 billion dong including 2.4 billion for buildings and installation of equipment.
Irrigated rice area	: 4,400,000 ha.	Value of exports	: 31 per cent increase over 1978.
Irrigated subsidiary food crops area	: 410,000 ha.	Volume of retail goods in circulation on organized market	: 9 per cent increase over 1978.
Irrigated industrial crops area	: 130,000 ha.	Housing floor space	: 1 million sq. m.
Afforestation	: 170,000 ha.	Education and professional training	: — Higher education : 46,500 students.
Wood	: 2.1 million cu. m.		— Secondary vocational education : 84,000 students.
Salt-water fish	: 600,000 tons.		— Skilled workers under training : 230,000 persons.
Gross industrial output value	: 12 per cent increase over 1978.		— General education : 12,400,000 pupils.
Engineering output value	: 13 per cent increase over 1978.	Hospitals and treatment centres	: 200,000 more beds.
Rolled steel	: 120,000 tons.		
Electricity	: 4.2 billion kWh.		
Washed Coal	: 7.5 million tons.		
Phosphate fertilizer	: 700,000 tons.		
Cement	: 1,026,000 tons.		
Sugar	: 146,400 tons.		
Paper	: 75,000 tons.		

utions in order to fulfil all the three above general tasks.

Concerning national defence, we are resolved to ensure all necessary conditions for consolidating national defence and security and firmly defending our Motherland. On the other hand, all units of our people's armed forces throughout the country must fully use their capacities to promote production and building while making the most careful calculations about all expenditures in order to ensure the strictest economy and avoid waste.

With regard to the building of material and technical bases, we must act in a concentrated and co-ordinated manner in order to achieve quick economic results. Our financial and material resources being still limited we must resolutely suspend all projects which are not truly necessary or cannot yet be constructed at present in order to concentrate our strength on the most important ones.

To fulfil those three general tasks the most important thing is to ensure that all working people have jobs and enough food and clothing. We must make the fullest use of our present two strong points, i.e. our abundant manpower and vast unexploited land resources in order to quickly overcome the present difficulties and create conditions for future vigorous advance.

Acting along these guidelines, we must in the 1979 State Plan fulfil the following important economic tasks:

1. Concentrate our efforts on promoting allround agricultural development laying stress on cereals and other foodstuffs, while striving at the same time to develop forestry and fishery. The whole country must produce cereals and other foodstuffs in a spirit of revolutionary offensive. We must use all available manpower, land, machinery and other potentials, and ensure good water conservancy in order to promote food production. Along with promoting production, efforts must be made to bring about a fundamental improvement in the purchase and control of agricultural and sea products, with a view to meeting our needs in food and in materials for industry and export.

2. Exert great efforts to develop consumer goods industries. We must reorganize production and develop all capacities of both the central and local industries (including small industries and handicrafts) to promote the production of necessary consumer goods for the people. We must organize the production, exploitation and purchase of raw materials derived from farm, forestry and sea products, and make the fullest use of scrap and substandard materials, make more products from local raw materials and meet the people's demands in consumer goods, including necessities.

3. Strive to promote exports. We must invest more in order to rapidly increase our capacity for exports, especially farm, forestry and sea products; light industry, small industry and handicraft goods; and mineral products. We should promulgate timely policies to encourage export, and build specialized agricultural areas and organize specialized export agencies dealing in important items.

4. Observe strict economy. Strive to develop the sources of raw materials in the country. To practise strict economy especially in the use of equipment, materials, and fuel, and make the most careful calculations with regard to imports and other oper-

ations involving the spending of foreign exchange. We should strive to develop our capacities for production, exploitation and purchase of equipment and materials in the country, mobilize and make a rational use of our stocks, recover and make the fullest use of scrap and substandard materials so as to develop production and reduce imports. We must resolutely refrain from importing such equipment and materials as can be produced in the country.

5. Promote the production of coal, electricity, chemical fertilizers, building materials, metals and engineering products aimed at better serving agriculture, forestry, fishery and light industry while increasing exports.

6. Give a powerful boost to communications and transport in order to serve production, construction and national defence; at the same time build an adequate reserve force.

7. Properly consolidate national defence, maintain political security and social order, and consolidate the border areas.

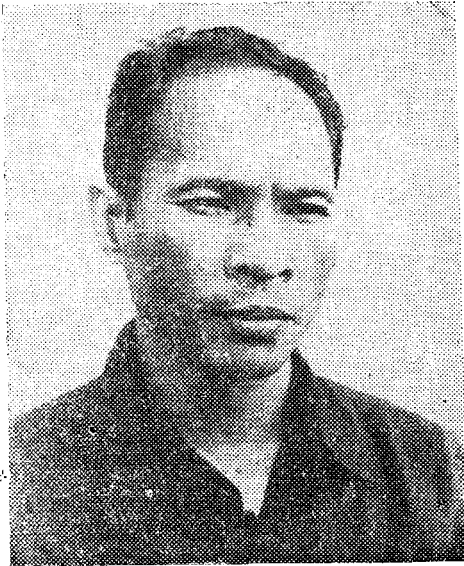
8. Investments in capital construction must ensure a proper balance between accumulation and consumption, between economic construction and consolidation of national defence, between investments, building materials, transport, and manpower. Investments in capital construction must be centered on key projects and must ensure high economic results and speedy completion.

9. Promote socialist transformation while building up the districts (as main administrative and economic units—*Ed.*). With regard to agriculture in the South, we must speed up agricultural co-operativization coupled with the re-organization and development of agricultural production. We must conduct agricultural transformation while promoting and improving the transformation of other economic branches. We must continue to consolidate and perfect the socialist relations of production in the North, reorganize production, consolidate the cooperatives, and actively build up the district in order to use it as a basic unit in economic planning and management. All central and local branches must join forces in order to build up the district, consolidate the agricultural cooperatives and strengthen and perfect the grass-roots units.

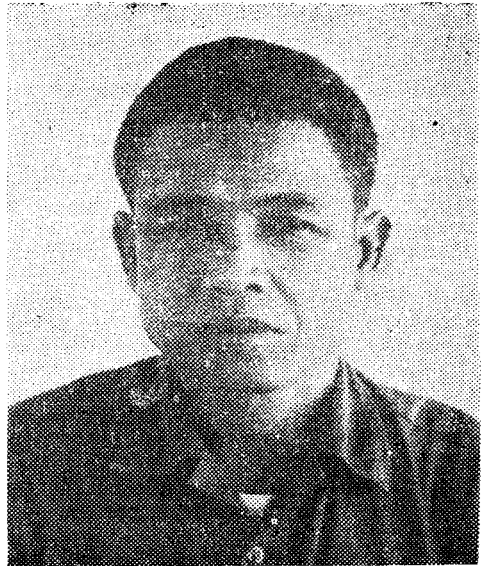
10. Be resolved to make a vigorous step forward in management and operational guidance. This is the most decisive condition and the most instrumental factor in the carrying out of the 1979 State plan. Strengthen and improve economic organization, management and operational guidance is a major task to be completed in many years. In 1979 we must concentrate on solving some of the most urgent questions, such as strengthening organization in a number of ministries, reorganizing some production and circulation branches into integrated production and trading units, modifying and amending a number of policies in order to increase the effects of the various economic levers.

In planning work we must be diligent and show initiative while ensuring a practical and realistic balance. We must ensure overall balance in trying to achieve what we must and can do; we must also show resolve and initiative in revamping our plans concerning what we cannot yet achieve in the present conditions.

NATIONAL UNITED FRONT FOR THE SALVATION OF KAMPUCHEA FOUNDED



President Heng Somrin



Vice-President Chia Sim

ACCORDING to the Kampuchean News Agency SPK, a congress of people's representatives was held recently in the liberated area of Kampuchea to found the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea. It was crowned with success.

More than 200 representatives of all strata of Kampuchean pa-

triotic people — workers, peasants, petty bourgeois, intellectuals, Buddhist monks and nuns, young people, women, ethnic minorities, patriotic insurgents who had broken away from the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary administration and army — attended the congress.

The congress unanimously adopted the 11-point declaration

of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea on the tasks and objectives of the Kampuchean revolution. The congress unanimously adopted as the official flag of the Front: red with five golden towers in the middle. The congress elected a 14-member Central Committee of the National United Front for the



Rally of Kampucheans in a liberated area to welcome the foundation of the NUFSK.

Salvation of Kampuchea, including:

President: Mr Heng Somrin, former member of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea for the Eastern Region, and former political commissar and commander of the Fourth Division;

Vice-President: Mr Chia Sim, former secretary of the Party Committee for Region 20, and former member of the Kampuchean Assembly of People's Representatives;

Secretary-General: Mr Ros Samay, staff assistant of Unit X. of the Kampuchean Revolutionary Armed Forces;

Members: Mr Mat Ly, former member of the Standing Committee of the Kampuchean Assembly of People's Representatives;

Mr Bun Mi, former deputy secretary of the Party Committee for Region 3, Northeastern Zone, representing the national minorities;

Mr Hun Sen, former regimental chief-of-staff and deputy commander in Region 21, representing the Youth Association for National Salvation;

Mrs Mean Saman, battalion political commissar of the Kampuchean Revolutionary Armed Forces, representing the Women's Association for National Salvation;

Mr Meas Samnang, representing the Trade Union for National Salvation;

Mr Neou Samon, representing the Peasants' Association for National Salvation;

Bonze Superior Long Sim, representing the Buddhist clergy;

Mr Ham Samin, mechanical engineer, representing the Intellectuals' Association for National Salvation;

Mrs Chey Kanh Nha, M.D., member of the Intellectuals' Association for National Salvation;

Mr Chan Ven, professor of physics, member of the Intellectuals' Association for National Salvation;

Mr Prach Sun, journalist, member of the Intellectuals' Association for National Salvation.

WELCOME to the new Organization of the Kampuchean Patriots

THE genuine patriotic forces of Kampuchea are advancing vigorously on their endeavour to remake their revolution, which has been betrayed. The participants to the sporadic uprisings which have been taking place at an increasing tempo and on an ever greater scale throughout Kampuchea, have rallied in the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea with a view to carrying out the immediate tasks of the Kampuchean people. These tasks are as follows:

"To unite the entire people and rise up to topple the reactionary and nepotist Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique of militarist dictators, henchmen of the foreign reactionary forces; to abolish their barbarous and blood-thirsty regime, to establish a people's democratic regime, to develop the Angkor traditions, to make Kampuchea into a really peaceful, independent, democratic, neutral, and non-aligned country advancing to socialism, thus contributing actively to the common struggle for peace and stability in Southeast Asia."

The regime set up by the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique three years ago in Phnom Penh under the auspices of the reactionary Peking clique who have been using it to pursue their policy of great-nation expansionism, is now shaken to its foundations. The Kampuchean people, who refuse to accept national extermination, have risen up and are resolved to overthrow it despite Peking's desperate efforts to salvage it.

It is because they wish to serve the interests of the hegemons in China that, while imposing inhuman toil on their people, the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique have rushed headlong into a mad war against the Vietnamese people, who have been for a century their close comrades-in-arms in the common struggle against the imperialist aggressors and have shared with them weal and woe.

The declaration of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea "calls on the people and governments of all countries, and on democratic organizations all over the world which are struggling for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress, to give their active support and assistance in all fields to the just struggle of the Kampuchean people".

The Central Committee of the Vietnam Fatherland Front has made known its position: it "fully supports the eleven points stipulated in the revolutionary political programme of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea" and is confident that "the solidarity and friendship between the Vietnamese people and the Kampuchean people will be strengthened and consolidated with every passing day". (1) This attitude reflects the will of the Vietnamese people to see the birth of a new Kampuchea very soon, an independent and free Kampuchea in which the people will live a civilized and happy life in friendship and cooperation with her neighbours.

(1) Excerpts from the December 7, 1978 message sent by the Chairman of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Fatherland Front to the Central Committee of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea.

DECLARATION

OF THE NATIONAL UNITED FRONT FOR THE SALVATION OF KAMPUCHEA

*Dear compatriots,
Dear cadres and combatants,
Dear compatriots now residing abroad,*

THROUGHOUT the long years when Kampuchea was under the yoke of colonialism, imperialism and feudalism, many of our compatriots, cadres and combatants developed our forefathers' glorious tradition, and, despite innumerable difficulties and sacrifices, relentlessly struggled with sublime heroism against French and US imperialism to regain independence and freedom for the country, thus bringing glory to the magnificent Land of Angkor.

In particular our patriotic war against US imperialism in which, while relying on our own forces, we also enjoyed the sympathy, support and assistance of socialist countries and peace and justice-loving people all over the world, ended with the glorious victory of April 17, 1975. Our country was totally liberated, opening up for the Kampuchean nation a new era of independence, freedom and socialism.

Following the restoration of our total independence, our people should have enjoyed peace, devoted all their efforts to national reconstruction, and established relations of solidarity and friendship with the socialist countries and all countries loving peace, independence and freedom in Southeast Asia and in the world.

However, during the past three years, the opposite has happened. A dictatorial and militarist regime of unequalled ferocity has been installed in Kampuchea. The reactionary Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique and their families have totally usurped power, betrayed the country and harmed the people. They have brought innumerable suffering and mourning to our fellow-Kampuchians, and threatened our people with extermination. The Chinese authorities have encouraged and backed to the hilt these traitors and tyrants.

Only a few days after liberation, under the sign-board of "all-round, radical social revolution", and "social pacification" they abolished all urban life and forced millions of people in cities and towns to leave their homes and property for the countryside where they have since led a precarious life and died a slow death in hard labour.

They have severed all sacred ties between children and parents, brothers and sisters, husbands and wives, and among neighbours. In fact, they have abolished villages and hamlets where our people have lived for thousands of years and to which we are so deeply attached.

They proclaim "cooperativization", "collectivization of life", a "work-and-eat-together" system, "abolition of money and markets". In fact, they have herded our compatriots into disguised concentration camps, robbed them of all means of production and means of living, overworked them while giving them little food and clothing, forcing them into destitution and

slavery. They classify people into different categories with a view to subduing them more easily and making them kill one another.

Indeed the crimes of the traitorous and wicked Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique cannot be counted! Everywhere our people have witnessed massacres that are even more atrocious, more barbarous than those committed in the Dark Ages or those perpetrated by the Hitlerite fascists.

This clique even declared that they would not hesitate to sacrifice millions of Kampuchians in order to build their brand of "socialism". In many places they have massacred whole villages and whole hamlets. They have not spared even unborn infants! At one point, they intended to massacre all the more than 1,700,000 people in the Eastern Region. In face of this situation hundreds of thousands of people have risen up against them, tens of thousands of people whose lives are threatened have been forced to leave the motherland and flee abroad. Those who stay behind in the country live in constant fear — like fish on the chopping-block.

The reactionary Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique have usurped the leadership of the Party, and have forgotten that it was the revolutionary people who fed and protected them. After seizing supreme power, they paid them back with murder and torture. They have betrayed their compatriots and their comrades. Many cadres, Party members, genuine revolutionaries and patriots, and cadres and combatants in the armed forces who contributed to the liberation of the country and showed absolute loyalty to the motherland have been killed in large numbers at all levels and in all places for the sole reason that they did not approve of the reactionary and barbarous policy of the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique.

The clique have trampled underfoot all the fine traditions, customs and habits of our people, and wrecked our nation's honoured culture. They have banned freedom of religion, organized forced collective marriages, dislocated families, and debased our nation's ethical standards.

They have destroyed pagodas and temples of Buddhism — the long-standing State religion of Kampuchea — and have forced monks and nuns to renounce priesthood. They have destroyed Islam and exterminated the Cham nationality. They have suppressed almost all educational establishments from primary school to university. They have forced all children of 13-14 years of age to leave school and enrol in their army to serve their interests.

The Pol Pot — Ieng Sary regime is neo-slavery and has nothing to do with socialism!

To hide their abominable crimes from our people and fool public opinion at home and abroad, to serve their dark design of building a barbarous dictatorial and militarist regime ready to kill all those who refuse to submit to it, and to serve the strategic aims of great-nation expansionism of the Chinese authorities, they

have provoked a border war with Vietnam, thus turning friend into foe. They have transformed our revolutionary armed forces into mercenaries for the Chinese authorities and a tool to suppress the people's uprising.

The traitorous and barbarous Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique have drowned Kampuchea in blood and tears. Seething with anger at these barbarous acts and this policy of betrayal of the country and the people, the authentic revolutionary and patriotic forces have risen up together with the people throughout the country to struggle resolutely against those traitors to save our country and people from slavery and extermination.

The National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea has now been founded. It solemnly declares the following:

The National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea, established in the spirit of authentic independence of the Kampuchean people, united all nationalities in the country, and all patriotic forces regardless of political tendencies, convictions and religious beliefs — workers, peasants, petty bourgeois, intellectuals, Buddhist monks and nuns, patriots still in the ranks of the ruling clique, and compatriots now living abroad — and without distinction of age or sex, so that this immediate revolutionary task of the Kampuchean people can be fulfilled:

To unite the entire people and rise up to topple the reactionary and nepotist Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique of militarist dictators, henchmen of the foreign reactionary forces; to abolish their barbarous and blood-thirsty regime; to establish a people's democratic regime, to develop the Angkor traditions, to make Kampuchea into a really peaceful, independent, democratic, neutral, and non-aligned country advancing to socialism, thus contributing actively to the common struggle for peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

To fulfil this historic mission, the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea undertakes:

1. To carry out a policy of great national union, and overthrow the dictatorial, militarist and nepotist regime of the reactionary Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique. To dissolve the People's Representatives Assembly created by Pol Pot — Ieng Sary. To hold general elections to a National Assembly; to reorganize people's democratic power at all levels; to work out a new constitution guaranteeing the people's right to equality, to real freedom and democracy and to enact the legislation of an independent, democratic State advancing to socialism.

2. To build revolutionary mass organizations of Kampuchea affiliated to the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea with a view to grouping various strata of the population, helping them to see through the anti-national and anti-popular nature of the reactionary Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique so that they will abandon all organizations and groups set up by this clique, and actively adhere to the Youth Association for National Salvation, the Women's Association for National Salvation, the Trade Union for National Salvation, the Peas-

ants' Association for National Salvation, and the Intellectuals' Association for National Salvation with a view to toppling the reactionary and nepotist Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique and bringing to all strata of our people the right to be the real masters of the country.

3. To build and develop the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army which, together with the people, will crush the reactionary Pol Pot — Ieng Sary administration, defend the revolutionary power, the people's lives and property, defend the motherland and firmly maintain the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea.

4. To put into effect the people's right to real freedom and democracy and respect their dignity. All Kampucheans shall have the right to return to their native places, and to rebuild a happy family life. All Kampucheans shall enjoy freedom of residence, movement, the right to stand for elections and to vote, the right to freedom of speech, association and religion, and the right to work, recreation and education. To guarantee the inviolability of the body. All ethnic groups in the Kampuchean social community shall have the right to freedom, equality, and share the same rights and duties.

5. To carry out an independent and sovereign economic policy of advancing to fine and genuine socialism. To rebuild our war-torn country. To restore the national economy ravaged by the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary regime. The new economy shall serve the people's interests on the basis of agricultural and industrial development. It will be both a planned and a market economy, meeting the needs of social progress.

To abolish the compulsory "work-and-eat-together" system, and to put an end to the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique's policy of seizing the people's rice and other property. To assist and encourage mutual-aid and co-operative organizations on the basis of the full consent of the peasants in order to boost production and improve the people's living standards.

To establish banks, issue currency, restore and develop the circulation of goods: to broaden home trade and increase economic relations with all foreign countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

To abolish the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique's policy of back-breaking forced labour. To put into effect the policy of the eight-hour working day and pay according to labour.

6. To abolish forced marriage, and encourage free choice in marriage, and restore the happy life of every family. To realize equality between men and women and create all favourable conditions for women to be educated and improve their skills in order to serve society equally with men.

To care for war invalids, families of war dead, and families which have rendered good services to the revolution.

To care for the people's health; to care for aged and infirm people and orphans.

To look after and defend the legitimate interests of overseas Kampucheans. To have a correct policy toward foreign residents in Kampuchea.

7. To abolish the reactionary culture of the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique. To build a new culture with a national and popular character. To do away with illiteracy, develop national education, build general-education schools, universities and secondary vocational schools. To give their rightful places to scientific workers, technicians, artists and other men and women of culture.

To preserve and restore historical relics, pagodas and temples, and parks destroyed by the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique.

8. To warmly welcome and create favourable conditions for officers and soldiers, as well as public servants in the army and administration of the reactionary regime to cross over to the side of the people and fight against the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique to save the motherland and their own families.

To duly punish reactionary chieftains who persist in opposing the people and have committed bloody crimes against the people. To show leniency toward those who sincerely repent. To give appropriate rewards to those who have rendered good services to the revolution.

To give humane treatment to captured members of the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary administration and army and help them to become honest people, useful to society.

9. To carry out a foreign policy of peace, friendship and non-alignment toward all countries without distinction of political and social systems, and on the basis of peaceful coexistence, respect for each other's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit.

10. To settle all disputes with neighbouring countries through peaceful negotiations, and on the basis of respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. To put an end to the border war with Vietnam provoked by the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique. To restore relations of friendship, cooperation and neighbourliness with the other Southeast Asian countries, and contribute to building Southeast Asia into a region of peace, independence, freedom, neutrality, stability and prosperity. Kampuchea will not join any military alliance nor allow any country to build military bases on its territory or send military equipment into Kampuchea.

11. To strengthen solidarity with all revolutionary and progressive forces throughout the world. To firmly support the common struggle of all nations for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress, against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Dear compatriots,

Dear cadres and combatants,

Dear compatriots now residing abroad,

Our nation is facing extermination!

Our Motherland is in danger!

The National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea calls on all fellow-Kampuchean of all nationalities and all walks of life, in-

cluding those living abroad, old and young, men and women, regardless of political tendencies and religious beliefs, to close their ranks under the banner of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea and rise up millions as one man to overthrow the dictatorial, militarist and genocidal regime headed by the nepotist and blood-thirsty Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique.

This is the only way to save our people, our country and ourselves.

Only in this way can we bring peace and genuine independence to our country, and freedom, real democracy and happiness to our people.

Cadres, public employees and combatants still caught in the machinery of the administration and army of the reactionary Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique! Rise up against every traitorous undertaking and policy of this clique, take an effective part in the just struggle of the people, rid yourselves of your wicked commanders and become genuine revolutionary armed forces of the people!

The National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea earnestly calls on the peoples and governments of all countries, international organizations, mass organizations and democratic organizations throughout the world struggling for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress to give our people's just struggle active support and assistance in all fields.

The reactionary Pol Pot — Ieng Sary regime, barbarous as it is, is shaking to its roots and is doomed to total collapse.

In the present era no international reactionary force, however savage and perfidious it may be, can destroy the heroic Kampuchean people.

The genuine Kampuchean revolutionary forces still have to overcome numerous difficulties and hardships. But because they have a correct revolutionary line and fight for a just cause, in accordance with the sacred aspirations of the nation and with the trend of history, because they are supported by the entire people who are solidly united and because they enjoy the sympathy and support of the peoples who love peace, justice and social progress, they will certainly win a glorious victory.

The time for revolution has come!

Compatriots, cadres and combatants, let us unite and valiantly march forward!

Let us struggle resolutely to overthrow the reactionary Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique!

Our people will surely achieve a peaceful, independent, democratic, neutral, and non-aligned Kampuchea, which will advance to socialism!

The Kampuchean Revolution will win!

Kampuchean liberated zone,

December 2, 1978

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
NATIONAL UNITED FRONT FOR THE
SALVATION OF KAMPUCHEA

INTERVIEW

WITH PROFESSOR ANDRE HAUDRICOURT OF CNRS *

VIETNAM COURIER: *Professor Haudricourt, your authority goes beyond France, and Vietnamese linguists and ethnologists greatly appreciate your contributions to the disciplines that concern them, especially ethnolinguistics and ethnobotanics. They consider it a great honour to welcome you to an independent Vietnam for the second time, just before you retire. Could you tell our readers about your works on Vietnam, as well as the purpose of your present visit?*

PROFESSOR HAUDRICOURT: My works on the Vietnamese language date back thirty years to the time when Professor Paul Levy was at the head of the *Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient* in Hanoi. I built my principal hypotheses on the Vietnamese language during my one-year stay in colonized Vietnam. The French in the colonial time did not represent the Vietnamese as they really are. Many affirmed that the Vietnamese had come from central China, others believed that the Vietnamese language was derived from the language of the Thai who might have lived for a long period in the interior of Tibet. Basing myself on the works of my predecessors and criticizing them with more rigorous and scientific methods, I have demonstrated that the Vietnamese language is an ancient, aboriginal language, which has been enriched by contact with the Thai and Chinese languages. I have stated that the Vietnamese people is the only one speaking an Austro-Asian language which was able to found on the Indochinese peninsula a nation with a stable, modernizing State, while the other regions of the peninsula were organized under the direction of peoples from the North, such as the Thai and the Burmese.

Five years ago, my friend, Professor Georges Condominas, and I visited the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. On that occasion I had my first contacts with Vietnamese research workers and university teachers. The fact that my colleagues who know me very well made full use of my stay in Vietnam gave me great satisfaction. I have come back this time to see re-unified Vietnam taking the road of socialism. This trip will end my last year of activity, at least officially, for I will retire soon. My goal is to make myself useful by imparting my own experience to my Vietnamese colleagues and also to plead the cause of my students, French, Japanese and others, so that they might conduct their studies in Vietnam itself. This time, too, I am happy with the success of my visit.

VIETNAM COURIER: *Vietnam, not long ago a French colony, and badly damaged by the war, remains an under-developed country in many*



Professor A. Haudricourt (left) and Professor Nguyen Khanh Toan, President of the SRV Social Sciences Committee.

respects despite the road to socialism she is taking. Yet, she had made great efforts in research in the field of social sciences, in the light of Marxism-Leninism. Our linguistics and ethnology, in particular, are only taking their first steps, and it is natural that they are groping their way. Could you give us your views on the work being done by your Vietnamese colleagues, both as to their orientation as well as to their results?

PROFESSOR HAUDRICOURT: Having won back her independence and unity, Vietnam has made courageous and laudable efforts in national reconstruction and in the building of a new life. In the present conditions, the very fact that she has set up a body of researchers and university teachers equal to the tasks speak for itself. I am particularly struck by the efforts of my colleagues who, starting from scratch, know how to undertake systematic work in many fields. Many of them have had a good training at home and abroad. But one should always bear in mind that they have a whole universe to explore and the problems of Vietnam are quite different from those of other countries. I have full confidence, for my part, in the ability of the researchers and university teachers of the young socialist Vietnam to synthesize and adapt. To be sure, much remains to be done on a trail hardly blazed, but on the whole, their work has yielded good results, thanks to a good orientation and their serious efforts, individual as well as collective.

* Centre National de Recherche Scientifique (National Centre for Scientific Research).

VIETNAM COURIER: *Your visit takes place at the moment when the Peking-led anti-Vietnam campaign is in full swing. Besides starting a war by proxy along the south-western frontier with Kampuchea and increasingly frequent and serious border incidents in the North, Peking is trying to step up its sapping work among the ethnic minorities, to begin with the Hoa whose recent exodus caused by its clandestine network of agents has given rise to a great concern. Its agents are now spreading their activities to other ethnic minorities, by circulating the fable according to which Teng Hsiao-ping is the king of the Dao, Li Hsien-nien, that of the Meo, and Hua Kuo-feng, the providential man so much awaited by the Giay. Such things should sound ridiculous to the ear of any serious ethnologist. However, we would like you to give your opinion on this question.*

PROFESSOR HAUDRICOURT: History has supplied some antecedents. Hitlerite Germany did not allow the Germans in Sudetenland to be treated as minorities. Likewise, China, a very large country, with her present tendencies, would find it hard to see the Hoa in Vietnam likened to minorities. So far as the Giay are concerned, they are close relatives of the Chuang in China, and far exceed in number the Tibetans or the Mongols. While the geographical frontier does not correspond with the ethnic frontier, there is some reason for concern if the Chinese take that course of action. Anyhow, I am convinced that Vietnam, which has affirmed itself with so much vitality and tenacity all along its eventful history, will be able to overcome all difficulties wherever they may come from.

VIETNAM COURIER: *Colonialism, which in the past governed the relations between France and Vietnam, has been liquidated for the benefit of our two countries, and conditions are now ripe for Franco-Vietnamese cooperation in all fields, on a new basis. What do you think of the prospects for such a cooperations, in your field of activity and on the cultural plane in general?*

PROFESSOR HAUDRICOURT: True, the possibilities for a Franco-Vietnamese cooperation on a new basis are increasing and we must try to exploit them for the benefit of our two countries. But cooperation between two States must necessarily be carried out through their respective apparatuses, and there is bureaucracy on both sides, which slows down the course of events. From the French side, we have conscientious officials, who care for the genuine interests of France and the radiance of her culture in the world. But there are also conservative and narrow-minded people for whom the selfish interests of a handful of people always prevail. They, of course, are not always in favour of a cooperation imbued with the spirit which you and I wish to give it. But you have friends among the French people, and they are many. Rely on them, first and foremost.

Hanoi, November 7, 1978

DURING this 33rd Session of the General Assembly, all the work of our Commission has taken place in the spirit of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the 30th anniversary of which we are observing at the present time. I wish to present to you, in the light of the history of the last three decades, the viewpoints of the Vietnamese people and their Government on the question of human rights, one of the great problems of concern to our international community.

In our opinion, if hierarchy of the various human rights is to be established, and daily life requires this, in the first place we must speak of the right of nations to live in independence and freedom, without foreign domination or occupation: each country's sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity must be ensured. For any given country, its independence is the *sine qua non* condition for all its citizens to be master of their land and their destiny. Failing this, the people will be enslaved. How could one then speak of human rights for each? Having had to struggle continuously in the course of their history in order to safeguard national independence, the Vietnamese people, like all other peoples who have known foreign rule, are deeply aware of this universal truth: for a people who have lost their independence and freedom, the words "civic and political rights" become meaningless.

Ironically, at present, those who stubbornly oppose the national liberation movement and the fundamental national rights of other peoples with a view to maintaining their colonial or neo-colonial domination are precisely those who are raising the greatest hue and cry about human rights.

Secondly, when one speaks about human rights, one must in our opinion mention the right of each man to work, to have a job, to have enough food and clothing, to get an education, and medical care in case of illness.

As citizens of a developing country with a still low standard of living — the consequence of a century of colonial domination and exploitation and 30 years of devastating war — the Vietnamese people perfectly understand that a man without a job, who cannot get enough to eat and suffers from all kinds of privations, is living a precarious existence. How then could one speak of any rights whatsoever?

At present, in contrast with the affluence displayed in developed capitalist nations, about 800 million people in developing countries live in privation and often destitution. The gap between the two living standards is widening day by day. This lies at the root of the bitter struggle now unfolding in the world and within the organization of the United Nations and aimed at eliminating economic and social inequalities and establishing a new international economic order.

About Human Rights*

A speech by Ambassador Ha Van Lau, Permanent Representative of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to the United Nations, before the Third Commission of the United Nations General Assembly on 22 November 1978.

Again, those who leave no stone unturned to oppose this new international economic order with a view to keeping their economic privileges are precisely those who are raising the greatest hullaballo about human rights.

When one speaks of human rights, one must also in our opinion speak of the right to live in peace and security, a sacred right of man. At present, the peoples throughout the world want peace and security in order to build a happy life. These very legitimate aspirations have manifested themselves in the powerful movement of struggle against war, for the safeguarding of peace and for general and total disarmament, with a view to eliminating the danger of a new world war and a nuclear holocaust.

And yet, the warlike circles have engaged in a mad arms race and the making of new weapons systems. This arms race whose tempo and scope is increasing ceaselessly is the Damocles's sword hanging over the head of the world's peoples. Isn't this a new form of threat and torture on a world scale, which menaces human life at every moment? Isn't this a most serious violation of human rights on a planetary scale?

What we wish to emphasize is the fact that it is those who are engaging in a frantic arms race — nuclear and otherwise —, those who have launched atrocious wars of aggression without precedent in the history of mankind, and who are at present resorting to military and nuclear blackmail in order to intimidate and subjugate the other peoples of the world, are precisely the same people who now have the most to say on human rights and the condemnation of torture.

In short, the Vietnamese people and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam hold that human rights consist first of all and essentially of the right of the peoples to live in independence and freedom, the right of each man to work and live in comfort and dignity, and the right of the nations to live in peace and security in a world freed from the danger of war and nuclear danger. Only on that basis can one speak of civic and political rights and individual liberties.

The last three decades in world history have shown that it is those who have opposed by hook

or by crook the peoples' national independence, the establishment of a new international economic order, and the aspirations of the world's peoples to peace and security, and who seriously violate man's most fundamental rights — it is precisely those who frequently hold forth about human rights.

Their true intention is to impose their own idea of human rights on the whole world with a view to deflecting the struggle of the progressive forces from its objectives and interfering in the internal affairs of the other countries.

CONCERNING the question of human rights, it is the opinion of my delegation that a clear distinction must be made between two categories of problems:

1. Problems related to relations between States.

This first category includes the elimination of colonialism, racism, racial discrimination and apartheid; the liberation of colonial peoples from foreign domination and occupation; the prevention of aggression and threats against the sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of other countries; and the guarantee of the right of peoples to national independence and self-determination.

It also includes the abolition of exploitation and inequalities in economic relations between countries and the establishment of a new international economic order.

It includes lastly the struggle against wars of aggression, the arms race, including the nuclear arms race, for general and total disarmament and for the defence of international security and peace.

2. Problems related to the internal affairs of a State.

This second category includes the defence of human rights within each country, i.e. in relations between the individual and the State and the national community, as well as relations among individuals.

In our opinion the major task of the international community is to concern itself with the first

* The title is ours — Ed.

category of problems, i.e. those connected with relations between States. Our view is that the United Nations Organization could and would find it in its interest to set up bodies entrusted with the effective implementation of resolutions adopted on various questions related to national independence, the new international economic order, peace and international security.

It goes without saying that our international community should also pay attention to the respect of human rights within each country. But the two categories of problems should not be put on the same plane.

The main reason is that the international community is composed of States with different regimes. In view of differences between economic, political and social regimes as well as customs and habits, each country has its own conceptions of citizen's political and civic rights. This is quite normal. In order to realize the principles of peaceful coexistence between States with different social systems, one cannot impose on other countries or regimes conceptions of political and civic rights that belong to a given country or regime. To act otherwise would be to legalize the practice of interfering in other countries' internal affairs, which is forbidden by the Charter. The history of the last three decades shows that the imperialist and reactionary forces, under pretext of enforcing respect of human rights, are in fact seeking to impose their own conception of human rights and thereby to interfere in the internal affairs of other States, sow division and dissension, and undertake attempts at sabotage and subversion within those States.

For these reasons the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam wishes to affirm its position concerning the category of problems of human rights related to the internal affairs of a State as follows:

We condemn in the most energetic manner all acts of terrorism, repression, all violations of people's political and civic rights, wherever such acts are perpetrated. On the other hand we oppose with equal energy all attempts to set up, through organizational measures, a United Nations High Commission for Human Rights, or the creation of so-called "Regional Systems for the Promotion and the Protection of Human Rights" or the sending of teams of investigators and experts to any country in order to conduct investigations on the practice of human rights in a particular country. Those measures are only forms of interference in the internal affairs of States, except, of course,

for the exceptional case where a government willingly asks for them. We are convinced that our international community will never allow anyone to play the card of human rights in order to interfere in the internal affairs of other States in violation of one of the essential principles of the United Nations Charter.

F AITHFUL to our conception of human rights as expounded above, the people and Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam give their full support to the struggle of the world's peoples against imperialist and colonialist domination, racism, racial discrimination, apartheid, for the peoples' national rights, especially the right to independence and self-determination.

We support all initiatives taken in favour of the establishment of a new international economic order and the abolition of exploitation and inequalities in economic relations between States.

We support all efforts aimed at safeguarding peace and international security and promoting general and total disarmament, including nuclear disarmament.

We severely condemn the brutal terror and repression conducted by dictatorial, repressive and anti-popular regimes.

F OR our part, always faithful to our conception of human rights, we pride ourselves on having built a society where the great majority of members, at each moment of their lives, not only proclaim but also effectively practise their "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women," as stated in the second sentence of the preamble of the Charter and later repeated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The whole world knows in what conditions our people—a backward agricultural country, ravaged by a 30-year atrocious war, with an adverse climate—have struggled to "promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom", in the words of the Charter later repeated in the Declaration of Human Rights.

From this solemn rostrum, it is with pride that we proclaim the above in the name of our people.

Recently anti-Vietnamese propaganda in certain government circles and in the press of certain countries has spread mendacious allegations on so-called repression in southern Vietnam and so-

called violations of human rights there. Those are sheer slanders, which the Vietnamese delegation categorically rejects.

1. It is known to everyone that the American war machine in former South Vietnam had at its disposal an army of more than a million men and a police of 150,000. Before the liberation of southern Vietnam, some people in the West predicted that a "bloodbath" would follow the taking of power by the "Communists". But contrary to those ill-intentioned predictions, soon after the end of the war, almost all soldiers and functionaries, following a simple census, were immediately integrated into the national community with the same rights and duties as all other Vietnamese citizens. It remained to decide on the fate of a few tens of thousands of officers. The latter had held military or political power, they had given orders to bomb villages, burn down hamlets, massacre the population, torture political prisoners. To leave them free would be to expose their own lives to grave risks, for one could easily imagine what would happen to them facing the anger of the people and the hatred of the families of their innumerable victims.

They were deprived of freedom, but even with regard to those men, our policy has consisted in re-educating them in order to turn them into honest Vietnamese citizens able to love their country and people and to be of service to themselves, their families and society. Many foreign journalists who have visited the re-education camps can testify to this. As they improved, those men have been set free and given back their civic rights. This has been the case for a large number of them who have shown themselves worthy of the re-education they had received. At present, only a very small number are still detained: they were guilty of monstrous crimes and their re-education must be followed with the greatest care and attention.

If one thinks of the fate reserved for former collaborators of the enemy after the liberation of Western countries occupied by the Nazis during the Second World War, or after any past war in the world, one may affirm without any exaggeration that the policy practised in Vietnam after the war with regard to those who had been part of the war machine of the foreign forces of aggression is without precedent in history.

2. International opinion has also recently been deceived by the so-called testimony of some fugitives from southern Vietnam according to which "in addition to officers and functionaries of the former regime, hundreds of thousands of other people

belonging to various categories: intellectuals, religious people, have also been arrested and sent to re-education camps." In an interview granted to Jean Claude Labé, a *Paris Match* correspondent, in Hanoi, our Prime Minister explained: "Yes, there have been serious attempts against public security, very serious cases which have been brought to the knowledge of public opinion. No State, no society, which looks after the life and peaceful labour of its people can tolerate such actions. In some Western media, mention has been made of massive arrests and repressions, but this is unfounded slander. It is committed by people who cannot stomach our victory of Spring 1975, our swift and effective reunification, and the advance of the whole of Vietnam to socialism." (*Paris Match*, No. 1530, 22 September 1978).

3. It remains for us to speak of those Vietnamese who have attempted to leave southern Vietnam by sea since liberation in May 1975. Who are those people called by the Western press "boat people"? The majority of them had been accustomed to the easy life made possible by the flow of dollars from the foreign occupying army. Now that things have changed, now that everyone must live from his labour in the very difficult post-war conditions — difficult for the entire people — they cannot adapt themselves to the new life and are leaving the country on the sly to seek a hopefully easier life.

In itself this fact is nothing abnormal, for migrations for the purpose of seeking a livelihood take place every day on a large scale, across boundaries and oceans, in all continents. In spite of ill-intentioned reports which attribute it to so-called repression — allegations which we have rejected — the problem of the "boat people" can in no way be considered as one related to "human rights".

After this, how could international opinion fail to be surprised by the fact that those who had committed so many genocidal crimes against the Vietnamese people have started talking about human rights in southern Vietnam?

In conclusion, on human rights in southern Vietnam, let us quote the words spoken by our Prime Minister on 2 September 1978, our National Day: The reintegration of more than one million soldiers and functionaries of the former war machine of aggressive imperialism in the national community with all the rights and duties of the other Vietnamese citizens constitutes "a policy full of humanity and the spirit of national reconciliation, a manifestation of our national tradition of brotherhood and love".

SRV's Benevolent Policies Far Surpass the Requirements of International Law and the Respect of Human Rights

— Says American Lawyer

The following is the full text of a statement read at a press conference in Hanoi on December 12, 1978 by John Quigley, Vice-President of the National Lawyers Guild (USA), head of a delegation of the Guild visiting the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

AT the invitation of the Vietnam Lawyers' Association a delegation of the National Lawyers Guild (USA) journeyed through the Socialist Republic of Vietnam from 29 November to 12 December 1978. This delegation was composed of National Lawyers Guild members Phyllis Bennis, Hugh Davis, Howard Denike, John Quigley, and Nancy Stearns.

"We have traversed the entire length of the SRV from Ho Chi Minh City to Da Nang, Hanoi, and Quang Ninh province. We have been received by a wide variety of social organizations and institutions. We have had collective and individual discussions with workers, peasants, public officials, private citizens and religious leaders. No restrictions have been placed on our ability to learn about the life of the people of the SRV.

"Based on these experiences and observations, we can summarize the following conclusions:

"The revolutionary character of Vietnamese society, already well known to the entire world, is even more evident upon close observation. The SRV's museums, theatres, and other cultural institutions all record the struggle of the Vietnamese people for freedom and independence.

"The thirty years' war of resistance to the French colonialists and United States aggression brought more human loss and physical destruction than can be understood without first-hand observation. However, the human spirit of the Vietnamese people was not weakened by their ordeal. On the contrary, it was strengthened. The Vietnamese people have remained calm, modest, purposeful, and industrious. We have been inspired to bring this spirit to our own country.

"As repression breeds resistance, so revolution ordinarily breeds counter-revolution. But in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the policies of reconciliation and reunification have been so widely and wisely applied that they will serve as a model for the progressive peoples of the world who have yet to overthrow their oppressors. Some of the most important aspects of this policy of reconciliation and reunification which we have seen are:

—The re-education of the collaborators of the former regime in the South and their rapid restoration of rights and reintroduction into productive life. Considering the circumstances, these benevolent policies far surpass the requirements of international law and the respect of human rights experienced in previous revolutionary societies;

—The rapid reunification of the country, based on the SRV's policy of re-education and reconciliation.

"Our experiences and observations make it clear to us that the most difficult period of Vietnam's revolutionary history lies ahead in the peaceful reconstruction of the country.

"With the present internal reconciliation, the Vietnamese people, based on their mutual love and respect, could rapidly develop socialism if the need for vigilance against external enemies did not divert their energy and resources. The SRV has been required to care for large numbers of Kampuchean refugees. The disruptions along the Chinese border have hurt the SRV's national economy and have caused internal turmoil among ethnic Chinese living in the SRV. A further strain on the SRV's devastated economy has been created by the refusal of the United States to abide by the 1973 Paris peace agreements, to pay compensation for reconstruction, and to establish full diplomatic and economic relations with the SRV.

"So today as in the past, the Vietnamese people must strive hard to achieve freedom, independence, and reunification, hampered only by the activities of external forces with whom they desire to re-establish friendly and peaceful relations.

"We are confident that the heroes of reconstruction will be as steadfast as the heroes of resistance.

"We re-affirm the unanimous resolution of the National Lawyers Guild's National Executive Committee, adopted in August 1978, which calls upon the US Government to establish full diplomatic relations with the SRV, to end its trade embargo of the SRV, and to contribute financially to the SRV's reconstruction to help heal the wounds of war."

THE VIETNAMESE CATHOLIC CHURCH

Sister Françoise Vandermeersch
Editor of the French review *Echanges*.

IN 1973 I went to Vietnam for the first time and saw that the Church there enjoyed many temporal privileges. (Southern Vietnam was then under the Saigon regime.—*Ed.*) These were granted by the regime in power which tried to use the Church as a prop.

Now the Church has lost its material advantages. By being incorporated into a socialist regime in an original way it is passing through a turning-point

in universal history. For the first time perhaps, in this regime, it is neither reduced to bondage nor subjected to persecution, but is simply embodied in the new Vietnamese reality and finds there a change for the Gospel.

Is this Vietnamese Church to be a link, or is it to be a new heaven for the whole of Christianity? It carries the hope of many Christians throughout the world.

FROM PRIVILEGES TO COMMUNION

AS is the custom each year in every diocese of the world, this autumn in Ho Chi Minh City in southern Vietnam, the bishop proposed a pastoral retreat to the clergy. This time, instead of having it in some seminary or monastery, Nguyen Van Binh, the archbishop of Ho Chi Minh City, proposed a retreat of a new style. All those who wished to do so would spend a week in prayer and work at the Catholics' State farm in Cu Chi, some 60 kilometres from Saigon, on the fringe of a new economic zone. They would spend these eight days in meditation, reflection, doing agricultural work and engaging in fraternal communion in a rural area.

I happened to be in Ho Chi Minh City at that time and the Department of Religions, together with religious friends, invited me to spend a day in Cu Chi.

At 7 in the morning we left the former capital city for the countryside. On the way a woman assistant of the Missions, in charge of the Liaison Committee between the Fatherland Front and the Catholics, gave me these explanations: "The Government has entrusted to the bishop 50 hectares of suitable

land for him to cultivate. Part of the harvest will go to the State, the rest to the Diocese for its needs. The farm is maintained all the year round by seminarists and the Loving Sisters of the Cross." (1)

After crossing the new economic zone we took a dirt road and soon in the distance I saw a parachute turned into a sunshade before a large house with a thatched roof. Built by the seminarists, this is used as a chapel, conference room and dormitory. It was half past ten in the morning. The house was empty, but in the fields people in conical palm-leaf hats were working. It was harvest time. The ears of rice were cut and brought home. Archbishop Binh came back from the fields accompanied by several priests with rolled up trousers and farm tools on their shoulders. Their faces were beaming and wet with sweat. This morning they had surpassed by a large margin the quota set for the "ancients" and young people were teasing them: "We gave you an easy plot, made to measure!" Many had found again, for the first time in 40-50 years, the traditional labour of their childhood.

They crowded around the well and washed with pailfuls of water before taking a few

minutes' rest. Meanwhile the Sisters, with the help of some seminarists, busied themselves in the kitchen: a thatch roof open to all winds, some brick stoves fed with briquettes made of a mixture of coal dust and mud. The pots soon started humming.

At 11.30 I found myself in the refectory where we were packed like sardines: the organizers had reckoned that about 60 would participate but more than 100 priests had asked to join! Last month, there had been 65 participants in the retreat. So the initiative had been very successful and the archbishop explained to me: "This new formula is more realistic than the old one. Formerly you took your retreat in the silence of a cell and listened to homilies on brotherhood and evangelical poverty. Now you live them." Indeed, in the thatch-roofed dormitories, plank-beds were set up along the wattled walls, people lay down side by side, and should one of them move, the others would, too! They were learning again to live the daily life of Vietnamese families. The older priests were given the seminarists' hut, where there were individual beds.

After the meal we sang the vespers and then were invited to take a siesta. At 3 in the afternoon, one of the priests was to give a theological or spiritual lecture. The general theme of the retreat was: "The priest in the human community in general and in the Vietnamese community in particular. The great orientations of Vatican Council II."

Yesterday a Franciscan had spoken. Today it was Father Lich, O.P. The theme was treated as follows:

(1) *A women's religious congregation founded nearly 300 years ago, whose membership has always been exclusively Vietnamese. Its members live mostly in the countryside among the people.*

1. The priests' manual labour in the context of the Vietnamese society; its repercussions on their priestly functions.

2. The relationship between labour and prayer.

3. The meaning of prayer in the worker's life.

4. The place of the Church in the modern world; the relationships between the Church and the socialist countries.

5. The orientation of the Church within the Vietnamese socialist community.

Following the lecture, debates were conducted in groups of ten. That day an exception was made for my benefit to allow me to learn from the experience of those priests who for three years had been living their priesthood in a socialist regime.

And so they talked — young, old, middle-aged people — of the repercussions of the revolution with regard to the Church, with regard to their lives. I heard moving testimony. The Gospel was there, no longer in mass-books, but in the lives of those men who, without making a fuss of it, had given up their privileges, answered the call of poverty and shared the fate of their people. One said, "Since liberation the point is no longer to get money and material advantages to preach the Gospel... it's a chance for conversion." Another: "Unlike the former regime, the present one does not intend to use the Church to support the Party. The Gospel can be lived in different social systems. The socialist model upholds human values that are different from those of the previous system: fraternity, the sharing of property, respect for the weak. We must operate a new incarnation for the Church so that it can develop in our regime." Then: "While the regime's ideology is officially atheistic the Gospel becomes missionary. The Church no longer owns large property, it has become communalistic. This conversion is not made without questions being asked: where does this loss of privileges, of certain freedoms, lead us? Yes, we lose our personal notoriety; it's no longer us who are

known, but Jesus Christ. Jesus Christ announced and sought for himself alone. We play the role of John the Baptist."

A peasant priest said: "Gone are the days of privileges... I still don't understand the policy of the new regime. I'm not used to it; but isn't it my role as a priest to announce the Faith and be evidence of the Christ? I live this Faith in close relationship with the people in charge of the Vietnamese Church, united with the universal Church. With regard to the Party, I try to be a good citizen in the very name of the Christ and the Gospel. My parishioners say that I follow the Communists and that I am performing worldly obligations when I am doing manual work, but my conscience is at peace." Then, good-humouredly: "Before the revolution I slept badly, I took all kinds of medicines. Since liberation I sleep well and feel well."

A young vicar: "After years of theological studies in West Germany, I came back to Saigon just before liberation. What a change! In the West individualism reigns; one dies without one's neighbour noticing it. The new regime brings a new outlook; it says to us: 'Each lives for the others.' God is present in this revolution. He works actively in people's hearts."

A chaplain for young people: "Since liberation, Christians are still perplexed. Some live with anguish the confrontation with the truth of their Faith. We help them adapt to the new life. A group of priests work with the bishop. They seek to live and announce the Gospel in a socialist world. The Catechistic Commission is very active and lends us its support. In the parishes we hold three catechism classes per week, each class comprising about 70 students, and we preach at mass (In Ho Chi Minh City many believers attend daily masses). A new initiative: catechizing for adults, individual reading of the Bible, and group study of texts, either at home or in Church."

In 1977, there were more than 2,000 baptisms of adults in the

diocese, the seminarists numbered 20, and there were many religious vocations.

The above testimony shows the vitality of the Vietnamese Church and its original experience of incorporation into a socialist regime, without opposition and without resignation.

A priest concluded: "The dialogue between the Party and the Catholics is necessary, not in order to erase radical ideological differences but in order to co-operate in the same work. Experience shows that between Marxism and Catholicism there is a line that one cannot go beyond. Both sides know it. Yet to work together is possible and makes possible reciprocal changes."

When I asked about the causes which have led to this open attitude on the part of the Party and the Church, I got this answer: "A profound change has occurred within the Church, inspired not by opportunism but by conversion to the Gospel. This is our guideline: the Church is above all a community of the baptized; the Church gives up its ecclesiastical monopoly; the Church gives up the monopoly of humanism; the Church lives ecumenical brotherhood; it establishes itself through the Gospel; its mission is to announce God made into man."

The day ended with the Eucharist observed by about a hundred priests gathered around Archbishop Binh and his recently appointed coadjutor. Some were in working clothes, others had put on cassocks and surplices. There was deep concentration of thought and the religious songs, sung in Vietnamese, exuded joy.

In this modest hut where all gave expression to their Faith purified by revolutionary exigencies, I discovered a radiant Church, simple and poor, which shares the life of the people with this one thought: to be evidence of Jesus Christ.

I could hardly control my emotion in the midst of these men who had agreed to deprive themselves in order to live Jesus Christ and the Gospel.

A Verdict of Clemency

A number of Buddhist leaders from the An Quang sect of the United Buddhist Church caught red-handed for "crimes against revolution, sabotage of national union, counter-propaganda, disruption of order and security and opposition to revolutionary power" were brought to trial at a public session of the Ho Chi Minh City People's Court on December 8 and 9.

They were Le Dinh Nhan, alias Thich Huyen Quang, deputy-head of the Buddhist Institute, Le Mau Chi, alias Thich Nhat Thien, assistant head of the Department for Social Affairs and head of Quach Thi Trang orphanage, Dang Phuc Tue, alias Thich Quang Do, secretary-general of the Buddhist Institute, Hoang Khong Uan, alias Thich Thuyen An, head of the Administrative Department, Buddhist Institute, and others. They admitted their long-harboured anti-communist ideas, US-directed reactionary deeds, manipulation of Buddhist circles and use of Buddhism to oppose revolutionary power and sow national discord even after liberation. Thich Huyen Quang had been in contact with the Saigon Home Minister and US Ambassador Cabot Lodge before liberation: he had drafted many circulars with a virulent anti-communist content and mobilized monks and Buddhist followers for a "week of national resentment". Thich Nhat Thien had served the French as a security agent from 1950 to 1954, and later worked for the Americans and Diem. Subsequently he headed the security service of Vinh Xuong district, Khanh Hoa province in 1959 and worked with USOM after that. Thich Thuyen An had studied in the USA for five years. After April 30, 1975, although the revolutionary power time and again clarified its policy of freedom of religion and created favourable conditions for religious followers to practise their faith and build their country, these malefactors continued to commit crime after crime. Fourteen days after liberation, they put out a document calling on Buddhist fellow-countrymen to boycott all the policies of the revolution. While preaching they made propaganda against the military service law and economic policy, slandered revolutionary cadres, forbade monks and the faithful to participate in revolutionary organizations, excommunicated individuals or organizations who were members of the Liaison Committee of Patriotic Buddhists. Thich Quang Do admitted that they had advocated "participation in politics not sponsored by communists or directed against them, and non participation in politics set by them."

Late in 1975, when Pham Van Co, alias Hue Hien, a US spy who had raped many women and repressed people and had been exposed by the population,

burnt himself and killed 11 other men in his pagoda, the evil-doers issued a communique opposing the administration and distorting this affair to mislead foreign opinion. Then when the Buddhist Institute had presented the Quach Thi Trang orphanage to the city service for social affairs and war invalids Thich Nhat Thien hindered the handing over and aroused monks and nuns to put pressure, disturb order and security. Huyen Quang and Quang Do circulated a note among the Buddhist hierarchy distorting the policy of the revolutionary power and calling on Buddhist followers to "stand up ready for sacrifice". This note was also sent abroad for the reactionaries to distort the truth about Vietnam. Meanwhile, a nun in Go Vap who was preparing to commit suicide for a personal reason was induced by the evil-doers to burn herself to death in order to oppose the administration. This having failed, seventeen days later the nun took poison and was brought to a hospital but it was too late. In spite of that, Huyen Quang, Nhat Thien and others spread the rumour that "she had sacrificed her life for Buddhism" and plotted to provoke their fellow-countrymen against the administration. However, the local authorities brought the death to light. Thus the reactionaries' dark design was laid bare.

Basing itself on the culprits' confession, the City People's Court analysed the gravity of the crime and the responsibility of each criminal. Then, taking into consideration the lenient and humanitarian policy of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the repentance of the guilty during their preliminary detention, the Court sentenced Le Mau Chi (alias Thich Nhat Thien) to seven years in prison, acquitted Dang Phuc Tue (alias Thich Quang Do) and Phan Dinh Ba (alias Thich Thanh The) and sentenced the others to punishments ranging from two years of suspended sentence to three years in gaol.

Hundreds of people attended the hearing, among them many Buddhist followers. They warmly hailed the just verdict of the revolutionary State. Nun Mandala, a Vietnamese nun residing in France who happened to be visiting her motherland during the trial, said: "In the evolution of the country, a number of people have lagged behind owing to the influence of more than eighty years of foreign domination. This hearing provides an opportunity for them to clear their mind, take sides with the nation and go ahead with it. This trial is imbued with Vietnamese humanitarianism, because it satisfies both reason and sentiment." Superior bonze Thich Giac Toan (Gia Dinh centre) also said: "Every State has laws to punish guilty citizens. Everybody thought that the culprits would be sentenced to long terms but I now realize the lenient policy of the Party and the State."

Immediately after the hearing, Thich Quang Do answered the newsmen: "Before, I did not understand the revolution and nurtured reservations and doubts. Now that I have thought it over I understand and trust the policy of the revolution of respect for freedom of religion. This is a very realist and correct policy indeed."



Tay Ninh province, into a family devoted to art. Fame soon came to this girl blessed as she was with beauty, talents and family tradition. In 1950, at the age of eight she went on the stage, playing the part of Nghi Xuan in Pham Cong—Cuc Hoa play based on an anonymous eighteenth-century rhymed story of the same name praising the faithful and tested love between Pham Cong and Cuc Hoa. The first time Thanh Nga appeared on the stage she received unanimous approbation. The young and gifted artiste soon came to the attention of a famous woman

Although she played in about 200 plays during nearly 30 years of activity Thanh Nga never sang an unpatriotic song despite the enemy's pressure. The plays and films she participated in did not belong to the puppet administration's counter-revolutionary repertoire. Thanh Nga and her Thanh Minh troupe only put on stage wholesome plays, denouncing the corrupt feudal regime and polygamy, praising gifted and virtuous women, awakening everybody to a life of justice and love and continuing the fine tradition and ethics of the nation.

Besides her artistic activities,

THE MURDER OF AN ACTRESS

ON November 26, 1978, at 11 p.m., the actress Thanh Nga, a member of Thanh Minh (renovated theatre) art troupe, left the stage at Gia Dinh theatre and went home together with her husband Pham Duy Lan, assistant stage-manager. It was a night like any other. The artistes were still happy at the success of the performance. They returned home full of this gladness, unaware that reactionaries were lying in wait for them. Just in front of their house they were gunned down.

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Thanh Nga (maiden name : Nguyen Thi Nga) was born in 1942 at Thai Hiep Thanh village,

star of the renovated theatre, Phung Ha, who took her under her wing and guided her first steps in the theatre.

At sixteen, Thanh Nga thoroughly won the hearts and admiration of the public. Hers was the gentle beauty of Southern countryside girls : a face beyond compare, with no elaborate make-up; two big bright eyes; long, thick black hair; a harmonious stature and a very pleasant unaffected voice.

Thanh Nga was not only a stage-artist but also starred in many films. Most of her artistic life took place under the old regime.

However, Thanh Nga's life was one of a purity and honesty.

Thanh Nga was also an activist. From 1966 she worked with the secretariat of the Organization for the Defence of National Culture, a patriotic and progressive one right in the enemy-occupied zone.

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After the complete liberation of the country art troupes in the South were reorganized. Thanh Nga thus embarked in a new artistic life. She gradually gave up her familiar characters mostly prone to tears and went on the stage with a new joy, fully knowing for whom she played. She said : "I am living most enjoyable and meaningful days.

I want to devote all my ability to serving the nation and my fellow-citizens."

In August 1975 Thanh Nga appeared on the city's stage in the "Me Linh Drumbeat", a play about the national uprising against the *Han* (Chinese) domination in the year 39 A.D. to wrest back national sovereignty. She acted the national heroine Trung Trac.

Her admirable performance angered the reactionaries. Fearing the Vietnamese nation's 4,000-year tradition of building and defending the country, they hated her song. On the evening of March 16, 1977 they threw grenades onto the Thanh Minh stage, killing two musicians and gravely injuring Thanh Nga.

However, she refused to lie down on a stretcher and stood erect to set everybody's mind at peace and make a stand against the enemy.

As soon as she recovered, she was back on the stage, a grenade fragment still embedded in her shoulder. And the "Me Linh Drumbeat" continued to be performed. Thanh Nga said: "The right place for an artiste is the stage."

After "Me Linh Drumbeat", she played the queen mother in "Queen Mother Duong Van Nga".

The latter was the first woman to defy feudal ideology at its height. A that time (the end of the tenth century) Vietnam was being invaded by the *Sung* (Chinese). Putting the country's interests above her family's she did not hand over the throne to

her incapable young son but to Le Hoan, an able general who could save the country.

Thanh Nga played her part very well. With her ingenuity and gentle nature, her graceful figure, and warm and sweet voice, she succeeded in portraying a sweet and beautiful queen mother endowed with sensitivity, a perspicacious mind and ardent patriotism.

The appearance of Queen Mother Duong Van Nga on the stage now was most significant. It reminded everybody of our forefathers' indomitable spirit at a time when reactionary and expansionist forces are plotting to undermine socialist Vietnam's peaceful construction.

The reactionaries feared a revolutionary stage, a stage enabling artistes to promote their patriotism and talent. They left no stone unturned to threaten Thanh Nga, sent her anonymous letters and made phone calls trying to force her not to play the role of queen mother any longer.

The threat did not frighten Thanh Nga who further realized the meaning of the role she played, and the pride she derived from it helped her performance. "I can die in honour but cannot give up art," she declared. Her husband Pham Duy Lan was no less brave and resolute, and this greatly encouraged Thanh Nga.

Their threats having failed, the reactionaries went into action.

They resorted to violence to silence a voice they were afraid of.

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The murder of Thanh Nga and her husband brought great grief to all lovers of art and justice. Everybody felt angry and indignant. Thousands of people in Ho Chi Minh City came to pay homage to the memory of Thanh Nga and turned out into the streets to condemn the reactionaries. Thousands of people accompanied her to her last resting place.

At 9 a.m. on November 29, 1978 in the municipal theatre thousands of cultural and art workers gathered to mourn Thanh Nga and express their indignation at the reactionaries' crime.

Many friends of Thanh Nga recounted their recollection of her artistic activities and pledged to follow her glorious path.

By killing Thanh Nga, the reactionaries controlled from abroad have committed a base and foolish deed. But they are mistaken if they think that their barbarous crime can subdue our actors and actresses.

Nothing can stop the Trung Tracs and Duong Van Ngas on the stage or in daily life.

Thanh Nga has fallen but many other Thanh Ngas will carry on her cause. They will replace her in the characters she played with all their patriotism and pride in the strength of the Vietnamese nation.

Letter from Hanoi

JANUARY 1, 1979. The horticulturalists of Nhat Tan and Ngoc Ha (1) are caring for their gladioli and apricot blossoms just as they did in previous years. Flowers will be on hand at Tet, the Lunar New Year, but food will be less than plentiful on family tables. The year 1978 has been a hard one. Kampuchean attacks, Chinese provocations, along the border, in the north and the south. Vietnam is caught in a vice, a situation which is all the more threatening since the shadow of Washington looms behind the policy pursued by Peking. My friend Hien's eldest son has fallen on the Tay Ninh front. From my native village in Nghe Tinh a cousin wrote: "For a whole month, fields, houses and gardens were under water. The rice crop is lost. All the fruit trees have died, except the big jackfruit. The damage suffered equals that inflicted by several years of war. As soon as the water receded we planted sweet potatoes. They have come into leaf."

The Government has none the less managed to ensure for the people their rations of rice: 12 kilograms a month for people of my age, 17 for the students, 18 for miners and others engaged in intensive labour. Part of this ration, however, is made up of wheat paste or flour, barleycorn, maize; people used to a rice diet pull a long face. I remember the few notions of nutrition I learnt during my medical studies long ago: it's a comfort to know that wheat, maize and rice have nearly equal nutritive value. But my daughter purses her lips all the same before a plate of paste. On matters of taste, the science of food values is of little help.

At an end-of-year meeting I came across Mrs Binh. I told her jokingly, "I thought you were in a reeducation camp together with the 800,000 political prisoners everyone in Europe has been talking about." She burst out laughing and simply said, "Poor Lacouture!" Then: "Let's talk about more serious matters." Passionately, she talked to me about the educational reform she is preparing for the 1980's. In particular, the problem of the generalization of secondary education now that basic schooling for all children up to 14 years of age has been

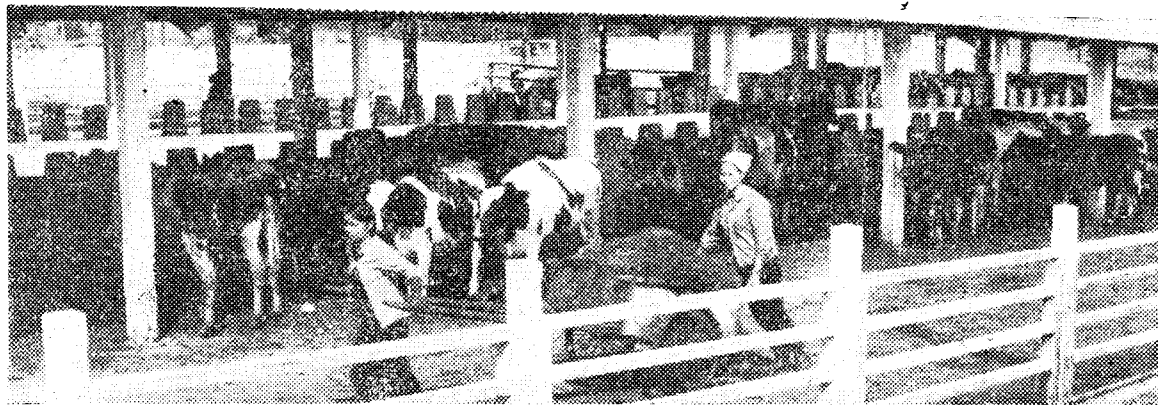
virtually enforced. Mrs Binh said, "I have to fight against those who want to cram the curriculums with too many subjects — mathematicians who believe that one can't be a decent scholar without knowing Boole algebra, historians who wish the children to learn the history of all countries and all civilizations..." I told her that the Finnish Minister of Education, whom I had been privileged to see in Helsinki, had told me the same thing.

Mrs Binh also talked about the schools submerged by flood water, the millions of textbooks and the great amount of school equipment that had been lost, of the immense efforts needed to rebuild — worries that are certainly not besetting her Finnish colleague. Amazing, this coexistence within the same mind of anxieties brought about by a crushing present and pressing preoccupations about the future: on the one hand, how to supply a minimum of equipment to ravaged schools; on the other, how to generalize secondary education, something until now accessible only to economically developed countries.

I have quickly realized that this attitude is not peculiar to Mrs Binh; I have found it in many of our militants and compatriots. While making a face before a plate of maize or removing the mud left by flood water on their walls and furniture, many are those who make concrete preparations — not mere dreams — about the future. For themselves and for the country. Back from Europe, I acutely felt the gap between a society glutted with commodities and one still living in penury; but I also was struck by the contrast between a society which no longer knows where it is heading and one which is oriented toward the future and which, although steeped in poverty, none the less supplies its members with possibilities for dream and action. We are entering the new year certainly under the sign of austerity but also with fully justified optimism.

NGUYEN KHAC VIEN

(1) Communes in the suburbs of Hanoi specialized in the growing of flowers.



THE DAIRY CATTLE BREEDING CENTRE AT DUC TRONG

A twenty minutes' drive from the town of Da Lat, Lam Dong province, took us to a coffee plantation along Road 21. The plantation, covering 110 hectares, had been opened by a Frenchman to grow coffee and cacao and had been sold to a Vietnamese capitalist who was in the Saigon administration's good graces. In April 1977, following the take-over by the revolutionary administration, a much bigger establishment was opened close to it—the State-owned cattle breeding centre of Duc Trong set up by the Ministry of Agriculture.

We were received by the director, Pham Van Y, a ruddy ex-armyman, who briefed us on this 1,000-hectare centre. He said:

"Following the liberation of the South study groups were sent to many localities to find suitable places for the development of dairy production. As you know, canned milk produced in Ho Chi Minh City is processed from imported powder milk, a vestige of the old economy under US neo-colonialism. In the North, milch cows are raised on the Moc Chau plateau with Cuban assistance, but their number is small, and the area is not large enough for a development of the herd.

"In the South the climate is more suitable, and the best place we can find is the Lam Dong plateau. Here, at an altitude of 1,000 metres above sea level, the air is very clear, and the temperature varies very little from 21 degrees Celsius all the year round. There is plenty of water

from both underground and surface sources.

"We spent a whole year on planning and recruiting a staff of 206 workers and seven technical cadres. In the last nine months we have built the food stock by planting hybridized local grass species (*Cynodon dactylon* Pers., *Pennisetum purpurum* K. Sohum), maize and sorghum. We have also experimented with different pasture species including the Guatemalan, Moc Chau and Guinean species, and different legume-based species. All thrived very well. In the first season we got two tons of maize per hectare and had a surplus of 200 tons which we delivered to the province. Even so, we have decided to replace maize by sorghum despite the general reservation that the latter might have

a bad effect on the animals, and our decision has been proved to be correct by laboratory tests and field experiments as well as advice by foreign experts. It has been established that sorghum is richer by nine units of nutrients than maize. It needs less care and takes half the amount of water and fertilizer required by maize, which allows greater initiative in culture, and facilitates mechanization of all the jobs on the farm. Moreover, we were told by Cuban experts that a 2,000-head herd in Cuba had been raised on sorghum with very satisfactory results. We also hope to plant it instead of *Cynodon dactylon* Pers., which has to be replanted after each cycle, involving high costs."

We were shown round the centre and could see that innovations were playing a big role. An old coffee grinder had been remodelled into a maize shucker which could also dry and pack dozens of tons a day. On the meadow we saw sowers and other machines, made from odds and ends but working efficiently side by side with brand-new machines supplied by the State such as the grass cutters and milking machines.

We were told that the pens were designed and built by the workers themselves with easily procurable materials.

"To keep initial costs to a minimum," one female worker told us, "we try to make do with what we can afford for the moment. The pens, as you can see, may not have a modern look. Just a cement floor and a roof. But that's enough, since we don't have to cope with the scorching sun of the tropics or the searing cold of the north."

Indeed, the 255 cows, all pedigreed black-and-whites, seemed quite pleased in this environment. They had been taken from Cuba's prize herd and had arrived in mid-1978 after a two month's journey. En route, a few of them had become slightly unhealthy but they have been promptly nursed back to health thanks to the proper care of both Cuban and Vietnamese vets. Each cow had recorded an average bodyweight gain of six kilos after the first month, and five more kilos in the second, which was more than the average index in other countries. A number of them had received artificial insemination and were in the first stage of pregnancy.

As Duc Trong is planned to be a multiplication centre and not a dairy farm the herd will not exceed 1,500 head, of which 500 will be stock cows. The centre will provide new breeds of high productivity to dairy farms in the whole country.

THE DUY

The Common Folk of Vietnam

NGUYEN THI HAI was born into a family of cement workers in the city of Haiphong. When still a tenth-grader of a general education school she dreamt of entering a musical school or a fine-art college after her graduating from school.

There was a crèche near her house and it was put under the care of one of her friends. She often frequented the crèche and took a great liking to it. Sometimes she spent hours at the crèche listening to her friend's stories of the attractive world of children. Then, one day in the spring of 1976, she applied for admission to the city's crèche-attendant training school.

After nine months of professional training, Nguyen Thi Hai was assigned to work at the crèche of the Pharmaceutical Enterprise No. 3 in Haiphong. She was put in charge of 18 children between 18 and 36 months old. In larger scale crèches, those children would have been divided into two different groups and given varied care and education. However, due to lack of space and facilities, she had to take care of groups of children of uneven physical strength and intelligence. The group of older children were adept in basic movements and could sing easy and short songs, whereas the younger children were still tottering and just beginning to learn to speak. The first day at the crèche was quite a trial for her. The children were unruly and noisy, and fought one another as they tried to get a seat they liked. The winner laughed heartily while the loser fell on the floor and cried outrageously. Hardly had she calmed down one child when another burst out crying. Hai was a little bit discouraged but she understood that it was no good becoming angry at those undisciplined children.

A CRÈCHE - ATTENDANT



On the second day she changed her methods. She sang for the children, danced, played music and told them stories. She showed them games which they took great delight in, resolved their disputes over toys and praised older children who made concessions to younger ones. Gradually order reigned over the class.

One day there was a period of "observation and language practice", so she borrowed a cock and brought it to the crèche for the children.

She showed them every part of the cock, told them what its name was, and asked them to repeat after her. The children competed with one another in answering her questions. After that she put the cock in a coop and used the picture of a cock to test their memory. The result was quite satisfactory. The children could all show and tell the names of various parts of the cock on the picture. Some of the

younger children like Binh and Huyen, 27 months old, could pronounce distinctly such words as blade, beak and breast.

On the following days Hai tried to borrow things and animals that are familiar to children like a cat, a duck and a hare, and brought roses and other flowers to the crèche. Her classes were all the more lively as a result.

Formerly, after each period, the children were left alone in the class-rooms and played freely while the crèche-attendants were washing their towels or clothes. During their absence the children ran wild. Certain attendants resorted to punishment, ordering naughty children to stand in a corner of the classroom. Nguyen Thi Hai did not act in this way. She thought to herself: "Children are instinctively restless, and to check their unbridled turbulence and unrest, prohibition or punishment is not in line with the policy of child

education." She decided to remain in class with the children and do the washing and other odd jobs during their nap time. While playing with the children she always suggested activities to help them develop their intelligence. By keeping an eye on them in their free time, Hai was able not only to limit their disturbances but also to help them develop their sense of order and discipline, understand their lessons and consolidate their memory. This also facilitated her work. She was able to understand their personalities, and had proper educational methods for each of them.

Children are intimately attached to toys and natural surroundings familiar to them. Usually they are most interested in stories about intelligent rabbits, industrious cocks, kind-hearted ducks or hard-working bees. Because of the short supply of picture books and toys for children of different age groups Hai made every effort to collect samples of pictures and redrew and coloured them for use in her crèche. She made pictures of different kinds of flowers and animals and hung them in her class, changing their places every week. She also made many simple toys to replenish the scanty and too familiar toys of the crèche. Tiny buckets made of discarded tins, trains made of match-boxes, fish and birds made of thick coloured paper, and boats made of paper, attracted the children as much as a blond doll imported from abroad did.

Hai not only did her best to give a good education to the children but also gave them proper care during their meals and rest. Rules for children's hygiene were strictly observed, and she took steps to reduce heat in summer and cold in winter to protect and improve the children's health. Certain children were in the habit of wetting and dirtying pants during their first days in the crèche. However, thanks to her attention and care, after only a few days, they were accustomed to

(Continued on page 30)

LAOS

THREE YEARS AFTER

THREE years ago, December 2, 1975, the People's Democratic Republic of Laos was founded, as the result of the completion of the national democratic revolution and the abolition of the feudal and imperialist rule in Laos. For the various nationalities in Laos a new era was ushered in, the era of building Laos into a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic country advancing directly to socialism without passing through the stage of capitalist development.

This was to be a great undertaking given the numerous difficulties confronting the three million Lao people in 1975. The first difficulty was the economy. It was a backward small-scale natural agricultural economy, which was not yet even self-sufficient. It was heavily dependent on imperialism and the capitalist market, and ravaged and crippled by several decades of war. One-third of the population had been forced to leave their villages and settle in the cities and towns where there was little or no industry. The young revolutionary power lacked everything, even the means indispensable for the normal functioning of a State apparatus. There was a serious shortage of consumer goods. A number of puppet troops and Vang Pao bandits, routed during the 1975 revolution and having fled into the forests, were trying to stage a come-back. And on top of that, in the newly-liberated towns and cities many people could not adapt themselves to the new life, they were puzzled and wavering in face of the new trials.

Such a poor country, confronted with so many difficulties, has

now become one of the advanced posts of socialism in Southeast Asia. Of course the imperialists, although driven out of Laos, will not sit with folded arms and allow the Lao revolution's influence to spread to other areas in Southeast Asia. Neither will the international reactionaries.

The imperialists and their henchmen have used every means — political, economic, military and diplomatic — to keep Laos in a state of backwardness and to create conditions for eventually toppling the new regime in Laos. During the last three years they have stepped up psychological warfare and espionage in order to sow division between Laos and Vietnam and other socialist countries. In the economic field, they have dumped goods into Laos in order to manipulate the Lao market. In the military field, they have increased bandit and commando activities in an attempt to create troubles and stage a coup d'état.

The international reactionaries, spurred by their hegemonistic ambitions in Southeast Asia, have been scheming to turn Laos into a corridor linking their country with Kampuchea, now under the rule of their henchmen, with a view to encircling and checking the advance of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. They attempt to turn Laos into a springboard for their policy of expansion in Southeast Asia. They are now working hand in glove with the imperialists in their scheme to increase bandit activities, to make use of Vang Pao to cause disturbances and stage coups d'état, to use psycho-war to sow dissensions among the Lao people; and to create

division between Laos, Vietnam, and other socialist countries.

However the well-tempered Lao people have foiled all the insidious schemes of those two enemies of the Lao revolution. Many attempted coups d'état and riots, big and small, have been crushed. So was the scheme to found the so-called "Front for National Salvation" in which the ex-king was to be made the standard-bearer, and military force would be used to occupy some Lao territory along the Mekong and rig up an opposition government. Bandits were hunted down, many spy rings were uncovered, scores of commando groups were captured or wiped out. Provocative and land-grabbing activities along the border were stopped. Under the correct leadership of the People's Revolutionary Party, the Lao people are strengthening their national unity and international solidarity, heightening their vigilance, and are determined to defend their country's political security and sovereignty. At the same time they are exerting every effort to carry out the great tasks in the economic and cultural fields.

Laos is a thinly-populated country with great agricultural potentialities. But at present its agriculture is still backward. Laos is pursuing the policy of socialist industrialization on the basis of a developed agriculture and forestry. During the last three years, while carrying out the central task of restoring and developing agriculture and forestry, the Lao people have made great efforts to increase the cultivated area from 700,000 ha in 1976 to 750,000 ha in 1978. There are three new factors in Lao agriculture: continuous development of water conservancy works has increased the irrigated area from 60,000 ha in 1976 to 150,000 in 1978; the movement for multiplying rice crops and subsidiary food crops has raised the area under summer rice from 5,000 ha in 1975 to 8,000 ha in 1978, the area under subsidiary food crops from over 30,000 ha in 1976 to over 40,000 ha in 1978; the movement for turning slash-and-burn cultivation into sedentary farming on dry or submerged fields has reduced the destruction of forests and helped stabilize the life of the ethnic minorities. Livestock breeding has been rapidly restored and

developed and there are now in Laos more than 1 million head of cattle. The movement for agricultural cooperativization was launched last May by the People's Revolutionary Party and Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos. This movement has been welcomed by the masses of peasants throughout the country, and so far nearly 1,000 cooperatives have been set up in the plains. The movement has helped reduce the damage caused by natural calamities, and despite last year's severe drought and this year's heavy floodings, the life of the people has been stabilized.

Forests in Laos account for 70 per cent of the total area and constitute a fundamental advantage for the economy of Laos, at present and in the future. The Lao Government is carrying out a general survey of the land in order to work out a plan for the protection, exploitation and development of forests, for the development of branches specialized in forest exploitation and processing of forest products for domestic consumption and for export.

The country's industry, which was small and crippled and dependent upon foreign countries, is suffering from shortages of raw materials and spare parts. But it is now being restored step by step according to the following orientation: it must make full use of raw materials available in the country and serve the people's life. More than 300 State-run and joint State-private enterprises and nearly 400 private firms are working under the guidance and with the assistance of the State. Handicrafts which were disrupted during the war of aggression is being restored rapidly to meet the requirements of agriculture and the people.

The Lao people have also achieved many successes in the field of circulation and distribution of goods, despite innumerable difficulties. In communications and transport, hundreds of bridges and culverts which were destroyed during the war, have been rebuilt, hundreds of kilometres of road have been repaired or improved; all means of land and river transport, rudimentary or modern, public or private, have been used; civil aviation ensures regular internal and international flights. Social-

ist commerce begins to make its presence felt in cities and towns and hundreds of cooperative shops have been opened in the countryside to supply the people with industrial products and to collect agricultural and forest products for industrial production and exports. Transformation of capitalist commerce has started with the inventory of stocks and registration of businesses in accordance with State regulations. A new financial system has been built with an independent and unified currency, which helps curb the manipulation of the market by the imperialists and foreign capitalists, especially Chinese capitalists.

During the last few years education and culture have known a rapid development. The percentage of literate people has increased from 30% in 1975 to 65% in 1978, in the age group between 15 and 45. Illiteracy has been eradicated in 3,865 villages, 219 communes and 15 districts. The movement of complementary education has also been given strong impetus. Nearly 250,000 people are attending various kinds of complementary education courses. The number of first-level general education pupils is double that of 1975; the number of second-level pupils has increased 20 times compared with 1975, and that of third-level pupils, 18 times. Thousands of students have been sent to socialist countries for study. Vocational schools have increased at an unprecedented tempo, to meet the needs for managing cadres and technicians of various branches of the national economy. The number of colleges has increased from two in 1975 to four in 1978, training public health cadres and teachers for the country. A network of public health establishments has been set up from the central to grassroots levels for the treatment and prevention of diseases. The masses of the people have taken an active part in the eradication of social evils and the vestiges of reactionary and depraved culture left by the former regime, and in the development of mass literature and art. Thanks to this movement, cultural activities in the cities and towns have recovered their national character and become healthy.

In the diplomatic field, the People's Democratic Republic of

Laos is pursuing a policy of independence, sovereignty, peace, friendship, solidarity and wide international cooperation, first and foremost with the socialist countries and the national liberation movements. That is why it has won great international support for its national reconstruction and its struggle against hostile forces. At the same time it has contributed to the defence of peace and the cooperation between the countries in South-east Asia and the world. The prestige of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos has therefore been increasingly enhanced in the world.

In their advance to socialism, the Lao people will have to overcome many difficulties caused by hostile forces, by their own underdeveloped economy and culture, by the temporary weaknesses in the growth of the revolutionary forces. But under the correct leadership of the People's Revolutionary Party, with their tradition of stubborn revolutionary struggle, with the active support of brother socialist countries and progressive mankind, the Lao people will certainly win glorious victory in the defence of their country and the building of socialism.

*
* *

The Vietnamese people joyfully greet the great victory of the brother Lao people and consider it as their own victory. Brotherly affection has developed between the peoples of Vietnam and Laos. During the last three years, the special relationship between Vietnam and Laos has been consolidated. The official visit to Vietnam in February 1976 by the Lao Party and Government Delegation headed by Comrade Kaysone Phomvihane, Secretary-General of the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos, Prime Minister of the Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos, and the official friendship visit to the People's Democratic Republic of Laos in July 1977 by our Party and Government Delegation headed by Comrade Le Duan, Secretary-General of the CPV and Comrade Pham Van Dong, Prime Minister of the SRV, together with the signing of the Joint Statement, the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation be-

tween the PDRL and the SRV and the agreement on the delimitation of the national boundaries between the two countries, were extremely important landmarks in the relations between the two countries. The agreements on aid and economic and cultural cooperation signed by government delegations and by representatives of various branches of the two countries' respective Parties, governments and people's organizations during the last three years and the implementation of those agreements have further consolidated the deep friendship between Laos and Vietnam.

Today, in face of the perfidious schemes of imperialism and great-nation expansionism working hand in glove with each other, the Vietnamese and Lao peoples are even more tightly bound together and are heightening their vigilance. On the occasion of his visit to Laos in 1977, comrade Le Duan said, "Built on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the special relationship between Vietnam and Laos has created a miraculous force, both spiritual and material, which will help the people of our two countries detect their enemies and see through their perfidious schemes, overcome all dangers, defeat all reactionary forces, and advance to their glorious goal." On the same occasion Comrade Kaysone Phomvihane also stated, "The conclusion drawn from the two people's common struggle during the last fifty years is that the Lao-Vietnamese relationship is one between two peoples who share weal and woe and are bound together in life and death, and that this is the law governing the development of our two countries' revolutionary processes."

The strength of Vietnamese-Lao solidarity which has led to the historic liberation of the two countries in 1975, has been further consolidated during the last few years. It will certainly help them overcome all difficulties and obstacles wherever they may come from, and will create conditions for our two peoples to preserve their independence and successfully build socialism in their respective countries.

Q.T.

The Voice of Vietnam

Dear listeners,

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Thank you

THE VOICE OF VIETNAM.

A Crèche-Attendant

(Continued from page 27)

using the chamber pots. Some walked with bent feet but she patiently corrected their gait and in the end they could walk properly.

At a city conference of emulation workers the delegates listened with keen interest to the story of how Hai had been able to "convert" a very stubborn child. Little Dung was admitted to the crèche very early. He would only listen to a woman who had taken care of him when he was still eating rice powder gruel. When this lady was absent, he refused to eat and became restless. When he was put under Hai's care he remained that same Dung: he refused to play with other children and did not take his seat in class. During meals other children were willing to take rice with Hai's help, but Dung grabbed his spoon and tried to feed himself. Being too small to use a spoon, he scattered rice everywhere, on the table and even on his clothes. Hai used another spoon to try to feed him but he turned his face away. When she prevented him from doing so, he shut his mouth

tight. She didn't get angry with him but tried to persuade him. She put the spoon on the table and went on feeding the other children at the same table. She sweetly praised those children for their good behaviour. Finally Dung imitated them. Now he sticks to her all through the day. He has become a very good child. He is generous, sometimes sharing his own cake with his friends.

Nguyen Thi Hai is now a member of the Executive Committee of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union of the enterprise. Her experiences in child care and education have been studied and discussed at six conferences on crèche work. Many agricultural districts in the suburbs of Haiphong have invited her to give classes to their crèche-attendant training courses. Hai is now practising the piano and attending a drawing course organized by the city's Labour Club in order to further improve her work as she is very fond of music and painting.

Nguyen Thi Hai is now 22 years old. She is one among the 110,000 crèche-attendants in the whole of Vietnam at present.

ANH TRAM

CHRONOLOGY

November 16 — December 15, 1978

November

16. Opening in Hanoi of a conference on economic mathematics.

17. Signing in Hanoi of documents on economic, industrial and technical co-operation for 1978-1980 between Vietnam and Belgium.

18. Prime Minister Pham Van Dong receives the visiting delegation of the Ministry of Communications of Thailand led by Vice Minister Vice-Admiral Sanong Nisalak.

— Signing in Warsaw of a protocol on goods exchange and payment for 1979 between Vietnam and Poland and an agreement on the Polish Government's loans to the Vietnamese Government in 1978-1980.

22. *Nhan Dan*: A UNESCO plenary meeting in Paris has just adopted a resolution proposed by the group of socialist countries and Mozambique calling on the peoples and governments of all countries to increase their assistance to the Vietnamese people in national reconstruction.

— At the UN Commission for Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Affairs, the Vietnamese delegation makes clear Vietnam's stand and view-point on human rights.

23. The Political Bureau of the French Communist Party issues a statement expressing solidarity with the Vietnamese people and denouncing the campaign of slander and vilification against Vietnam being conducted in France.

— The Prime Minister gives instructions on exercising thrift in production and life.

26. A Vietnamese delegation of the Ministry of Agriculture leaves Hanoi for visits to New Zealand and Australia.

27. Cardinal Trinh Nhu Khue, 79, Archbishop of Hanoi died of illness. Prime Minister Pham Van Dong sends a wreath to pay tribute to the cardinal.

28. VNA: Since early this year, many provinces and cities have restored and built 20,000 kilometres of countryside roads including 13,000 kilometres of dirt roads in villages and communes to facilitate agricultural production.

30. The Head of the SRV Permanent Representation at the United Nations, Ambassador Ha Van Lau, sends a letter to the President of the UN Security Council making clear that the main cause of the border conflict between Vietnam and Kampuchea is the expansionist policy of the Peking authorities over Southeast Asia.

December

1. The Physical Education and Sports College holds a ceremony to mark the reception of a laboratory for research on and teaching of physical education and sports given by the GDR.

2. Founding of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea with Mr Heng Somrin as its President. The Central Committee of the Front decides on the establishment of the Front's official news agency called Saporamean Kampuchea (SPK) and radio named The Voice of the Kampuchean People.

— VNA: With the consent of the SRV Government, the World Federation of Trade Union establishes its Asian Liaison Bureau in Ho Chi Minh City.

3. Opening in Hanoi of an international drawing competition for children presided over by SRV Vice-President Nguyen Huu Tho. The competition is co-sponsored by UNESCO, UNICEF, UNHCR and Air France.

4. Signing in Hanoi of protocols on goods exchange and payment and on scientific and technological cooperation in 1979 between Vietnam and Albania.

5. Ho Chi Minh City holds a ceremony to mark the reception of 36 bulldozers and a quantity of related accessories donated by the European Economic Community (EEC) for land reclamation and building in the Song Ray new economic zone in Dong Nai province.

6. Inauguration of the project for modernizing the printing-works of the daily *Nhan Dan* built with the assistance of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

— A Vietnamese delegation, led by Le Thanh Nghi, Political Bureau member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, Deputy Prime Minister and Chairman of the State Planning Committee, attends the 18th session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance held in Moscow.

7. Hoang Quoc Viet, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Fatherland Front, sends a message of greetings to the Central Committee of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea.

— Lars Ag, Director-General of the Swedish Institute of Meteorology and Hydrology, arrives in Vietnam on a visit.

8. Signing in Hanoi of a protocol on goods exchange and payment for 1979 between Vietnam and Hungary.

— Signing in Hanoi of a plan on physical education and sports cooperation between Vietnam and the USSR.

— Signing in Vientiane of a document on handing over a quantity of various radio transmitters donated by Vietnam.

9. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam sends a message of greetings

to the Angolan Labour Party (MPLA) on the occasion of the first anniversary of its foundation.

— The new Chinese Ambassador in Hanoi, Yang Kung-su, presents his credentials to Vice-President Nguyen Huu Tho.

— Vietnam News Agency issues a statement refuting the fabrication on December 7, 1978 of an AFP despatch from Bangkok saying that Prime Minister Pham Van Dong has reiterated the Vietnamese support for the so-called "Patriotic Front of Thailand" in his talks with some members of this organization.

— China sends 5 vessels to Vietnamese territorial waters southeast of Tran Island (Quang Ninh province) encircling and opening fire on the Vietnamese fishing boats in the area.

11. Signing in Hanoi of documents on economic, scientific and technological cooperation and an agreement on trade and payment between Vietnam and Yugoslavia.

12. A Vietnamese Oil and Gas delegation led by Minister Dinh Duc Thien arrives in India on a visit.

— *Nhan Dan*: The Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam holds a conference in Ho Chi Minh City to discuss measures to step up socialist transformation of agriculture in southern Vietnam.

13. A ceremony is held in Hanoi for the exchange of instruments of ratification of the

Vietnam-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation.

— Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Nguyen Duy Trinh leaves Hanoi for official visits to Japan, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and Pakistan.

14. The Government Council promulgates a policy on socialist transformation of private agricultural engineering works in the southern provinces and makes a decision on abolishing all capitalist forms of land exploitation and proceeding with land redistribution in the southern countryside.

— An SRV Government economic delegation, led by Do Muoi, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee, Deputy Prime Minister and Chairman of the Vietnam Section of the Vietnam-Cuba Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation, attends the third session of the commission held in Havana, Cuba.

— Two Chinese soldiers, Yang Wan-jong and Yuan Tzu-cheng, crossed over to Vietnam and sought political asylum in Vietnam.

15. The SRV Ministry of Foreign Affairs strongly protests against China's repeated sending of armed forces and vessels to violate Vietnamese territorial sovereignty and threaten the security of Vietnam in border areas and territorial waters.

OUR COMMENT

(Continued from page 2)

Likewise, the relations of Vietnam with other countries in South Asia and other parts of this continent, with African countries as well as with the other developing countries have made significant progress. The normalization of relations with the United States—which would be the last developed capitalist country to establish relations with Vietnam—will rapidly materialize provided that Washington is realistic in its Asian policy.

The role played by Vietnam in the international community, particularly at the United Nations and in other international bodies, has correctly reflected her policy of independence, sovereignty and international solidarity and cooperation.

Closer to Vietnam, the exemplary relations of good neighbourliness with brotherly Laos have been strengthened, in the interests of the people of both countries. Relations between Vietnam and Kampuchea are going through hard trials, but fine prospects

have opened up with the birth of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea which stands for the overthrow of the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary regime and the end of the border war with Vietnam.

We are well aware that many difficulties still lie ahead, some arising from the consequences of 30 years of war and neo-colonialism; others from the weaknesses of our own State apparatus which is not yet equal to the great task of bringing our country forward from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production; others still from the wicked actions of imperialist forces in collusion with the international reactionaries.

However, the difficulties that the Vietnamese people encountered and overcame in 1978 allow us to think that the Vietnamese people and the SRV are fully capable of surmounting even greater difficulties.

We enter the year 1979 with firm confidence in our own strength and in the support and assistance of freedom- and justice-loving people throughout the world.

25 December 1978.

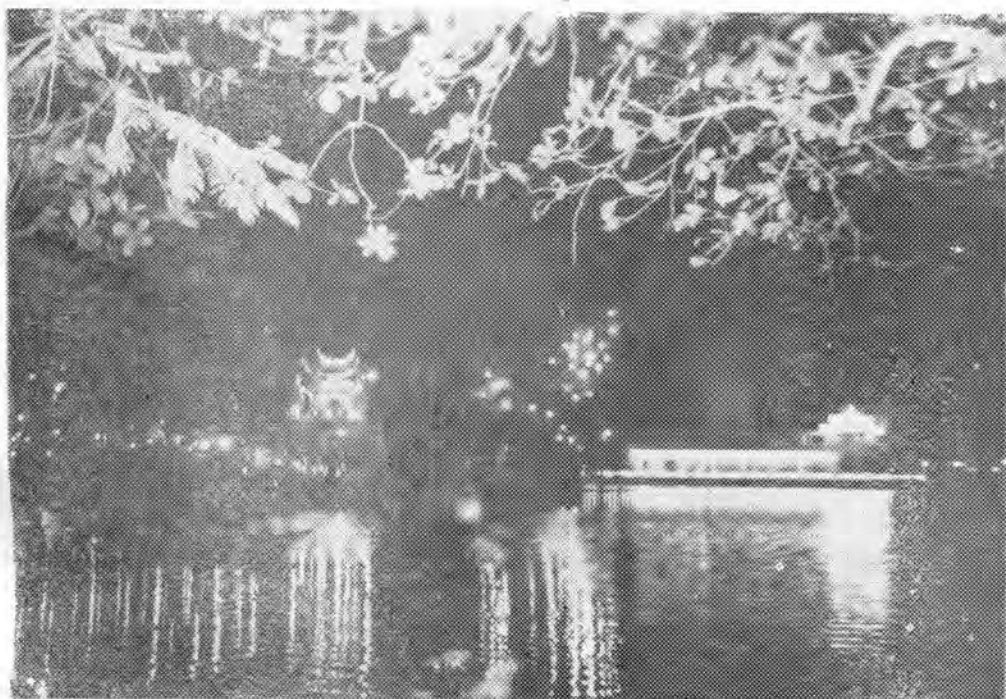


Apricot blossoms in Ho Chi Minh City at Tet.

Banh chung (glutinous rice cake), traditionally eaten at Tet (the Lunar New Year).



TET IN VIETNAM



The Lake of the Restored Sword in Hanoi on the eve of the Lunar New Year.

TET IN VIETNAM

The Hanoi Flower market.



Nhat Tan, a commune in the suburbs of Hanoi specialized in the growing of peach blossoms.



Boat-race on the Lake of the Restored Sword in Hanoi.

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