

Vietnam courier



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People returning to their native villages in Kampot.

KAMPUCHEA AFTER LIBERATION



Rice distribution.

OUR MONTHLY COMMENT

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Front cover: Vietnamese border guards in Ha Tuyen province.

Photo: Quang Hanh.

Vietnam courier

DID Peking deliberately choose the day of the official friendship visit to the People's Republic of Kampuchea by a Government delegation of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam headed by Prime Minister Pham Van Dong to start a war of aggression all along the Vietnam-China border?

Everyone knows that the Peking leaders have found it extremely difficult to swallow the bitter defeat suffered by their great-nation expansionism as manifested in the rapid collapse of their protégé Pol Pot — Ieng Sary regime. Their irritation has been aggravated by the prospect of the further strengthening of the militant solidarity between Vietnam and Kampuchea following the summit talks in Phnom Penh. This prospect has now become a reality with the signing of a treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation between the two countries, pledging to "wholeheartedly support and assist each other in all domains and in all necessary forms in order to strengthen the capacity to defend the independence, sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity and peaceful labour of the people in each country, against all schemes and acts of sabotage by the imperialist and international reactionary forces". (Article 2)

The development of Vietnamese — Kampuchean relationship has at the same time opened up a new era for the links which bind the peoples of the three Indochinese countries, thus creating an enormous obstacle to the expansionist designs of the Peking hegemonists on Southeast Asia. So the Chinese forces of aggression have invaded all the six Vietnamese provinces bordering China in implementation of Deng Xiaoping's repeated threats made during his visits to the USA and Japan to "punish" Vietnam and "teach Vietnam a lesson". At the time he openly admitted that dozens of Chinese divisions had been mustered on the border with Vietnam.

The Peking reactionary rulers are following in the footsteps of the former Chinese feudal dynasties, from the Chin and Han to the Ming and Ching, as well as following the French and American imperialists of the past 30 years. They have defiled the revolutionary traditions of the Chinese people, betrayed their interests, and trampled on the deep friendship they have always reserved for their close neighbours, the Vietnamese. They shamelessly seek to ally themselves with the imperialists and the most reactionary elements, and this policy has become all the more disgraceful since Peking has become a storm-trooper against a people who have earned the affection of the whole of progressive mankind for the immense sacrifices they have made in valiant struggle for the sake of independence and freedom.

This time history has entrusted Vietnam with the task of stopping the fanatical Peking warmongers, dangerous enemies of world peace.

Events over the past week amply prove our ability to fulfil this task. The inhabitants and the regional armed forces of the border provinces have fought back vigorously, inflicting heavy losses on the Chinese invaders.

Attempting as usual to call black white, the Peking ruling circles try to justify their brutal action by arguing that it is only a "counter-attack caused by Vietnam's attack on China". After sending their armed forces into Vietnamese territory, they proclaim their readiness to negotiate, while their imperialist allies put forward the deceitful proposal for the "simultaneous withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea and Chinese forces from Vietnam".

It should be recalled that as early as 28 May 1978, the Vietnamese side had proposed that qualified representatives of Vietnam and China should meet to resolve all differences. But this was rejected by the Chinese side as totally "fallacious" and "made for propaganda needs". When China agreed to negotiate in August 1978, the talks were confined to the Hoa question only and broke up after

eight sessions since China persistently demanded that Vietnam admit having "ostracized, persecuted and expelled Chinese residents", which Vietnam had never done.

As the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Laos impartially declared: "In order to create conditions for negotiations between the two sides... the Chinese troops must be withdrawn from Vietnamese territory to allow the situation in the border areas to return to normal..."

A world popular front is now rallying around Vietnam under the slogans of an unconditional withdrawal of Chinese troops from Vietnam and for unity and support to the just struggle of Vietnam against the Chinese aggressors, similar to the fronts existing in the days of the Vietnamese people's resistance against French colonialism and American imperialism. While China was directing threats against Vietnam, dockers in Sydney, Australia, refused to handle goods to and from China in protest against Peking's anti-Vietnamese policy. Such fine gestures will undoubtedly multiply around the world.

Peking's new mandarins used their agents Pol Pot and Ieng Sary to launch armed attacks on the southwestern frontier of Vietnam. They met with disastrous failure. Having failed to accomplish their inglorious undertaking by proxy, they now have to do the dirty work themselves. But the Vietnamese people, who have just celebrated the 190th anniversary of their victory over the invasion by the Chinese Ching dynasty in 1789, are confident in their traditional strength that was able to repel all invaders from wherever they came. In addition they can rely on the staunch support of the Soviet Union, which has declared that it will honour its commitments as stated in the treaty of friendship and cooperation signed with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, and on the other socialist countries, while benefitting from the sympathy and support of justice-loving people throughout the world. Our struggle is bound to end in victory.

25 February 1979

SRV GOVERNMENT'S STATEMENT ON CHINESE AUTHORITIES' WAR OF AGGRESSION AGAINST VIETNAM

ON 17 February 1979, the Chinese rulers brazenly started a war of aggression against Vietnam.

They mobilized many infantry, armoured and artillery divisions with air support to launch a massive attack along the whole Vietnam-China border. They attacked the towns of Lao Cai and Mong Cai and the district towns of Dong Dang and Muong Khuong deep inside Vietnamese territory. Chinese forces attacked and occupied many border-stations and many areas in Dinh Lap, Trang Dinh, Loc Binh and Van Lang districts in Lang Son province; Tra Linh, Ha Quang and Quang Ha in Cao Bang province; Phong Tho in Lai Chau province and Binh Lieu in Quang Ninh province, committing many serious crimes and causing great losses in lives and property to the Vietnamese people.

It is obvious that the Chinese rulers, after repeated failures in their hostile policy against Vietnam, have followed in the footsteps of the Chinese feudalists, the imperialists and the colonialists to launch a war of aggression against Vietnam, an independent and sovereign country.

By invading Vietnam, the Chinese rulers have completely revealed their expansionism, big-power hegemonism and reactionary policy, gone against the interests of the Chinese people and seriously undermined the traditional friendship between the peoples of Vietnam and China.

By invading Vietnam, the Chinese rulers have opposed the whole socialist system and the national liberation movements. They have sabotaged peace and stability in Southeast Asia and the whole world.

Their war of aggression has grossly trampled upon the most elementary principles in international relations and the UN Charter. It is an insolent challenge to all peace- and justice-loving people.

For several years now, especially in the recent past, in spite of the Chinese rulers' intensified provocations and threats, the people and Government of Vietnam have shown utmost self-restraint in the interests of peace and friendship, and sought all means to settle all the problems in the relations between the two countries by negotiation. But the Chinese rulers, heedless of reason, have continued their armed provocations and provoked a war of aggression against Vietnam. In the face of that aggression by the Chinese rulers, the Vietnamese people and army

have no alternative but to exercise their legitimate right to self-defence and fight back resolutely against the aggressors.

Acting upon the teaching of beloved President Ho Chi Minh, "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom", once again our entire people and army, men and women, old and young, united millions are unanimously standing up to fight resolutely in defence of the independence, sovereignty and sacred territorial integrity of their motherland.

The people and Government of Vietnam urgently call on the Soviet Union, the fraternal socialist countries, the national independent countries, the countries in the non-aligned movement, the friendly countries, the Communist and workers' parties, and progressive people throughout the world to strengthen their solidarity with Vietnam, support and defend Vietnam, and demand that the Peking rulers put an immediate end to their war of aggression and withdraw all their troops from Vietnam.

The fraternal peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea have fought shoulder to shoulder to defeat imperialist aggression, and are now strengthening further their solidarity to defeat the reactionary policy of the Chinese rulers.

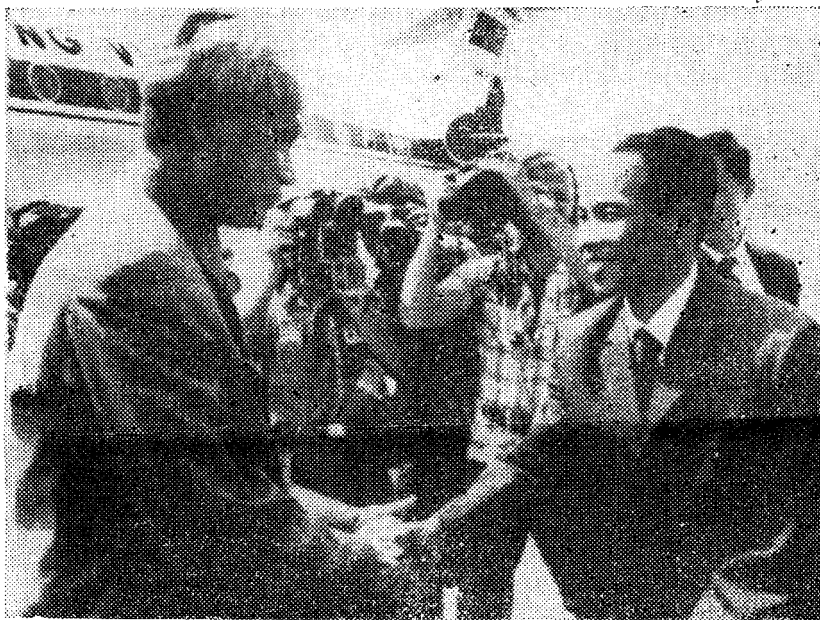
For the sake of peace and the long-standing friendship between the two countries, the Vietnamese people call on the Chinese people and troops to firmly protest against the war of aggression provoked by the Peking rulers.

The people and Government of Vietnam call on the United Nations and the democratic organizations in the interests of peace and justice, to energetically condemn the war of aggression launched by the Peking rulers.

The Vietnamese people, a dauntless, valiant and indomitable nation who have defeated all aggressors, are firmly convinced that under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and enjoying strong sympathy and support from their brothers and friends in all continents, will defeat the war of aggression of the Chinese rulers, defend their independence and sovereignty and make a worthy contribution to the safeguarding of peace and stability in Southeast Asia and the world.

17 February 1979

VIETNAM - KAMPUCHEA SUMMIT MEETING IN PHNOM PENH



Prime Minister Pham Van Dong welcomed by President Heng Somrin at Pochentong airport.

FIVE weeks after Kampuchea's liberation from the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary genocidal regime, instrument of the Peking expansionists, the first summit meeting between the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea was held in Phnom Penh. The occasion was the friendship visit to Kampuchea from 16 to 19 February 1979 by the Vietnamese Government delegation headed by Prime Minister Pham Van Dong, at the invitation of the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

The Vietnamese Government delegation was given a warm reception by the Kampuchean leaders, the Kampuchean people and the revolutionary armed forces. The delegation laid wreaths at the Independence Monument and visited Corps I of the Kampuchean People's Army. It also visited the No. 1 rubber factory southwest of Phnom Penh and attended a large rally of the people of the Kampuchean capital in honour of the delegation.

Speaking at the meeting, the President of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council Heng Somrin said, "We Kampu-

cheans strongly denounce and condemn the aggression against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam by the Peking rulers. On behalf of the entire people we would like to assure our Vietnamese brothers and sisters that we are always on the side of Vietnam. In response to the appeal of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in its 17 February Statement we Kampuchean people pledge to do our utmost to fight side by side with the Vietnamese people against the Peking expansionists, to thwart their criminal intentions against our two countries and against this area of the world."

Prime Minister Pham Van Dong also said, "In the new stage of the revolution of the two countries, we have all the conditions in which to further promote our friendly cooperation and mutual assistance in all fields on the basis of mutual trust, respect for each other's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, non-interference into each other's internal affairs, equality, mutual interest and peaceful co-existence."

The Vietnamese Government delegation headed by Prime Minister Pham Van Dong and the Kampuchean delegation headed

by President Heng Somrin had talks together. The two sides informed each other about the successful development of the revolution in each country, exchanged views on the settlement of the consequences of the Kampuchean — Vietnamese border war caused by the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique, and on matters related to the interests of the two countries.

The two sides warmly welcomed the great victory of the heroic Lao people and pledged to do their utmost to continuously develop the militant solidarity and friendly cooperation between Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos.

The two sides expressed their deep desire to build everlasting good-neighbourly relations and develop their cooperation and exchanges in the economic, cultural, scientific and technological fields with the Kingdom of Thailand and other Southeast Asian countries on the basis of respect for each other's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference, direct or indirect and in any form, in each other's internal affairs. The two sides were ready to strive, together with all countries in the area, for the peaceful, independent, free, neutral, stable and prosperous Southeast Asia.

The summit meeting has ended successfully and both sides have signed the Vietnam — Kampuchea treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation and agreements on economic and technological cooperation and on cultural, educational, public health and scientific cooperation between the two countries.

In response to the urgent request of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam has decided to grant immediate and non-refundable aid to Kampuchea in the shape of farming implements, medicines and consumer goods.

The treaty and agreements which have been signed are the affirmation in international law of the fraternal relationship between the two peoples, who are ready to support and assist each other in defending their independence and in building a happy and prosperous life along the road chosen by each side.

TREATY OF PEACE, FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION BETWEEN THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA

(Unofficial translation from the Vietnamese text)

THE Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea,

Proceeding from the traditions of militant solidarity and fraternal friendship between Vietnam and Kampuchea, which have overcome many trials and become an unbreakable force ensuring the success of each country's national defence and construction,

Deeply conscious that the independence, freedom, peace and security of the two countries are closely interrelated and that the two Parties are duty-bound to help each other wholeheartedly and with all their might to defend and consolidate the great revolutionary gains they have recorded through nearly thirty years of struggle full of hardship and sacrifice,

Affirming that the militant solidarity and the long-term and all-round cooperation and friendship between Vietnam and Kampuchea meet the vital interests of the two peoples and, at the same time, are a factor ensuring a durable peace and stability in Southeast Asia, and are in keeping with the basic interests of the peoples in

this region and contribute to the maintenance of peace,

Confident that the Kampuchean people's complete victory under the glorious banner of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea, the correct line of independence, sovereignty and international solidarity of each country, and respect for each other's legitimate interests constitute a firm basis for the constant development of friendship and cooperation between the two countries,

Desirous to strengthen the militant solidarity, the long-term cooperation and friendship and mutual assistance in all fields to consolidate independence, build a prosperous country and a happy life for each people, thus contributing to the maintenance of peace and stability in Southeast Asia and the world, in keeping with the objectives of the non-aligned movement and the United Nations Charter,

Have decided to sign this Treaty and have agreed as follows:

Article 1

The two Parties signatory to the present Treaty undertake to do all they can to preserve and constantly develop the traditional militant solidarity, friendship and fraternal cooperation between Vietnam and Kampuchea; and mutual trust and assistance in all fields on the basis of respect for each other's independence,

sovereignty and legitimate interests; non-interference in each other's internal affairs; equality and mutual benefit.

The two Parties shall do all they can to educate the cadres, fighters and people of their respective countries to preserve forever the purity of the traditional militant solidarity and loyal friendship between Vietnam and Kampuchea.

Article 2

On the principle that national defence and construction are the cause of each people, the two Parties undertake to wholeheartedly support and assist each other in all domains and in all necessary forms in order to strengthen the capacity to defend the independence, sovereignty,

unity, territorial integrity and peaceful labour of the people in each country against all schemes and acts of sabotage by the imperialist and international reactionary forces. The two Parties shall take effective measures to implement this commitment whenever one of them requires.

Article 3

In order to help each other build a prosperous and powerful country and happy and plentiful lives for their peoples, the two Parties shall promote mutually beneficial fraternal exchanges and cooperation and assist each other in the fields of the economy, culture, education, public health, science and technology, and in training cadres

and exchanging specialists and experience in all fields of national construction.

To attain this objective, the two Parties shall sign necessary agreements and, at the same time, increase contacts and cooperation between the State bodies concerned and between mass organizations of both countries.

Article 4

The two Parties undertake to solve through peaceful negotiation all the differences which may arise in the relations between the two countries. They shall negotiate to sign an agreement on the delimitation of the national frontier

between the two countries on the basis of the present border line; they are resolved to turn the present border into a border of lasting peace and friendship between the two countries.

Article 5

The two Parties shall fully respect each other's independent and sovereign line.

The two Parties shall persistently pursue a foreign policy of independence, peace, friendship, cooperation and non-alignment, on the principle of non-interference in any form in other countries' internal affairs, non-acceptance of any interference in their respective countries' internal affairs, and not allowing any country to use their respective countries' territory to interfere in other countries.

The two Parties attach great importance to the long-standing tradition of militant solidarity and fraternal friendship between the Kampuchean, Lao and Vietnamese peoples, and pledge to do their best to strengthen this traditional relationship on the basis of respect for each country's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. They shall strengthen their relations

in all fields with the socialist countries. Being countries in Southeast Asia, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea shall persistently pursue a policy of friendship and good neighbourliness with Thailand and the other countries in Southeast Asia, and actively contribute to peace, stability and prosperity of Southeast Asia. The two Parties shall develop relations of cooperation with the national independent countries, the national liberation movement and democratic movements, and resolutely support the struggle of nations for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. They shall make positive contributions to the solidarity and growth of the non-aligned movement against imperialism and other international reactionary forces, to gain and defend national independence and to advance towards the establishment of a new world economic order.

Article 6

The two Parties shall frequently exchange views on the questions concerning the relations between their two countries and other international matters of mutual interest. All problems

in the relations between the two countries shall be solved through negotiation in the spirit of mutual understanding and respect, and in a way consistent with both reason and sentiment.

Article 7

The present Treaty is not intended to oppose any third country and does not affect the rights and obligations of each party stemming from the

bilateral and multilateral agreements to which it is a signatory.

Article 8

The present Treaty shall enter into force from the date of the exchange of instruments of rati-

fication; the ratification shall be done according to the procedures of each party.

Article 9

The present Treaty shall be valid for 25 years and thereafter shall be extended by tacit agreement for successive periods of ten years if nei-

ther signatory party informs the other in writing one year before the expiry of the Treaty about its intention to cancel the Treaty.

Done in duplicate in the Vietnamese and Khmer languages, both texts being equally authentic, in Phnom Penh, capital of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, on the 18th of February 1979.

*For the Government
of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam*
PHAM VAN DONG
Prime Minister

*For the People's Revolutionary Council
of the People's Republic of Kampuchea*
HENG SOMRIN
President of the People's
Revolutionary Council

On Vietnam - China Relations

There follows the text of the interview granted by Minister of Foreign Affairs Nguyen Duy Trinh to AFP on 9 February 1979 in Hanoi.

QUESTION A: *Will the increase in the number of incidents at the Vietnam—China border and the fact that they are becoming more and more serious prompt Vietnam to raise the question at the United Nations?*

ANSWER: 1. To clarify the situation, I would like to tell you first about the underlying cause of the present tension at the Vietnam—China border. This border was delimited in the conventions signed in 1887 and 1895 between the French Government and the Ching Court. As early as 1957-1958, the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers' Party¹ agreed with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to maintain the status quo with regard to the historical border, and declared that it would settle any eventual dispute through negotiations between the two parties. However, the Chinese side has violated the border on many occasions since 1974 and provoked an increasing number of incidents there. Particularly since Vietnam's victory in Spring 1975 Peking has pursued an increasingly hostile policy towards us. Firstly it used the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique to launch a war on our southwestern border, and secondly it fabricated the issue of the "Hoa"² in Vietnam intending to create a permanent state of unrest inside our country.

At the same time, it co-ordinated an increasing number of armed provocations at our northern border aimed at supporting the war on our southwestern border. These acts are part of Peking's plans to weaken the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

But, these plans have just met an initial but very serious reverse following the collapse of the fascist Pol Pot—Ieng Sary regime. The border war between Vietnam and Kampuchea has ended, but Peking has not reversed its malicious policies against Vietnam. It continues to pursue a policy of open intimidation and has unceasingly multiplied its territory violations and armed provocations, thus threatening Vietnam's security. Over recent weeks the number of violations perpetrated by the Chinese side has increased daily.

The incidents are spreading all along the frontier in the six Vietnamese provinces bordering China. The Chinese are using a greater and greater diversity of weapons against Vietnam, from infantry rifles to machine-guns and mortars.

Chinese armed forces infiltrated deep into Vietnamese territory, and ambushed, killed and kidnapped Vietnamese militiamen, border guards and even

civilians who were going about their daily work. The local inhabitants are suffering greater human and material losses every day.

Recently, the Chinese side has openly acknowledged that Chinese troops are being concentrated along the Vietnamese border.

We strongly denounce and condemn these dangerous acts of provocation committed by the Peking authorities against the Vietnamese people.

The Vietnamese people always have the longstanding friendship between Vietnam and China at heart. They continue to stand for the settlement of the differences between the two countries through negotiation. However, they are resolved to defend their country's sovereignty and territorial integrity and the work of peaceful construction in which their fellow countrymen are engaged.

2. You have asked whether we will bring the question to the United Nations. The answer is that we will take appropriate measures in the light of the evolution of the situation.³

QUESTION B: *Is Vietnam ready to accept:*

1. A suspension of hostilities;
2. The establishment of a demilitarized zone on either side of the border;
3. Surveillance of the border by representatives or forces of the United Nations;

1. Now the Communist Party of Vietnam.

2. People of Chinese origin.

3. On 10 February 1970 SRV Minister of Foreign Affairs Nguyen Duy Trinh sent two separate urgent messages to the President of the UN Security Council, Abdella Yaccoub Bishara, and UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim on the tension created by the Chinese authorities along the China-Vietnam border.

An excerpt from the messages reads: "they [the Chinese authorities] have deployed 20 divisions, hundreds of fighter planes, numerous tanks and other weapons close to the China—Vietnam border. They have carried out armed activities every day, violating Vietnam's territory and thus creating an extremely dangerous situation all along the border between China and Vietnam."

4. The opening of negotiations with China to delimit the land border ;
5. The opening of talks on territorial sovereignty over the Paracels and Spratley archipelagoes ;
6. The resumption of talks on the "Hoa" problem ?

QUESTION C : Does Vietnam intend to make comprehensive proposals on this issue ?

ANSWER : We have many times declared that we are ready to solve all problems concerning the relations between the two countries, to which end we have proposed a high-level meeting. This is well known. But the Chinese side has refused to accept our proposals because it wanted to continue its

schemes to make trouble and cause difficulties to Vietnam.

The reason is that an independent, sovereign, stable and prosperous Vietnam constitutes a major obstacle to the realization of Chinese expansionist designs in Southeast Asia. The talks about the "Hoa" issue which the Chinese side had agreed to hold in August 1978 is a case in point.

For our part, we always maintain this position of goodwill : if the Chinese side renounces its anti-Vietnam policy and also has good will, then we may arrive at a solution. The choice of questions for discussion will be subject to agreement between the two parties. We would be pleased if these problems were resolved either all at once or one at a time.

*
**

THE SRV Minister of Foreign Affairs published a memorandum on 14 February 1979, the eve of the Chinese war of aggression against Vietnam, denouncing the "ever more serious" border incidents provoked by the Chinese authorities. The text reads in part :

From 1957 to 1977 the Chinese authorities encroached on Vietnamese territory at more than 50 places, not including those areas which they had been controlling prior to 1957 beyond the historical frontier.

Since 1974 their acts of violation of Vietnamese territory have increased at an accelerated rate :

1974 : 197 incidents
1975 : 294 incidents
1976 : 812 incidents
1977 : 873 incidents.

Of these 2,158 incidents, there were 568 incidents of illegal cultivation on Vietnamese land, 1,355 encroachments by armed patrols, 61 attacks on and kidnapping of Vietnamese people on Vietnamese territory.

In 1955, the Chinese side took the opportunity afforded to it when it assisted Vietnam in restoring the railway track from Huu Nghi Quan to Yen Vien, and laid down the rail connection 300 metres inside Vietnamese territory. Since then they have considered the link-up point at the end of this section of track to be a point on the national border between Vietnam and China.

From 1975 to 1977, Chinese boats and ships violated Vietnamese territorial waters more than 1,500 times. In some instances, they approached Vietnamese islands at a distance of only two to five kilometres. In 1978, 48 cases of violation by Chinese vessels were recorded.

On 20 January 1974 China occupied the Vietnamese islands of Hoang Sa (Paracels). Furthermore, it made absurd claims about other Vietnamese islands in the Eastern Sea.

Of the 170,000 Hoa enticed or coerced into leaving Vietnam for China by the Chinese side, nearly 100,000 came from Quang Ninh province bordering China.

The Chinese armed encroachments upon Vietnamese territory have been increasing in number. In 1978 there were 583 cases. During January and the first week of February 1979 alone, there were as many as 230 cases.

The encroachments have been increasing in scale, from harassment of the normal activities of the people in border areas, through encirclement and provocation against Vietnamese armed security guards and militiamen on duty on Vietnamese territory, to ambushes, shooting incidents, abduction of Vietnamese to China and raids on militia watchtowers and Vietnamese border-stations.

The Chinese armed forces have intruded deeper and deeper into Vietnamese territory ; at places, no less than 5,000 metres from the border line. That was the case in the raid on the Vietnamese militia watchtower in Ban Lau, Hoang Lien Son province, on 14 January 1979.

The intruding forces have continually increased in size. A regular battalion was deployed to occupy the Vietnamese militia watchtowers in the area behind border-post 25 in Thanh Loa commune, Cao Loc district, Lang Son province, on 10 February 1979.

An increasing variety of weapons have been used, from infantry weapons to heavy machine-guns and mortars.

The Chinese armed forces have also on many occasions opened wanton shelling with big guns across the border, on vehicles and people moving along roads on the Vietnamese side of the border and on Vietnamese watchtowers, villages, townships and construction and forestry sites.

The Chinese authorities have caused the Vietnamese people increasing losses in terms of lives and property. In January and the early days of February 1979 alone, the Chinese armed forces killed more than 40 Vietnamese civilians, militiamen and armed security fighters, wounded hundreds of others and abducted to China more than 20 persons.

Mention should also be made of violations of Vietnam's airspace by Chinese fighter planes (more than 100 cases in 1978).

SOME BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE VIETNAM — CHINA BORDER(*)

NINE hundred years ago in 1078 King Ly Nhan Tong sent his ambassador Dao Nguyen Tong to the Sung emperor to claim back the territory of Quang Nguyen (present-day Cao Bang province) and other territories belonging to Annam. The Sung emperor in turn demanded the return of the Chinese prisoners of war captured by the legendary Vietnamese hero, Marshal Ly Thuong Kiet. At the second conference in 1084 at Vinh Binh (now part of Chinese territory, in the Chuang autonomous zone) the same questions were again on the agenda.

This historical event is topical once again now that the arrogant Chinese armed forces daily violate the frontier and territory of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. It shows clearly that in the course of their four millennia of history, the Vietnamese people have had to make costly sacrifices in order to counter so many acts of aggression by different Chinese feudal dynasties, defend their frontier, safeguard their territorial integrity and save their Fatherland.

Confrontation on the battlefield and diplomatic negotiations naturally led to the vague medieval notions about boundaries being replaced by the more concrete and precise concept of the properly delimited borderline. A frontier has become fixed between Vietnam and China through the course of history, marked here by a river, here by a mountain range, and there by man-made border-posts which have now unfortunately been destroyed.

After the defeat of the Nguyen kings, France acting in the name of Vietnam held negotiations with the Ching dynasty, who were ruling China at that time. In these negotiations, which took place between 1885 and 1887, France hoped to solve the Vietnam — China frontier problem on the basis of the existing borderline. Ernest Constans, envoy extraordinary of the French Republic, and Prince K'ing, member of the Sung-li Ya-men, signed on 26 June 1887 in Peking

the Convention relating to the delimitation of the frontier between Tonkin (northern part of Vietnam) and China. It must be stressed that this convention settled not only the land frontier but also the sea frontier in the Bac Bo gulf. In fact, its second clause states, "The islands east of the meridian 105°43' East of the Paris Meridian (i.e. the meridian 108°03'18" East of the Greenwich Meridian), that is east of the North-South line passing through the eastern tip of the Cha Kou or Ouanchan (Tra Co) island *making up the frontier* [our italics] are all assigned to China. The Gotho islands and other islands lying west of that meridian belong to Annam."

As the negotiations for the convention of delimitation were held at the same time as negotiations for the trade convention, the French Government was more concerned about economic advantages and more preoccupied with the establishment of its consulates in China than with an exact frontier between the two countries. In this spirit it gave important territories up to China, such as the Giang Binh enclave and the Bac Luan cape, and the Tu Long district rich in copper ores. However, as a whole the frontier closely follows the historical boundary, and this essential point must be taken into account. The 1887 Convention was followed by a complementary convention signed on 20 June 1895, also in Peking.

The work of demarcation and delimitation, actually started in late 1889, dragged on as a result of the activities of Chinese bandits, the difficult climate, and behind-the-scenes manoeuvring by Chinese mandarins. At last, on 1 April 1896, Colonel Vimard, commander of the 4th Military territory (i.e. Lai Chau province), sent a telegram to the Commander-in-Chief of the French forces in Indochina: "The delimitation of the Sino-Annamese frontier is completely over."

Thus it took 10 years from the beginning of the delimitation on the terrain in 1886, to

accomplish the fixing of the Vietnam-China border and the completion of the system of border-posts which still stand along the 1,400 km. of land frontier.

Vietnam has more than 4,000 km. of common border with China, Laos and Kampuchea. But until 1977, when the delimitation treaty was signed between the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the People's Democratic Republic of Laos, the border with Laos had not yet been delimited. The border with Kampuchea had been half delimited. Only the border with China has been defined in clear terms and materialized by 300 border-posts.

When the people's power was established in Vietnam and China there was a sensible approach to the border problem from both sides. In 1957-1958, the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers' Party and the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party agreed to respect the frontier inherited from history and to make the settlement of the territory the sole responsibility of the governments of the two countries.

In principle there should have been no more major border problems.

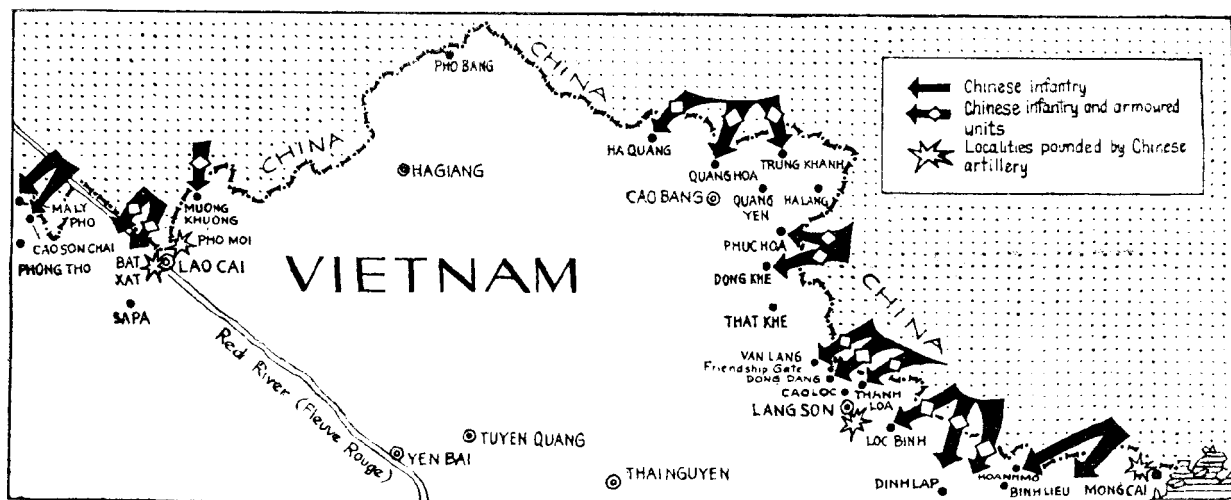
With the will to contribute to building a frontier of friendship the Vietnamese Government and people have done their utmost to implement the historic agreement between the two parties.

The Chinese authorities do not think and act in the same way, by reason of their bad intentions. Firstly there was a period of what could be called small-scale nibbling at Vietnamese territory, carried out gradually and peacefully and with very sophisticated techniques. The occupation of the Hoang Sa islands (Paracels), an integral part of Vietnamese territory, by the armed forces of the People's Republic of China, was followed at an ever

(Continued on page 25)

(*) We received this article before Peking launched its war of aggression against Vietnam.

16,000 CHINESE TROOPS WERE WIPED OUT 160 ENEMY TANKS AND ARMOURD VEHICLES SET ON FIRE AND DESTROYED



THE Chinese rulers have mobilized a force composed of seven army corps in their aggression against Vietnam, on a 1,460 km front line covering six border provinces from Phong Tho (Lai Chau province) to Mong Cai town (Quang Ninh province).

On the morning of 17 February 1979 they mustered between 250,000 and 300,000 troops along the border with Vietnam, which were supported by 500 tanks, more than 100 armoured vehicles and nearly 600 planes.

Their main thrusts were aimed at the three provinces of Hoang Lien Son, Cao Bang and Lang Son, and the capture of the three provincial capitals of Lao Cai, Cao Bang and Lang Son was the target for the first day. They also aimed at occupying the important mining areas near the border and thus weakening the Vietnamese economy.

From the outset the aggressors have met with a strong resistance from the regional armed forces, militia and self-defence units, and the people of all nationalities living in the border areas.

During the first two days of fighting, the Vietnamese armed forces and people killed or put

out of action 3,500 enemy troops, severely damaged 12 battalions, set fire on and destroyed 80 tanks, and captured many weapons. From the three towns which were their targets, they could occupy only Lao Cai, but here Vietnamese forces were still active even at some points in this town.

After receiving reinforcements, the Chinese aggressors began on 19 February to use the "human wave" tactic in an attempt to penetrate deeper into Vietnamese territory. But this plan was dashed. On 20 February another 2,000 enemy troops were killed and 12 tanks destroyed. On 22 February, in the Dong Dang (Lang Son province) and Ban Phiet (Hoang Lien Son province) areas, the local armed forces and population put out of action 1,000 enemy troops and destroyed 4 tanks, six 122 mm. and 85 mm. guns, two 120 mm. mortars and 7 military vehicles.

Although reports are still incomplete, we can gather that during seven days of fighting in defence of their country (17 to 23 February 1979) the Vietnamese armed forces and people

along the entire length of the northern border wiped out 16,000 enemy troops, badly hit 18 battalions, set on fire and destroyed 160 tanks and armoured vehicles and 110 military vehicles, destroyed 15 heavy guns and mortars, and captured great quantities of weapons, ammunition and military equipment.

The barbarous crimes committed by the Chinese aggressors in Vietnam can be compared with those perpetrated by their Pol Pot—Ieng Sary servants in the southwestern border areas: burning houses, massacring the old folk and children, raping women, killing people by cutting their bodies into pieces, or smashing their skulls with hoes, etc.

Because there has been no justice in their actions, the rulers in Peking have been trying to hide the truth from the Chinese people. At the beginning a total news blackout was imposed, listening to foreign news broadcasts was forbidden, and finally when they could keep silence no longer, they described their aggression as a counter-offensive made on Chinese territory and aimed "at liberating the areas occupied by Vietnam".

Notes Taken at Lang Son



*Vietnamese reconnaissance
near the border.*

16 February 1979. Our delegation, composed of journalists from six countries, arrived from Hanoi and found Lang Son town calm and well-prepared for the fighting, with self-defence units engaged in military training on parade grounds. We noticed many vestiges of the scorched-earth policy during the resistance against the French colonialists. During the US war of destruction this town did not undergo any further destruction. US planes almost spared this town under a tacit agreement with the Peking rulers, "If you do not hit us, we shall not hit you". This was aimed at ensuring a buffer zone for Peking, but not allowing the Vietnamese to heal their existing wounds. Hardly had reconstruction begun when a new round of fighting started. And this time Lang Son provincial town became a direct target of the enemy.

"We have not achieved much, and are meeting many difficulties in the economic field," said Comrade Hoang Van Thach, 54, of the Tay minority. He has been a Communist Party member since 1946 and vice-chairman of the provincial administrative committee since 1965. "However," he added, "we have built a factory for processing food for domestic animals with a modest output of 3,000 tons per year. And we have increased food production by 12 per cent over 1977."

Pointing to a map on the wall, Hoang Van Thach added, "Lang Son province has 253 km. of border with China, from border-post 20 on the border with Cao Bang province to between border-posts 62 and 63 near Quang Ninh province. Since March 1978, the Chinese have not only coerced and enticed 2,000 out of the 14,000 Hoa people in the province to go to China (the province's total population being 500,000), but also started repeated armed incursions into our territory. Up to now there have been 130 incidents at 19

places with 2,500 Chinese soldiers taking part. Chinese planes have violated Lang Son airspace 32 times, at one point as deep as 8km. inside Vietnamese territory. Before, when any violation occurred we could go to the Chinese border-station to lodge a protest with them, but since December 1978 the Chinese have broken off all liaison between the two sides. They definitely prefer to let their guns do the talking. It has been proved in practice. While before they just used sticks and stones during their incursions, now they resort to guns and shells, with the calibre of the guns increasing day by day. And now they are using 82mm. mortars! We know that on the other side of the frontier, China has mustered as many as 50,000 troops, ready for a large-scale offensive.

At 5.30 on 10 February 1979 a new escalation was started: a battalion of Chinese troops moved into Lang Son province. A company supported by mortars and machine-guns occupied a militia observation post. From there the Chinese shelled the neighbouring hills in an attempt to capture these hills, the most important of which being Hill 400. The Chinese battalion that dug in there shelled the surrounding villages every day and prevented our peasants from cultivating their fields. Comrade Hoang Van Thach told us that the same thing happened to 20 other border villages, cultivation of 2,000 ha of land had to be abandoned and 8 first-level and second-level schools were closed to avoid concentrating school-children in one place.

However, the Chinese call black white. While Chinese troops were brazenly invading Vietnamese territory, the Chinese propaganda machine concocted the story of a Vietnamese invasion of China.

To disprove those allegations, the authorities in Lang Son province intended to take us journalists to the foot of Hill 400 and show us that it lay

2 km. within Vietnamese territory. But what we found in Lang Son was evidence even beyond our expectations of the warlike policy of the Peking authorities.

On 17 February 1979, at five a.m. we were sleeping in Lang Son town when we were woken up by the resounding noise of heavy artillery. The noise continued almost all day, except for a few intervals, each of about one hour. Although the sky was overcast we heard now and again the hum of planes flying overhead. So by chance we spent the first day of the war of aggression launched by China against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam at one of the hottest spots on the entire border.

We walked towards Dong Dang, 14 km. north-west of Lang Son town, following a short cut. Dong Dang was under a many-pronged attack by a Chinese regiment. On either side of the road the villages huddled together in the mountainside had been deserted by the old people and children—they must have been evacuated early in the morning. Instead, some militia units, guerillas and regional army units were busy fixing up telephone wires and building up fortifications.

When we were about 6 km. from Dong Dang we had to stop. A militiaman from an observation post told us that Chinese troops guided by some Hoa, who had formerly lived in Lang Son, had arrived at a place only 1 km. from where we were standing. The sound of machine-gun fire could be heard. Just in front of us columns of smoke were seen behind a low hill: the railway station and many houses in Dong Dang had been set on fire by the invaders.

In the afternoon, at a military command post, we were briefed about the day's events.

The enemy had launched an offensive along 200 km. of the province's border. They had used heavy machine-guns, 82 mm. and

120 mm. mortars and 105 mm. guns to attack all the border-stations belonging to the three districts of Loc Binh, Cao Loc and Van Lang. Also, they had wantonly fired at villages and hamlets. At Cao Lau commune (Cao Loc district), in particular, all the hamlets had been attacked by gunfire.

The Chinese aggressors consisted of two categories: the young soldiers, who speak fluent Vietnamese, are Hoa who used to live in Lang Son, and were enticed or coerced to go to China, now returning in uniform; the rest, mostly older, are troops recently transferred from Northeastern China to the border areas.

The Vietnamese combatants who fought on that day showed great fighting ability. Enemy troops attacked 13 positions in the whole province, and everywhere they met with fierce resistance. New heroes appeared like Cu Chinh Lan.⁽¹⁾ Nearly 20 Chinese tanks were set on fire or destroyed during the first day of the war in this province. The enemy troops came *en masse* like a "human sea" and the land of Lang Son was littered with huge numbers of enemy corpses.

At five p.m. on the same day we left Lang Son, still as calm as when we arrived there. Children and old people were ordered to evacuate the town. But we seemed to hear the statement made by the vice-chairman of the provincial committee early in the morning: "Our province's catchword is 'not to yield an inch'. So the fighting forces are resolved to stay on to defend our land and to uproot any position the enemy recklessly try to establish in our province."

On the way back to Hanoi we saw many people of different ethnic groups: Kinh (2), Tay and Nung (3). They were moving southwards along the highway, carrying their personal possessions on poles across their shoulders. But they did not look worried. An old couple—Kinh

husband and Tay wife—were sitting on a heavily laden bullock-cart. They waved to us, smiling. As our car stopped, a foreign journalist asked them, "Where are you going?" "Everywhere is home. Anybody is ready to shelter us."

The Vietnamese, who shared good and bad times during the two wars of resistance against the French and US aggressors, are now closing their ranks, on the battlefields as well as in the rear, to face the threat posed by the new aggressor.

We drove along Chi Lang, some 40 km. south of Lang Son town. This is a 1 km-wide valley running between limestone mountains. I said to a foreign colleague:

"It is here that in 1427 our national hero Le Loi routed a 100,000-strong army of the Chinese Ming dynasty, who invaded our country. The enemy commander, General Liao Sheng, was beheaded in an ambush at the foot of a mountain. Chi Lang went down in the history of Vietnam as a symbol of the indomitability of the Vietnamese people who are determined to defend their fatherland against foreign invasion."

"Today," answered my colleague, "the Vietnamese people need not rely only on the rugged terrain like that of Chi Lang to halt the advance of the new invading armies of the 'Celestial Empire'. We believe that those armies will face many Chi Langs even in places near the border."

NGUYEN HOANG

(1) *Cu Chinh Lan was a young soldier during the war of resistance against the French colonialists. In a battle, he climbed on a moving tank and destroyed it by stuffing a hand grenade through the turret.*

(2) *Vietnamese living in the plains.*

(3) *Ethnic minorities in mountain areas.*

THE FALL OF THE POL POT REGIME AND PEKING'S HEGEMONISM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

THE Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea, the direct offspring of the Chinese "cultural revolution", has collapsed like a house of cards. The simple reason, as has been pointed out by all impartial analysts, is that it had the support of no social stratum. Meanwhile, its army, its only hope, was concentrated on the border with Vietnam (19 of its 23 divisions). There, on 23 December 1978 alone, three of its crack divisions were virtually destroyed during a massive invasion in an attempt to occupy Vietnam's province of Tay Ninh. This created a golden opportunity for a decisive military attack and popular uprising of the genuine revolutionary forces in the country. What about Pol Pot's "external" support, the ruling clique in Peking? The latter had declared frequently and unambiguously their full support for the government of "Democratic Kampuchea", and in fact had considerably bumped

up their military supplies and sent an increasing number of their military advisers to Kampuchea. Still, it was too late.

As the surviving Kampucheans joyfully emerged from the huge concentration camp which was "Democratic Kampuchea", Peking called for the launching in Kampuchea of a "people's war" and "guerilla warfare" in an attempt to continue imposing death and suffering on this land so thirsty for freedom. A closely co-ordinated campaign has been launched by the imperialists and the international reactionaries to distort the truth and present Vietnam as the "aggressor" while deliberately keeping silent over the colossal spectre of China which has weighed down on the Angkor temples throughout the past three years.

A glance back at Peking's Southeast Asia policy is necessary in the present circumstances for a profound insight into what has happened in Kampuchea.

Two Instruments: The Chinese Residents and the Maoist Parties

THE men who came to power in Peking in 1949 had made no secret of their determination to restore to China the glory of the past "Celestial Empire" and its position as the "Middle Kingdom".

This expansionist policy has been clearly manifested in maps of the Chinese sea frontiers. The boundary shown in those maps passes very near to the coasts of Vietnam, the Philippines, Indonesia and Malaysia. The Eastern Sea was described as the China Sea and all the archipelagoes in it were marked as Chinese territories.

The Peking rulers count on at least two efficient instruments to implement their hegemonistic policy in Southeast Asia. These are, first of all, the numerous communities of overseas Chinese

who by their dynamism have come to control many key positions in the local economies and who, though having left mainland China many generations before, still retain Chinese customs and habits and continue to maintain family ties in their ancestral land. The second lever in Peking's hands is the Maoist Communist parties in which, in many cases, Chinese nationals hold leading posts. These parties make Mao Tse-tung thought their ideological base and regard armed struggle as the only means to the seizure of power. In concert with the cultural revolution in China, the Maoist parties have ever since the early sixties already launched armed struggles under Peking's direct guidance.

Each time Peking wanted to quarrel with its neighbours it

could find innumerable pretexts. The resident Chinese nationals would cause disturbances to compel the local authorities to take security measures and Peking would come out in defence of these "nanchiao", victims of persecution. This happened in Indonesia and Burma in 1966-1967. Border disputes would also provide Peking with a pretext to create tension with the Southeast Asian countries. India has had first-hand experience in this respect. However, to achieve its goal of drawing the whole of Southeast Asia into its orbit, Peking has acted selectively and some countries have been chosen as main jumping-off points.

In the early sixties China placed much hope on Indonesia, which has a large population and abundant natural riches and above all had a Communist Party with one of the largest memberships in the world which, moreover, wielded considerable influence on the then administration headed by President Sukarno. China masterminded Indonesia's plan of creating the GANEFO (Games of the New Emerging Forces) with the intention of building up China's leadership over the whole of Asia, Africa and Latin America. But its ambition did not stop there. It also directed the abortive coup in 1965 made by the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), in the hope of using the PKI to further tighten its stranglehold on Indonesia. The plan backfired and resulted in enormous losses for the Indonesian Communists.

When this ambitious plan went up in smoke China tried even harder to materialize another parallel plan which is even more crucial to China, namely to exercise its control over Vietnam, a country holding a key strategic position for the expansionist elements in Peking and lying on the path of their expansion to the South. Furthermore, the Communist Party of Vietnam enjoys great prestige not only in Vietnam itself but also in Indochina and the whole of Southeast Asia.

Primary Target : Vietnam

ALL Chinese assistance to Vietnam in the past thirty years has been made with the hidden intention of steering Vietnam towards the service of China's expansionist interests. In fact, at each strategic turn of the situation in Vietnam, China has always exerted pressure on Vietnam in this direction.

In 1954 when it was in a position to help Vietnam achieve still greater successes in its war of resistance against the French colonialists, China refused to do so because it was contemplating a strategy of global détente. Thus the Geneva Agreements were concluded and Vietnam was divided in two.

When the United States moved in to replace France with the intention to turn southern Vietnam into a military base and new-type colony and when the Vietnamese Communists decided to use armed struggle combined with political means to liberate the remaining part of the country, China counselled them to adopt the strategy of "long-term ambush". In the mid-sixties when the Vietnamese resistance forces had grown considerably and the "special war" of the United States was heading for complete failure, China advised Vietnam to persist in the strategy of long-term resistance and revert to guerilla warfare in order chiefly to "wear out" the enemy forces. On the other hand, China openly told the United States that it would not interfere in the Vietnam war if the United States did not touch upon China. It was not accidental, as the US China scholar Jay Taylor rightly pointed out in his book "China and Southeast Asia" (1), that Peking chose that moment to print an article of Mao Tse-tung on China's anti-Japanese guerilla war written as far back as 1938. As a matter of fact, China feared that an escalation of hostilities in Vietnam might spill over to China and would affect the plan for cultural revolution which was at the final stage of preparation.

Of course, Vietnam did not give in to China's wishes and

firmly adhered to its independent and sovereign line, fighting the American aggressors in its own way, combining big, medium and small battles and using modern, semi-modern and primitive means. A suggestion was made for united action among the socialist countries to help Vietnam push ahead with its resistance war. Vietnam welcomed the move but China refused to join. It even tried to persuade Vietnam to stop accepting aid from the Soviet Union, promising to provide for all Vietnam's needs itself. As could be expected, Vietnam categorically refused to align itself with this erroneous policy of China and instead moved ahead and broadened its attacks to pave the way for the Tet Mau Than General Offensive in 1968. China bluntly termed the offensive an "adventurous act". But history has proved the efficiency of this offensive which in fact forced the United States to de-escalate and sit down at the Paris conference table. Again China objected to Vietnam talking with the Americans even though it had earlier adopted the same tactic of "fighting and talking at the same time" in the Korean war. The fact was that China was anxious that the Vietnam — US talks might cause Vietnam to slip out of its control at a time when China could not yet enter into direct dialogue with the United States, embroiled as it was in the turbulence of the cultural revolution. For six months on end the Chinese press remained silent about the Paris talks.

Nixon came to power with his policy of "Vietnamization" and making the most of the increasingly negative aspects of China's

foreign policy. The pace of the Sino-American rapprochement quickened: Kissinger in 1971 went to China followed by Nixon in 1972. The Shanghai joint communique was signed. Given the go-ahead by China, Nixon ordered the mining of Haiphong and the North Vietnamese coast and then the B.52 blitz on Hanoi and Haiphong in the last days of 1972. But Vietnam remained unshakeable. Nixon had no choice but to sign the Paris Agreement in February 1973.

Immediately after the signing of the Paris Agreement, China stopped its military aid to Vietnam and worse still, sent its troops to occupy Vietnam's Hoang Sa archipelago in 1974 which was then in the hands of the Saigon puppet army. This was done with the complicity of the United States which, as had been tacitly agreed, did not raise a finger.

In the meantime the Vietnamese resistance went on from victory to victory. The Ho Chi Minh campaign gave the final blow. China tried to dissuade Vietnam but in vain. South Vietnam was completely liberated, upsetting the Sino-American understanding provided for in the Shanghai communique that China would help maintain the Thieu regime in South Vietnam in exchange for a US assurance of military withdrawal from Taiwan, as a basis for normalization of US — China relations. A rapprochement between the United States and China would mean a breach in Soviet — American détente and the creation of a three-power balance of forces in the world.

From now on China acted against Vietnam in an openly hostile manner in the hope of weakening it and eventually forcing it to submit.

Kampuchea Versus Vietnam

AS China has found Vietnam an intractable neighbour it has since the mid-sixties step by step tightened its hold on Kampuchea as a counter-balance against Vietnam.

China maintained relations with all the three factions in Kampuchea; the Khmer Rouge,

Sihanouk and Lon Nol, paying special attention towards the latter. In 1969 Lon Nol went to

(1) *China and Southeast Asia—Peking's Relations with Revolutionary Movements* Praeger Publishers, New York — Washington — London.

China in his capacity as prime minister of the Sihanouk regime and was given a red carpet welcome. The Chinese even arranged for him to visit his ancestral tombs in Fukien. But Lon Nol's master had always been the United States, not China. In 1970, Lon Nol staged a coup to overthrow Sihanouk with American blessing so as to assist the US plans of Vietnamization, block the supply routes into South Vietnam and deny the Vietnamese resistance forces their "sanctuaries" on Kampuchean territory.

In the first days after the coup, China still sided with Lon Nol. But the situation in Kampuchea soon began to evolve more and more unfavourably for Lon Nol. In the face of the evident successes of the resistance forces, China had to shift its support to Sihanouk and the Khmer Rouge who had allied together after the Khmer Rouge had applied China's line of armed struggle over many years to set up their own resistance bases to oppose Sihanouk. Among the leaders of the Khmer Rouge China paid special attention to Pol Pot. In 1965 Pol Pot went to Peking at a time when China was actively preparing for the cultural revolution. The Peking leaders said they were deeply impressed by this man's "nationalism". For his part, Pol Pot showed unreserved admiration for China's extremist and peasant-based theories.

It must be pointed out here that China's shifting its support for Lon Nol to the National United Front of Kampuchea (NUFK) headed by Sihanouk and regarding the Khmer Rouge as the core force was not easy but was a long process of weighing up and considering. The founding of the NUFK was proclaimed on 23 March 1970 but China gave it only little prominence in the press. There was no statement or comment from the Chinese Government. Vietnam declared its recognition of the NUFK on 25 March 1970 while China did not do so until 7 April 1970. It is worth noting that in its statement China still refused to support Sihanouk's demand for the overthrow of Lon Nol.

In April 1970 the Indochinese People's Summit was convened with a view to rallying and co-ordinating the efforts of the Vietnamese, Lao and Kampuchean peoples in their resistance against US aggression. The reasonable course would have been to hold the conference on Indochinese territory. But under Chinese pressure it was held in China and the venue, Kwangtung, was deliberately made known by China itself. In so doing China wanted to make the world including the United States believe that the cause of the liberation of the three Indochinese countries was placed under the guidance of Peking.

It was actually at that moment that the Sino-American talks in Warsaw moved to another stage and were held alternately at the Chinese and American embassies to ensure that the contents of the talks were known only by the two countries themselves. From an apparently very strong anti-American stance China was moving cautiously but surely closer and closer towards the United States and openly joined with the Americans to oppose the Soviet Union. Having failed in Kampuchea the US expanded the war into the whole of Indochina by making a major thrust into Laos with the Highway 9—Southern Laos campaign. Sihanouk suggested the holding of the second Indochinese Peoples' Summit Conference in September 1971 in order to better co-ordinate the resistance forces of the three countries. However, Pol Pot turn-

ed down the idea on China's order, while China put forward the odd proposal to hold a conference of "five countries and six sides" (North and South Vietnam, Kampuchea, Laos, China and Korea) in order to oppose... Japan! Obviously by this China hoped to divert the three Indochinese peoples from their goal of struggle, hinder their militant solidarity and steer all three countries into the Chinese orbit.

In April 1975 South Vietnam was liberated. China was confronted with the grim realization that its 25 years of investment in Vietnam in the attempt to turn this country into a jumping-off point for its expansion into Southeast Asia had gone up in smoke. This strengthened its determination to use the Khmer Rouge in Kampuchea to oppose Vietnam and eliminate the biggest obstacle to its hegemonistic ambition. There lies the origin of the Kampuchea issue and also of the Vietnam—Kampuchea conflict.

Peking capitalized on the erratic ambition of the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique who wanted to seize large areas in the Mekong delta region of Vietnam and restore the ancient Angkor kingdom. It incited its gang of hired servants to provoke war with Vietnam believing that world public opinion would come out to support the self-defence struggle of small Kampuchea against larger Vietnam and that Vietnam would at any rate not dare to hit back too strongly.

Rejecting All Negotiation Proposals

ON the one hand, China sent massive quantities of weapons and advisers to build up dozens of divisions for the Pol Pot army, and on the other, persuaded Pol Pot to reject all offers for talks.

As early as 1975 when the Pol Pot army occupied a number of Vietnam's islands and parts of its mainland territory, Vietnam already proposed a meeting of the two sides. A meeting was set for May 1976 to prepare for a high-level discussion about the border issue. But Pol Pot's refusal prevented this preparatory

meeting from taking place. Vietnam made many more proposals in 1976 and 1977 but all were turned down.

Even after Pol Pot brought the Vietnam-Kampuchea conflict into the open on 31 December 1977 and unilaterally broke off diplomatic relations between the two countries, the Vietnamese side still persisted in its policy of negotiation. On 5 February 1978 it put forward a three-point proposal, to which two other points were added on 6 June 1978.

At international forums Vietnam also called for settlement of the conflict through negotiation. On 10 March 1978 the Vietnamese representative at the United Nations met Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim to explore what the Security Council could do with regard to Vietnam's three-point proposal of 5 February 1978, but the Secretary-General expressed his doubt that the Security Council could reach unanimity on this question, alluding to the inevitable objection by China. In November 1978 the Pol Pot regime publicly protested against the Security Council's meddling in the Kampuchea question.

In March 1978 during Prime Minister Pham Van Dong's visit to Sri Lanka the Vietnamese side asked the Sri Lankan Foreign Minister in his capacity as president of the non-aligned movement to help Vietnam and Kampuchea sit down at the negotiating table, in the Sri Lankan capital Colombo if possible. But the Kampuchean side again refused.

Two Wars, One Source

UNDER the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary regime Kampuchea actually became a new-type colony of China. At the same time China has brought two great disasters upon Kampuchea: genocide against the Kampuchean people and an atrocious war against a neighbouring country. The victims of both were nobody but the Kampuchean and Vietnamese peoples.

The Vietnamese people, of course, could not tolerate China's criminal plan to use the Pol Pot clique to trample upon their sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity and also to sabotage peace and stability in this region. Driven to the limit of self-restraint Vietnam was forced to hit back at the aggressors and punish them severely. They destroyed the war-provoking forces and, making use of their right of legitimate pursuit, struck at the staging bases of these acts of aggression.

Nor could the Kampuchean people sit with their arms folded watching the Pol Pot clique sell

At the ministerial conference of non-aligned countries in Belgrade in July 1978 Vietnam submitted a motion calling for the settlement of the Vietnam-Kampuchea dispute through negotiation. But one after another, Yugoslavia, which presided over the conference, and Sri Lanka, which presided over the non-aligned movement, asked Vietnam to withdraw its motion due to Kampuchea's objection. Everybody could see that, if it had not been for China's manoeuvres behind the scene, the Pol Pot clique could not have been so stubborn in refusing to negotiate a settlement for the dispute. Instead, they pushed ahead with their aggressive war. Meanwhile China continually increased its pressure on Vietnam in other fields in co-ordination with the Pol Pot clique: threatening war at its border with Vietnam, organizing and inciting the Hoa in Vietnam to create disturbances, cutting off aid, recalling its experts and suspending rail traffic between the two countries.

out their country to the Peking rulers and waiting to be picked out one by one for summary execution.

They stood up against Peking's servants in what was both a revolutionary war of the progressive forces against the reactionaries and a liberation war against foreign domination. As early as September 1975 an uprising in the northern part of Siem Reap province had been bloodily suppressed and a whole village with 300 inhabitants was massacred. This was followed by many other revolts in 1976-1977 in Battambang, Koh Kong, Kandal, Kompong Thom, Mondul-kiri, Stung Treng, Kratie, etc. Then on 26 March a whole military zone—Military Zone 203—rose up. This revolt quickly spread to the whole country, leading to the creation of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea on 2 December 1978.

Thus, two wars took place at the same time in which the Kampuchean and Vietnamese

peoples had the same enemy—the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique, henchmen of the Peking international reactionaries. That is why it was both logical and necessary for the peoples of Vietnam and Kampuchea to unite and assist each other in their common revolutionary struggle. This militant solidarity rests on the basis of common interests and also on the principles of respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

At the request of the genuine representatives of the Kampuchean people, Vietnam had in the past, no matter what the cost, willingly sent its sons and daughters to fight on Kampuchean soil, both during the resistance against French colonialism and in the fight against US aggression. Especially during the anti-American war when the Kampuchean revolutionary forces were still in a state of formation the Vietnam People's Army liberated many Kampuchean provinces from US-Lon Nol rule and then handed them over to the Kampuchean authorities. The Vietnamese army fought side by side the Kampuchean revolutionary armed forces against the US-Lon Nol *Chen La I* and *Chen La II* campaigns in 1970-1971 and in the military campaigns to liberate Phnom Penh in 1975. Each time, after accomplishing their internationalist duty, the Vietnamese army units withdrew to their own country in strict respect for Kampuchea's sovereignty.

History has proved that the solidarity among the three peoples of Indochina is a decisive factor for the successes of the revolutionary cause of each country. History has also proved that all the enemies who wanted to conquer the Indochinese countries began first with dividing the three countries, pitting one against another in order to weaken them all and break them down one by one. To further similar sinister intentions Peking tries to sell the myth that Vietnam wants to realize its old

(Continued on page 31)

PEKING

AND OVERSEAS CHINESE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

CHINESE living outside mainland China and Taiwan are commonly grouped under the same name of Chinese residents or overseas Chinese¹.

According to latest data, there are at present about 20 million overseas Chinese, 95% of them living in Southeast Asia. They account for 75% of the population in Singapore, 43% in Malaysia, 11.3% in Thailand, 2.7% in Indonesia, 3% in Vietnam, 5.5% in Kampuchea and 0.6% in Laos.

Very few of the Chinese living in Southeast Asia were actually born in China and the majority of Chinese residents remain Chinese only by consanguinity having to some extent been assimilated to local conditions during their long migration and having adopted for economic reasons the citizenship of the countries of their residence. Hence it is almost impossible to obtain accurate statistics of overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia.

There have been many mixed marriages and children of mixed blood have been born. But through many generations overseas Chinese still preserve their Chinese traditions, culture and religions. This is because Chinese living abroad have founded their own schools to teach the Chinese language to their children, preserved Chinese customs and habits and maintained a close internal unity through their "resident organizations", their "Chinese quarters" and their secret associations. Regular and efficient communication is kept up through Chinese-language newspapers and books. According to the Overseas Chinese Board in Taiwan, by 1971 there were as many as 8,233 social, regional, ancestral, professional, educational, youth, women's, recreation, charity, religious and anti-communist organizations of overseas Chinese. There were 4,372 Chinese educational institutions including 34 universities and colleges, 570 secondary schools, 24 vocational schools and 3,744 primary schools, and 435 Chinese-language newspapers

and magazines were printed outside China and circulated among the Chinese communities.

It is commonly agreed that overseas Chinese are by tradition hardworking and dynamic. Although their main occupation is commerce they also work in many other fields: finance, banking, heavy and light industry, import and export, wholesale and retail trade, maritime, river and land transport, cultivation, rice husking, brokerage, money-lending, grocery, hotel and restaurant keeping, practising Chinese medicine, running opium-dens and gambling houses, handicraft production, salaried work, driving rickshaws, etc. They have accordingly contributed to economic development in their places of residence but at the same time they have gradually seized control of almost all the key positions in the economic life of Southeast Asian countries. Also owing to their wide economic and financial influence they play an important political and social role in these countries. The Malaysian Government has openly recognized that 90% of the economy of its country is controlled by the Chinese. The import and export industries of Singapore are almost entirely in the hands of Chinese. So are about 80% of Indonesia's import and export operations. In Southern Vietnam the Chinese formerly controlled 80% of the capital in commercial and service operations and 75% of the economic operations in general.

It is noteworthy that most of the banks in Southeast Asia are in the hands of Chinese. These private banks have always been an effective instrument to ensure a predominant role for Chinese trade in Southeast Asia and for the "supra-national" activities of overseas Chinese interests, which have established their branches in Singapore, Hongkong, Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur, Jakarta, Manila, etc. In all Southeast Asian countries most of the comprador capitalists are Chinese or of Chinese extraction. Though accounting for only 5-10% of the total of overseas

Chinese, the Chinese capitalists control 60-80% of the wholesale and retail trade turnover. In the 60's 42% of the foreign trade turnover in these countries was controlled by Chinese capitalists, compared with 8% by the local governments, 18% by local private companies and 32% by firms of other capitalist countries. It can be seen that although close collaborators of the Western monopolies, the Chinese capitalists also become their formidable competitors when necessary. Because the investments of the Chinese capitalists in the national economies of the Southeast Asian countries are far larger than those of the local capitalists, the latter regard them as very redoubtable competitors. As for the people of these countries, they regard the Chinese capitalists as brutal foreign exploiters. Politically, the Chinese capitalists have always sided with the forces of reaction and imperialism to oppose the national liberation movements in these countries.

According to official figures published by Taiwan in 1967 the total dividends of the more than 17 million overseas Chinese amounted to 4,100 million US dollars or an average of 1,500 dollars per family. According to some authorities on Chinese economic relations this is still far below the real one since it does not include profits from disguised or secret investments and also because of accounting understatements made for tax purposes. But even at that rate, the average income of a Chinese capitalist family was already five to seven times higher than that of an Indonesian or Thai family in the same year.

Furthermore, if we take into account the fact that the capitalists represent only 5-10% of the

1. All these names are used by force of habit and lack accuracy because only very few of these people hold passports of the People's Republic of China or the Republic of China (Taiwan) and are "foreign residents" in the strictest sense of the word.

17 million overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia, we can see the extent of the exploitation of working people in these countries and the enormous wealth of the Chinese capitalists in this region.

Peking has long tried to use the overseas Chinese as an effective instrument of pressure on the ruling circles in Southeast Asian countries. It is not accidental that Peking has made it a national policy to protect the interests of the class of exploiters among the Chinese residents in China's neighbouring countries. It has not hidden its satisfaction at the growing political and economic sway held by the Chinese capitalist class in these countries, assuming that if it can control and use this class it may secure for itself a convenient and efficient tool to carry out its expansionist designs in this region. Ten years ago one of the key figures in the present ruling circles in Peking declared: "We absolutely have to seize control of the whole of Southeast Asia including South Vietnam, Thailand, Burma, Malaysia and Singapore." In fact, in China's eyes, Southeast Asia must become China's backyard just as Latin America is the backyard of US imperialism.

For many years now overseas Chinese capitalists have constituted a notable source of foreign exchange for China. Before the Second World War, the amount of money deposited by overseas Chinese in the banks of nationalist China allowed the ruling Kuomintang in China to restore without much difficulty their balance of trade which had till then suffered a continual deficit.

Between 1934 and 1936 this money accounted for almost 18% of the total cash revenues of the Kuomintang administration.

This policy of the Kuomintang has been carried on by the People's Republic of China ever since its foundation in 1949. Data published by the PRC itself show that from 1950 to 1957 the overseas Chinese sent to the mainland an average of about 120 million US dollars per year, of which less than 10% came from the working social strata. The latter percentage has now dropped to almost zero and almost all the money deposited by Chinese in Southeast Asia comes from the capitalist class and consists of the

surplus value squeezed out of the working people in these countries. This can be explained by the fact that a large-scale emigration of Chinese labour took place before the Second World War and every year the emigrants had to send their savings back to the country to support their families at home. But this situation has ceased after the war. According to a foreign news agency Chinese living in Southeast Asia sent 3.5 billion US dollars back to China in the period from 1950 to 1970.

The money sent by overseas Chinese to the mainland falls into three categories: money transfers to their families, business investments, and money used for other purposes, such as house-building and savings deposits to secure for their needs when returning to China in their old age. We can take any of these categories, business investments more particularly, to see more clearly the true nature of the economic links between the overseas Chinese capitalists and the Chinese authorities.

In August 1955 the Chinese Government issued the policy of encouraging overseas Chinese to take part in national construction and to invest in agriculture, forestry, stock breeding, etc. and to form private companies or to enter joint ventures with the government. The investments of overseas Chinese are guaranteed by the governments as inviolable private property.

In 1957 the Chinese Government announced its policy of encouraging "special investments" by Chinese living abroad. This policy stipulates that all investments by overseas Chinese will be repaid after twelve years at 8% interest (compared to only 5% for ordinary investments in mixed ventures in the country). Half of the interest could be used to buy commodities at fixed prices in special department stores, the rest could be deposited as savings at the State bank and would be repaid together with the capital after twelve years. On expiration of the term the investor could either withdraw his capital or re-invest. In 1955 the first investment company of overseas Chinese was founded with an initial capital of 50 million dollars. By the end of 1966 almost 140 factories had been established with capital from overseas Chinese under the protection of this company.

To draw more money from the Chinese residents of Southeast Asia, Peking has gradually departed from the socialist principles it once proclaimed. At first it only recognized in principle the possibility of co-operation with overseas Chinese capitalists in the Chinese economy under strict regulations. But later it completely guaranteed the inviolability of their property.

Overseas Chinese may send their money home through different channels. The lawful way is to send it to their relatives in China, but this method has seen more and more restriction by the countries of their residence and these transfers have dropped from 20% of the total sent to the mainland in 1955 to a mere 2.5% in 1963. Unlawful methods have been used increasingly: traffic of money, gold and goods, using the services of the Chinese embassies to send large sums to the mainland, or using the connections among Chinese companies in different countries to transfer their capital from one country to another and to the mainland. Hongkong, Macao and Singapore are centres of illegal traffic and capital is accumulated there by Chinese capitalists living in Southeast Asian countries before being sent to mainland China. Before the Second World War, 90% of the money sent to China passed through Hongkong. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, Hongkong still remained an important money transfer centre for China. In the late months of 1969 Chinese residents in Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines sent to Hongkong an average of 400 million Hongkong dollars monthly as "flying assets" (equal to 67 million US dollars). The Chinese authorities still keep an extensive and efficient secret organization for the transfer of money through different channels to attempt to ensure that all the foreign exchange destined for China ends up in the Central Bank of China.

Southeast Asia is a focus of contradictions and a centre of conflict of interests among the world's big imperialist powers headed by US imperialism. In the counter-revolutionary global strategy of the reactionary forces among the Peking authorities, Southeast Asia plays a very crucial role and is the immediate target of their expansionist and

aggressive designs. They are seeking by all ways and means to enlist the support of the majority of overseas Chinese, especially the capitalist Chinese residents, with a view to realizing their expansionist schemes in Southeast Asia.

In recent years Peking has cultivated the hope among overseas Chinese big businessmen that China's increasing influence in Southeast Asia would help them to consolidate their position in the economy of their countries of residence, or at least to prevent the governments of these countries from imposing restrictions on their business operations.

Peking is going all out to establish long-term co-operation with overseas Chinese capitalists: recognizing the inviolability of the private property of overseas Chinese, legalizing the money they sent to their families, creating favourable conditions for investments by overseas Chinese capitalists, standing ready to make fundamental concessions to the overseas Chinese capitalists in order to get more foreign exchange for the "four modernizations" programme, promising political protection for Chinese residents living abroad, etc. There are 30 deputies representing overseas Chinese in the National People's Congress, 18 of them deputies of overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia.

All this has resulted in a closer and closer attachment of the overseas Chinese capitalists to Peking. Today, since more and more countries in Southeast Asia are applying policies intended to restrict the activities of Chinese capitalists, the latter have a growing need to invest their capital elsewhere, for example in Hongkong or Taiwan. But in practice they have found no surer way than to send their money to the mainland, since Peking has ensured them many favourable conditions for investment.

To draw bigger investments from overseas Chinese with a view to accelerating the "four modernizations" programme, the Chinese authorities have since early this year loudly decried their own past errors in handling the overseas Chinese. Pretending to care for the interests of overseas Chinese and their relatives in China, Peking has issued a series of regulations and procedures to facilitate their entry

and exit for visits, settlement, studying and their sending or receipt of money. At the same time it begins to give currency to a term carrying profound implications, "blood relations", aimed at tying the overseas Chinese more closely to their aggressive and expansionist ambitions.

China's actions against Vietnam during the past few months have exposed the true intentions of the Peking authorities with regard to the Hoa issue: they intend that if the overseas Chinese adopt the citizenship of such and such country, they should do so only to secure their rights and interests, but never to become full citizens of that country. As regards those countries considered by Peking as hostile to China, they are ready to tear up all the signed treaties and agreements and to call upon all people of Chinese stock in these countries to work for China in opposing the local governments, including open violation of local laws. In normal conditions when China still maintains friendly relations with these countries, Peking assumes a friendly attitude and urges Chinese residents there to adopt citizenship of these countries, to respect local laws and customs and refrain from taking part in political activities there.

Today, the reactionary Chinese rulers are laying more and more emphasis on "blood relations" so that when and where necessary they can use the Chinese residents to cause disturbances in their countries of residence and bring pressure to bear upon these countries, to form spy networks, to carry out sabotage and subversion or at least to use them in monetary, commercial and supply operations, all with a view to increasing the Southeast Asian countries' economic and political dependence on China.

The policy of the reactionary forces in the Peking ruling circles to use the overseas Chinese to their advantage has become an open secret and China itself takes no pains to conceal it. The director of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office of the Chinese State Council has spared no praise of overseas Chinese, saying that they are "turning their minds and hearts to the motherland", and have "worthily assisted in the building of socialism

at home", that overseas Chinese capitalists are "patriotic people" and that "our policy is to unite with the capitalist class among overseas Chinese".

China's hostile intentions towards Vietnam became apparent as early as the mid 60's when it attempted to export the so-called "great proletarian cultural revolution" to Vietnam through the agency of bad elements among the Hoa in Vietnam. They organized "red guards" among Hoa young people and students, launched a campaign for writing "big-character wall-posters", built a "core force" and incited a number of Hoa to stir up "rebellions on the spot" and to carry out the cultural revolution in Vietnam. They urged the Hoa to learn what they call "Mao Tse-tung Thought" and assigned to them the "historic mission" of popularizing "Mao Tse-tung Thought in Vietnam" with a view to provoking disturbances and opposing Vietnam.

After failing in these unlawful acts, and at a time when the anti-US resistance of the Vietnamese people had entered its fiercest phase, the Chinese authorities, while giving verbal support to the Vietnamese people's great fight for national salvation, continued to send their spies and secret agents into Vietnam clandestinely to form the Hoa into secret organizations founded by China and aimed at undermining the Vietnamese revolution.

Before South Vietnam was completely liberated the Chinese authorities manipulated a group of people calling themselves "progressive overseas Chinese" to found the so-called "Chinese Residents' Peace Association" which advocated peaceful co-existence with the United States and the Saigon puppet administration. Later they gave birth to a series of other organizations such as the "Salvation Association of Chinese Residents", the "Marxist-Leninist Youth Union" and the "Association of Patriotic Chinese Students." More recently, in an attempt to fend off the blows of the revolutionary forces on the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique in Kampuchea they initiated a large-scale campaign to entice and coerce the Hoa to return to China while making a hue and cry about what they called "ostracism, persecution and expulsion of Chinese residents by Vietnam"

and forming the so-called "United Front of Chinese Nationals" with a view to creating disturbances inside Vietnam.

The director of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office of the Chinese State Council made an open bid to court overseas Chinese, declaring that wherever they may live overseas Chinese are "our friends and comrades", that although they have ceased to be citizens of China overseas Chinese are "our dear relatives" and "we must not exclude overseas Chinese and other friends bearing foreign citizenship but having blood relations with China from the united front against hegemonism". These statements reek with great-nation chauvinism and differ not at all from the arrogant language of the old fascists who openly came out in defence of racism. In fact, they amount to a direct injunction to all Chinese, whatever their citizenship, to take orders from the reactionary rulers in Peking and to operate as an underground army, a fifth column, in service of their aggressive and expansionist designs.

Today the Chinese authorities have gone as far as to enter into close alliance and collusion with the US imperialists and the Japanese militarists, and with the most reactionary and warlike extreme rightists in the imperialist countries in order to divide the world into spheres of influence, to increase their aggression and expansion into Southeast Asia, and to sabotage the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress of the world's people, and in particular of the peoples of Southeast Asia.

Their expansionist schemes have been exposed by the people of Southeast Asia and the world. Whatever treacherous and machiavellian manoeuvres they may resort to, the reactionary forces in the Chinese ruling circles will meet with bitter failure because they are being exposed and resolutely opposed by the Chinese people themselves and the people in Southeast Asia and throughout the world.

HUONG CUONG

Vietnam Advances

Development of Traditional Medicine

THE Government Council has issued a resolution on the development of traditional medicine in close combination with modern medicine, in order to build a Vietnamese national medical science.

After reviewing the implementation of the policy of building socialist medicine in Vietnam over the past 20 years by inheriting and developing traditional medicine, and by combining traditional medicine with modern medicine, the resolution points to the following important tasks for the medical service in the coming period:

"Make full use of the inheritance of the national traditional

medicine and develop it in close combination with modern medicine with a view to building an original Vietnamese medicine.

"Exploitation of this resource must be undertaken thoroughly and in the spheres of both medicine and pharmacy, paying particular attention to popular experiences, traditional recipes and the methods and techniques of disease prevention and treatment without recourse to drugs. The medical service must urgently draw up a list of all practitioners of traditional medicine and adopt a comprehensive plan to involve them in the medical network in order to

Vietnam Advances

THE INSTITUTE OF ETHNOLOGY CONFERENCE

FROM 28 to 30 December 1978, the Institute of Ethnology held a scientific conference to mark the 10th anniversary of its foundation. More than 200 delegates attended the conference, including research workers in ethnology and other related fields (anthropology, linguistics, history, popular culture, archaeology, sociology, geography, etc.) from the various research institutes and colleges, political cadres of the Central Committee for National Minorities and the provincial Committee for National Minorities, and cadres working in the Ministry of Culture and Information and the various cultural services of Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City, Hue and other provinces.

The general report on ethnological research in the past ten years emphasized the rapid growth in the number of ethnological workers and the qualitative improvement that had taken place. It charted the orientation for work in the coming years: to closely combine scientific research with the country's political, economic and cultural tasks which have been expounded in the 4th reso-

increase the capacity and quality of preventive and curative medicine

"The medical service must pay attention to the continuing search for, discovery and collection of the experiences of traditional medicine and strive to complete the basis of this work in the next five years in the delta provinces and in from five to ten years in the mountain regions.

"Wherever possible combine traditional medicine with modern medicine, reorganize and expand the system of traditional medical schools.

"Together with the Institute of Eastern Medicine (Hanoi) and the Traditional Medicine and Pharmacy Institute (Ho Chi Minh City) all research institutes, hospitals, medical and pharmaceutical plants should take part in the research into the combination of traditional medicine and pharmacy with modern medicine and pharmacy. It falls to the

Ministry of Public Health to assign to the institutes and hospitals concrete tasks in the study, authentication and application of the experiences and recipes already collected. Importance should be attached to studying the theoretical aspect of traditional medicine and pharmacy, to reorganizing and strengthening the traditional medicine and pharmacy institutes and also to modernizing and systematizing the theories of traditional medicine and pharmacy."

The Government Council's resolution also entrusted the Ministry of Public Health with studying and issuing policies and regulations aimed at strongly encouraging the use and development of traditional medicine. Jointly with the People's Committees in the provinces and cities, the ministry should urgently build up and perfect structures for the management of traditional medical research

and practice at national and local levels. The provincial and municipal medical service must consolidate the traditional medicine and pharmacy departments and build more medical stations specializing in curative treatment by traditional methods in the provinces, cities and districts. The Ministry of Public Health must improve and strengthen the management of traditional medicine and pharmacy and manage this branch of medicine and pharmacy in an efficient and uniform manner. To fulfil these important tasks properly it is necessary to set up at ministry level and in the provinces and cities medical councils comprising professors, doctors, pharmacists and practitioners of traditional medicine to carry out scientific research on how to best combine traditional medicine with modern medicine and to build an original Vietnamese medicine.

lution of the Communist Party of Vietnam. The resolution calls for stepping up of research relating to the struggle to defend and build the country and the participation of the country's various ethnic groups in this process; on different aspects of the ethnic groups' economic, social and cultural lives in the transitional period to socialism; on the position of the ethnic groups, both majority and minority, throughout our history from the periods of the Hung Kings to the present day; to make further studies on the ethnic groups in the Central Highlands and border areas.

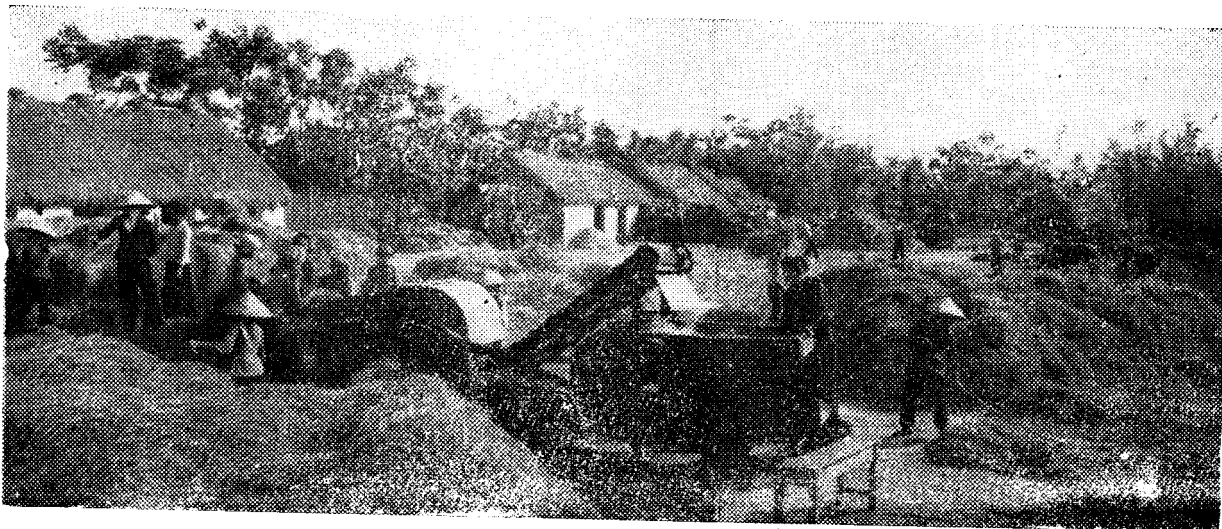
The conference recognized a task of paramount importance: a classification of ethnic groups for the whole country and a complete demographic map made on the basis of this classification. On the strength of this work, the Institute of Ethnology would be able to publish a series of books entitled "Ethnic Minorities of Vietnam" (the first volume on those in the northern provinces was published in 1978 and another volume will be published in 1980).

The delegates also listened to 115 scientific reports on problems concerning ethnic groups in the Central Highlands and in border areas, and on present-day ethnological studies. Many problems concerning the life of these ethnic groups have been made clear thanks to the common efforts of many branches of activities: ethno-linguistics, ethno-sociology, ethno-musicology, etc. Many reports dealt with theoretical problems involved in building a Vietnamese ethnology, with criticism of great-nation chauvinism and chauvinism played upon by imperialists and international reactionaries.

The conference stressed the importance of strengthening national unity in the struggle to build socialism and to oppose the scheme of the imperialists and international reactionaries. The conference called on scientists throughout the world who had formerly struggled unceasingly for the cause of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress to step up even further the uncompromising struggle

against the schemes and acts of great-nation chauvinism and great-nation hegemonism of the reactionaries in the Peking ruling circles, who have closely colluded with the imperialists and certain Western reactionary power in the name of "human rights" to oppose the Vietnamese people's peaceful construction.

Prime Minister Pham Van Dong, Political Bureau member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, visited the conference and addressed the delegates. The Prime Minister praised the achievements made in ethnology in recent years and urged ethnologists to make even greater efforts to study the qualities and characteristics of the Vietnamese nation in general, and of each ethnic group in particular, so as to enable the fullest development of the right of collective mastery of the labouring people of various nationalities in their common efforts to build their country, to build socialism and to defend the territorial integrity of Vietnam.



Autumn rice harvest at a cooperative in Hai Hau district.

DISTRICT-WIDE REORGANIZATION OF MANAGEMENT AND PRODUCTION IN HAI HAU

HAI Hau, one of the districts of Ha Nam Ninh province, lies in the fertile basin of the Red River. Thanks to intensive reorganization of production and improvement of management the district has made fairly good progress.

The first step taken was a survey of the situation of the 100,000 working inhabitants. It was found that 30 percent of the cooperative members were skilled in planting and in making compost. Their experience in intensive farming could help attain a per hectare output of eight to ten tons. There were also up to 7,000 skilled building workers, each master craftsman training two or three apprentices. There were also 1,000 skilled seafishermen. In addition there were

800 demobilized sailors well trained in mechanics, navigation, radio communication, and ship maintenance. Hai Hau was also well known for its vast salt fields in Van Ly and Kien Chinh, its rush industry in Phu Le, and the famous silk products of Quan Anh.

The detailed survey enabled the district to use its manpower in a more rational manner and with greater efficiency.

Next came extensive zoning and the merger of cooperatives to form larger ones, each with an acreage of some 465 hectares. Production teams, each with 60 or 80 members to till a manageable area of 30 or 40 hectares, have been consolidated. A total of 437 such teams are operating in the district, working on con-

tract with management committees and with the 32 seedling teams, 75 brick-and-lime groups, and 38 botanist groups. The work is carefully planned and coordinated to ensure high productivity and sufficient earnings for all members.

A more successful cooperative is Hai Thanh which averages 315 days of work for each production team member in a year. In compost, irrigation and seedling team, the respective figures are 270, 307 and 210. As an initial success this is laudable, but greater effort is still required to create a bigger incentive to skilled labour.

Specialization has also enabled the district to do different jobs simultaneously and on time. In 1977, the early spring rice harvest was delayed for a fortnight in Hai Thanh cooperative due to

late ripening, but tilling and manuring were stepped up, and planting of the next crop was carried out on schedule.

Satisfactory progress has also been made district-wide in labour management. The widening of the Muc river was completed in 17 days in December 1977, with as many as 145,000 cubic metres of earth removed. Even so, work did not slacken in other areas. Green compost output kept rising, water supply was adequate, and planting and tilling were carried out as planned.

THE reorganization of the labour force was conducted at the same time with intensive improvement of management. Planning is now undertaken by a planning committee supervised by the cooperative chairman and with the assistance of the various vice-chairmen. On this basis, production teams and specialized groups work out their own plans for each month, season and year.

Cooperative members, at their annual congresses, will discuss targets including gross output value, output of main products, acreage, construction projects and investments, marketable products and their values, costs, participation in building new economic zones, wages, and communal welfare. They also decide on plans and measures directed towards the attainment of these targets.

The chairman, who heads the management committee, is responsible for such objectives as gross output value, output of main products, deliveries to the State, profits, and members' incomes. The vice-chairmen, for

their part, must see to the achievement of the output and value of particular products, the cost of the main products, and branch profits. As for manpower, work quality, product quotas, value of unfinished products, means of production and materials, these are the responsibility of team and group leaders. Specialized groups work on contracts with clear specifications for quality, manpower, volume, deadlines, materials and wages.

Most of the cooperatives in Hai Hau are operating according to seasonal or annual plans. Some have even worked out plans for the long term.

Along with planning, economic accounting has been consolidated, and a new system of financial management has been applied. This has the effect of strengthening the system of public financial control, and increasing investment efficiency.

A management committee often consists of five members. The chairman, who is in charge of the whole operation, is invested with power to impose sanctions for infringement of regulations and he is authorized to enter into contracts with other legal persons. His deputies, usually four in number, divide among themselves responsibilities for buying, planting, livestock breeding, and sideline occupations. They also act on behalf of the chairman in organizing manpower in their fields of activity. In case of coordinated activities, the chairman will take charge.

Cooperative personnel in the whole district number 568. They assist managers in planning and accounting, in fixing quotas and

norms, and in technical affairs. In formal education, 73.4 per cent have graduated from the second-level general education school, and 4.1 per cent are third-level graduates. Their professional training is sound, 15.7 per cent having received training up to middle level, and 56.2 per cent to elementary level. The three- or five-year length of service group accounts for 36 per cent, and people with more than five years of experience make up 55 per cent.

The district has set 382 norms — 162 of these for planting, seven for animal husbandry, 178 for sideline occupations and seven for transport. On the basis of this, cooperatives will work out their own norms.

On the strength of better management and planning Hai Hau then set out to reorganize the whole of its workforce. Production teams — the force on the spot — work fixed areas of land, while specialized groups receive tasks from them and can be sent from place to place. The idea is to ensure the efficiency of each team and the successful achievement of all jobs.

On the district scale, rational use of manpower can be ensured only on the basis of thorough reorganization of production and with the efficient assistance of an intermediary link between the district authorities and the grassroots.

The district, through consultation of statistics and on-the-spot investigations, will decide on priority jobs requiring concentrated effort. It will also decide on zoning and crop composition, and will give advice on irrigation,

purchasing, and machine maintenance so that these services run smoothly. Under district guidance, management and technical matters are put forward for discussion by all the members and are translated into routines and regulations.

Generally speaking, cooperatives are autonomous in the use of manpower. The district only intervenes in case of emergency—at the time of disasters or when productivity drops drastically at a cooperative. Assistance in this case is payable, and if recipients are unable to meet their obligations because of some temporary difficulties, payment must be made later. In projects for the benefit of the whole district, groups that meet their quotas ahead of schedule will be given payable jobs, while the ones failing in their duties will be fined.

The steady progress of agricultural cooperatives in Hai Hau is also a result of better district control over other activities. Pumping stations operate under orders from the district which also plans the operation of tractor teams. It is the district again which sees to the supply of materials and production means. Also a force of 12,000 persons is placed at the disposal of the district for instant deployment.

With a clear idea of its main task—food production—Hai Hau has boldly introduced new techniques. High-yield strains are planted on a large scale, and intensive farming is strictly applied, together with double cropping, expansion of tilled area, and the planting of subsidiary

food crops. In 1974-75, per hectare output was 5.8 tons, with gross output totalling 73,316 tons and per capita output averaging 363 kilos. In 1976-77 these were increased respectively to 6.5 tons, 89,289 tons, and 423 kilos.

Noticeable progress has also been made in animal breeding. There is a sharp increase in the number and weight of pigs. The buffalo herd is maintained, because even with the use of machinery buffaloes are still used for cultivation and transport, and for meat, milk and manure. Fish farming is becoming more specialized and intensive.

Output value in agriculture and breeding totalled 50,000,000 *dong* in 1975-77, an increase of nine per cent over the 1970-74 period. This enabled the district to shift part of its agricultural manpower over to other fields of activity, mainly to industry. In 1970, 80 per cent of the workforce were engaged in planting. In 1976, the figure was reduced to 65 per cent. In industry the workforce has increased from 20 per cent to 34 per cent over the past years.

As a result, salt output in 1977 amounted to 82,000 tons, up by 157 per cent compared to the period 1970-1975. Also in 1977 the sea fish catch totalled 27,170 tons, an increase of 2.4 times over 1970-75. For handicrafts, output value reached 21,000,000 *dong*. In the 1975-77 period, annual output value in industry averaged 26,000,000 *dong*, 64 per cent higher than the average for 1970-74.

Despite the fact that much has yet to be done to achieve a comprehensive agro-industrial structure in the district, these modest successes have had a good effect on agricultural production.

In 1976, Hai Hau grossed 127,000,000 *dong*. 84,000,000 *dong* of this total were put aside for individual incomes, allowing 700 *dong* for a co-operative member, and 800 *dong* for an agricultural worker in general. Also in that year and in 1977, the district sold to the State 39,087 tons of paddy, 2,864 tons of meat (live weight), 153,448 tons of salt, 2,018 tons of fish, 2,446 tons of split rushes, and more than 100 tons of silk cocoons. Also in 1977, the district doubled its export value, and increased its supplies to the State to 16,000,000 *dong*. In 1971, the surplus for accumulation was only 20,000,000 *dong*. In 1976, the cooperatives put aside 34,000,000 *dong* and in the following year, 41,000,000 *dong*. Capital for re-investment rose from 9,000,000 *dong* in 1971 to almost 20,000,000 *dong* in 1977.

Thanks to the development of production, living standards are higher. The monthly rice ration is between 15 kg and 19 kg per person, and earnings for a day's work vary between 0.86 *dong* to over one *dong*. Members can earn as much through sideline occupations as through working for the cooperative. It is not uncommon, therefore, for farmers to acquire brick houses, furniture, bicycles and even motorcycles.

In social and cultural life, Hai Hau has gone much farther. There are large and well-built schools. In addition to the existing 14 two-storied school buildings, three others are under construction. Kindergartens and pre-school classes are opened in all cooperatives. In 1977, as many as 70,000 people went to school, almost 29.6 percent of the district's population. These included 5,250 cadres attending complementary education courses.

The district is provided with one polyclinic, two medical consultation centres and a network of 40 commune health stations fairly well equipped and complete with herb gardens and shops for medications made from these herbs. The 553 medical workers, either State-employed or paid by cooperatives, gave 320,000 check-ups and provided treatment 260,000 times in 1977.

Each cooperative has a theatre group, an information team, a cultural house, and a meeting hall. Many have even built their own libraries, museums and sports grounds. Sport attracts a great number of people, particularly the young. Superstition and backwardness have given way to a civilized way of life.

Fees for crèches and kindergartens are paid by cooperatives which also supply children with free lunches. The old, the disabled, etc. are provided for, and old people's homes have been set up at many cooperatives.



The district library.

THE lesson of Hai Hau is clear: correct organization of production and manpower at cooperative and district levels, and good coordination of cooperative activities and other activities on a district scale can increase the strength of each unit and develop the district all-round. It is perfectly possible on

this basis, even when economic conditions are not very advantageous, to improve the people's material and cultural life, build up a district-scale agro-industrial complex, and build a system of collective mastery and a new culture.

After HUU THANH

Some Background Information...

(Continued from page 9)

increasing pace by infiltration, armed incursions, brazen provocations and shameless lies, which created many border disputes and maintained a war psychosis among the Chinese population. Since Peking openly armed the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique and incited it to launch the war against socialist Vietnam in 1978, the Chinese rulers' acts of hostility have taken on a new dimension. And now dozens of infantry divisions are concentrated near the Vietnamese border, with hundreds of combat planes, and heavy artillery. The first Chinese armed attacks have started and Vietnamese

villages, farms and factories have been bombarded by Chinese artillery. There have been open threats by the arrogant Chinese Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping: "China will teach Vietnam a lesson!" What right or authority have they to do so?

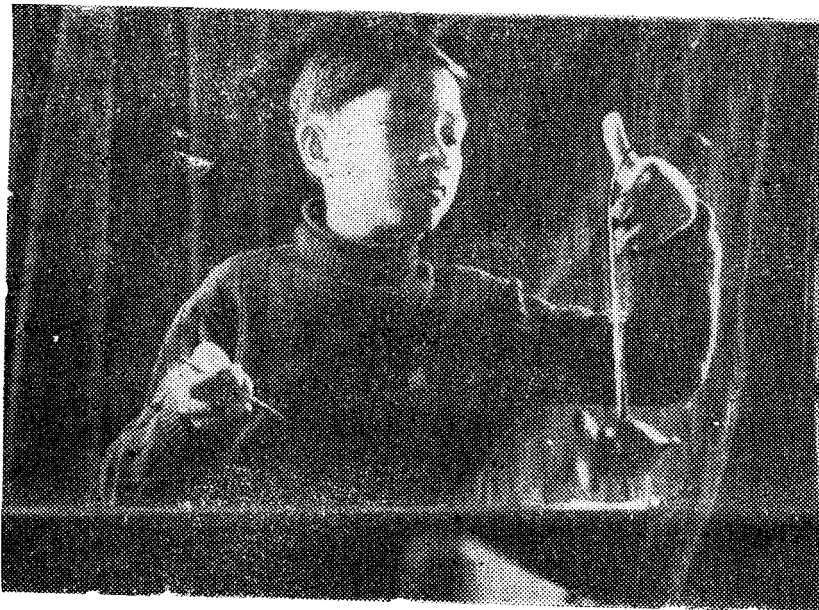
It is clear that the border incidents are now on a larger scale and take on a strategic importance by virtue of their origin in Peking's anti-Vietnam policy and expansionist designs in Southeast Asia. World opinion has every reason to be shocked and worried about Peking's preparations which are aimed at subduing Vietnam and about

the unforeseeable dangers that such a policy might entail.

Expressing the unanimous feelings of the 50 million Vietnamese, the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam has informed the UN Security Council of the dangerous situation created by Peking's expansionist and hegemonistic policy in Vietnam and Southeast Asia.

Peace- and justice-loving people and governments of the world will undoubtedly strengthen their solidarity with Vietnam and rally to support and defend Vietnam. For the cause of the Vietnamese people is also theirs: to fight against imperialism, international reaction and expansionism and for peace and the security of all the peoples.

THANH THUY



THE FIRST NATIONAL FESTIVAL OF ONE-STRINGED INSTRUMENT

AT the beginning of 1979 the first national festival of the Vietnamese one-stringed instrument (*dan bau*) was held at the Hanoi Music Institute. It was an event of both artistic and scientific interest. 41 popular musicians aged from eight to eighty have provided our Sound Archives with some 200 new recordings of instrumental folk music. They are personal interpretations of a popular music which has always been above all an art of improvisation. These invaluable additions to

our recorded musical history, supplemented by new compositions, proved to the numerous audience, including several foreign television teams, how much the national musical talent is still alive among the people and how well it absorbs modern aesthetic developments. This renewal of our cultural heritage makes the efforts undertaken to bring back this genuine folk instrument's integral role in contemporary life all the more worth while.

The History of a Single Vibrating String

WHETHER hears the *dan bau* is captivated by its almost human voice especially on a fine and peaceful night in its natural setting of the Vietnamese countryside. The listener imagines birds singing in the trees, the sigh of the wind, and the pulse of new

and young life. Its song means so much to Vietnamese ears and has bewitched young people into falling in love through the centuries.

One-stringed instruments are known to have existed on all continents, particularly in Asia and in Africa since prehistory.

The discovery of the musical notes which could be obtained from a vibrating string helped form the basis of the first music. But people soon began to look for greater musical diversity than can be achieved simply by modifying the string's tension.

In ancient Greece a single string fastened to a long wooden box was plucked from below by a mobile prop.

Modifications were also aimed at arranging that the bridge should absorb the least possible amount of energy. Many one-stringed instruments failed to develop technically and now survive only in museums or as an indirect influence on later instruments.

But Vietnamese one-stringed instruments did not go the same way. The *dan bau*, thus called because of its resonator made of a very common gourd called *bau*, went through many unnecessary changes. At first the string was propped up near the middle so as to produce two notes at an interval of one-fifth, as is the case with some instruments today in delta villages. But later perhaps after many centuries of evolution, a flexible prop came into use. It is called the instrument's "proboscis" (*voi dan*) because of its resemblance to an insect's proboscis. The instrument is now played by the prop itself striking the string, which now has no bridge, thus allowing harmonic to be played — an ingenious discovery. It still retains the original form of a single plucked string, but its sound has been enriched through many years of development, acquiring great subtlety. This simplicity and subtlety are the two characteristics needed to make it a great musical instrument, and make it particularly able to show the essential expressivity of music, quite independent of words.

The sound of the *dan bau* is based on another principle beside the simple plucking of the string with the prop. At the exact moment as the player plucks the string with his right hand, he must touch the string lightly at one of a fixed series of points with the edge of the same hand. The hand is removed as the string starts vibrating, thus setting up a harmonic. These harmonics supplementing the fundamental give the instrument its timbre.

Playing the *dan bau* is not easy. An unpractised hand will miss the harmonics and produce an unbearable noise.

Every point which divides the string into equal parts will produce a harmonic, but in fact, only a restricted number of these points are used. The movable prop enables the player to reach the higher harmonics without having to move his hand to the far end of the string where it is more difficult to cause the vibrations.

Though the *dan bau* does not have frets like other stringed instruments, the points where the hand produces the harmonics have an equivalent role, for simplicity's sake as they are actually places where the hand stops the string to determine its vibrating length. We shall refer to them as stops.

The inventors of the *dan bau*'s "proboscis" must have been musical talents. It enables variation in the harmonic the sound produced at any stop. While the elementary vibrating string will give a limited number of harmonics, often at intervals of several tones, the *dan bau* can produce an infinite series of pitches. The only other instrument to develop this feature is the violin.

In the middle range, the hand can control the prop easily and the precise pitch is easily obtained. The *dan bau* then sounds of its sweetest and fullest, conveying the most subtle shades of emotion. But at the extremes of the instrument's range, the prop restricts the hand, making the bass notes dull and even harsh and the higher pitches hard and damped down.

The "proboscis" also allows modulations of the sound quality similar to the human voice. This is a feature of many Vietnamese musical instruments. *Dan bau* virtuosos can imitate exactly the tones of Vietnamese and all its different dialects, the vocalisation of folk songs, and the timbres of other musical

instruments including the moon-shaped guitar and the 16-stringed zither.

Thus the *dan bau*'s "proboscis" allows not only the production of new pitches not included in the register of stops, but causes the sound to be more flexible and smooth with greater penetration. One plucking of the string will sustain several notes and this throbbing of the hand makes the *dan bau* alive and creates the various interpretative styles of traditional music.

There are few instruments in the history of music whose sound is less dependent on mechanical devices or so sensitive to artist's playing allowing such fine nuances of interpretation uniting poetical expression and musical precision.

Tradition and Renewal

IN their very personal interpretations which showed a high level of technical command, the participants in the *dan bau* festival brought out the essential significance of our cultural heritage. Any innovation made to the playing of this instrument would still leave all its history of tradition intact.

An old blind musician of Ha Bac called Than Duc Chinh speaks folk music as he speaks his mother tongue. He combines playing with his fingers and the use of a stick which can be used to pluck or tap the string or to beat a tambourine or cymbal. His ability brings out the hidden dimensions of the *dan bau* and traditional music. When this master artist performs a lively accompaniment to his singing it is hard to believe that this music is produced by only one musician.

Similarly, the musical poetry recitals by Tran Thi Tuyet from the "Voice of Vietnam" and the *vong co* tunes of the South sung by Ai Xuan to *dan bau* accompaniment take our imagination on a journey through Vietnam.

To increase the *dan bau* resonance Than Duc Chinh and other popular musicians often fix an empty tin can to the instrument. More sophisticated devices are used by professional musicians. Phan Chi Thanh who is both a musician and sound technician, amplifies the *dan bau*'s quiet voice with acoustic devices which prolong the vibrations at will to imitate the sounds of the drum or the flute and to achieve harmonic effects. This innovation is still controversial, and though appreciated by some people, others complain that the

pure and "impersonal" timbre makes the sound inhuman and cold.

Other innovators prefer to increase the range of expression achieved by the artist's manipulation of the instrument. Before, playing the *dan bau* only called upon the technical skill of the left hand and thus fell short of perfection in intonation and sonority. The right hand was only used to touch the string at the various stops.

Duc Nhuan, one of the contemporary *dan bau* virtuosos, was seized with the idea that the principal impulse to musical evolution is research on an instrument and has perfected his technique of two-way plucking and composed his first variations using the technique. This makes playing rapid passages easier and increases the possibilities of ornamentation. Making full use of open strings and developing left hand technique makes the instrument respond perfectly to the artist's inspiration and raises the *dan bau* player to the rank of concert soloist. Nowadays, this instrument crosses national boundaries to win the hearts of music lovers worldwide who marvel at the richness of the Vietnamese music.

The story of the *dan bau* proves that however rich a country's artistic traditions, they cannot simply be passively inherited but have to be taken up positively and developed.

The first national *dan bau* festival shows that socialist Vietnam is actively accepting the country's valuable cultural inheritance which it will be able to preserve, hand it on to future generations and further enrich.

Jan. 1979

DAO TRONG TU

The Water Conservancy College

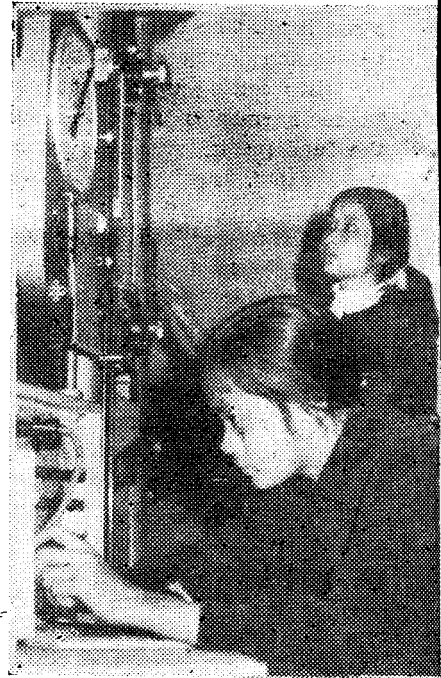
A School in Touch with Life

THE Water Conservancy College was built during the First Five-Year Plan (1960-1965). As President Ho Chi Minh said to the first teachers and students of the college: "We call our Fatherland *Dat Nuoc* (Earth and Water) — it is earth and water that make our people rich and the country strong. Water can bring good but also evil, because too much means floods and too little, drought. Our task is to use both earth and water together to raise the people's living standard and build socialism..."

This sums up the goal pursued by the Water Conservancy College which has been training specialists for fifteen years now. After reunification of our fatherland a complete and detailed geographers' map of the whole country can be shown to the teachers and students to aid them in their efforts to "harmonise" earth and water and to "make the people rich and the country strong".

For thousands of years the silt carried down by the great rivers — the Red River and the Mekong — has been deposited to form two large and fertile alluvial plains to feed the nation. Through many generations, the industrious Vietnamese peasants have built up flood defences along rivers and dammed them to irrigate fields and orchards. Little by little they reclaimed the sea, turning salt marshes into green ricefields. These peasants' experiences over many years have come down to us as a priceless heritage and today water conservancy engineers have put in a great deal of effort to continue to develop these traditional skills in large-scale production.

Indeed, the flooding of the Red River has been a threat to our nation throughout its history. When the river is in spate from June to September each year, the



Third-grade students doing practical work.

plain-dwellers have had to give up huge proportions of their work and resources just on flood prevention and to safeguard their crops. The techniques of water conservancy now being developed by our engineers will be an invaluable help in the peasants' battle against the Water God.

But human beings have not yet won out over the Mekong River whose waters flood the surrounding fields each year to a height of one to two metres. Despite the overall abundance of water, there are many areas where it is scarce. Much potential arable land is unusable, often because it is too salty. For instance of the 616,000 hectares of land in Kien Giang province, only 200,000 are put to cultivation. With proper irrigation the Central Highlands could be

turned into huge State arable and stockbreeding farms.

Since reunification the Water Conservancy College has entered a new stage of development in which it will co-ordinate its efforts more with the needs of production and life, so that

teachers and students can make a greater contribution to the national economy. This is an urgent task in socialist construction and the College must continually take account of it in its work of training Vietnamese water conservancy engineers.

tion and drainage. The College team also helps train technicians for the water conservancy service.

In the provinces of Hau Giang, An Giang and Ho Chi Minh City, another team of teachers and students enthusiastically tackles interesting scientific research themes which will serve production, such as planning an irrigation scheme for 1,100,000 hectares, studying the hydrology and the potential for hydroelectric power on the Mekong and Dong Nai rivers, hoping also to find a way to combat floods and use the water for cultivation.

Lying near the sea, the fields of Central Vietnam have to withstand the onslaught of the tides and need to be drained of acid and salt water. Reservoirs are needed for the vast plateaux. Therefore, many teams of teachers and students have come to design the Do Diem drainage canal (Nghe Tinh province), the Quang Chau dam (Thanh Hoa province), the Lien Khuong reservoir (Lam Dong province) the Ca Day and Ca Tot reservoirs (Thuan Hai province).

Teachers and students of the Water Conservancy College have been present everywhere, in the plains, the mountains, at the coast and on the plateaux. They have carried out field research to help solve the difficulties of the irrigation authorities, such as deflecting flood waters of rivers, designing and building dikes and dams, and studying hydroelectric power. Meanwhile, they have worked on long-term research of very great economic importance like the water conservancy scheme for the food growing belt around Ho Chi Minh City, the plans for the rationalization of natural water in the North, and the schemes for harnessing rivers.

In 1976 and 1977 alone, the teachers and students of the Water Conservancy College studied 80 scientific subjects. Many results of this research have been highly praised by the Ministry of Water Conservancy for their scientific rigour as well as for the benefits they will bring to life and production.

In Touch with Production and Life

OVER the past three years it has become the College's practice to send several teams of teachers and students throughout the country at the beginning of the Spring term, from Cao Bang in the far north of Vietnam to Minh Hai in the far south. Linking theory and practice, these teams carry out scientific research and serve production and the people's life by participating in the struggle against floods, and drafting plans, surveying and guiding the construction of local irrigation projects.

One of the College's major projects carried out to date is the investigation of the Red River, directed at controlling its flooding. Together with water conservancy experts, teachers and students studied many measures intended to contain the Red River when in full flow.

The solution finally recommended by the research department was to deflect the flood waters of the Red River into the Day River which, although a tributary of the Red River, also empties into the sea. The problem is how to deflect the waters and what proportion of the flow needs to be deflected in order to safeguard the villages and fields on the banks of the Day River and bring the pressure of the Red River waters down to within the capacity of the dikes. The College has been entrusted by the Ministry of Water Conservancy with the responsibility to find a solution. Hundreds of fourth-grade and fifth-grade (final year) students are sent to study and investigate under their teachers' guidance the hydrography and hydrodynamics of the rivers. On the basis of data about the water level of the Red

and Day rivers in time of spate, together with on-the-spot investigations and talks with village elders, the teachers and students have drawn up a map of the paths which the major flood waters take and proposed measures to transform the Day River, build culverts and deflect the waters from the Red River at its full flow.

The project advanced by the College has been accepted by the Ministry of Water Conservancy. Teachers and students have been present on site along with the specialized bodies in charge of the execution when the work has been carried out to deflect the flooding of the Red River: this is where study and scientific research have a direct effect on production and the people's life.

The Mekong River delta is also a field of activity of the Water Conservancy College. In late 1976 the College sent an investigation team of 20 teachers, over 100 newly-graduated engineers and 30 final-year students of agricultural hydraulics, hydrography and hydroconstruction to carry out water conservancy surveying, design and planning in the provinces of Minh Hai, An Giang, Kien Giang and Hau Giang. The agricultural and water conservancy services of Kien Giang hope to improve more than 400,000 hectares of salt marsh and acid soil and turn the U Minh region into a two-crop rice growing area. Together with local water conservancy experts, teachers and students study river flooding, compile geological data and design pumping systems for irriga-

From Theory to Practice

THE sending of students to conduct on-site scientific research and practical work is an important feature in training at the Water Conservancy College. Research topics for the fourth-grade students and graduation theses for the fifth-grade students are chosen by the teachers and the Director from proposals made by local organizations, scientific institutions and other bodies related to water conservancy, agricultural production, communications and national defence.

After receiving these assignments, the students set about making surveys and investigations, gathering data, consulting reference books, and meeting specialists of water conservancy and other related branches in the locality as well as experienced peasants to learn from them. These graduation theses are not exercises to be corrected by their teachers and then shelved. They are designs for actual constructions: hence each figure and each line must be absolutely precise because a miscalculation may lead to the structure's collapse.

As they are aware that their graduation theses will be turned into real construction, the students are very conscious of their responsibility toward the State and the people and work carefully and honestly. Once they have graduated, they spend two probationary years in any office or locality during which time they still are looked after by the College and helped by their teachers in their work.

This training enables the young engineers to start grappling with the problems they encounter in their work without difficulty, since throughout their studies they have been in touch with the country's production and the daily life of the people. Their preparation for work has given them sound theory, experience and the

skills of organization and management.

As the teachers are concerned with both theory and practice, they constantly made new discoveries to enrich their courses. Teachers of agricultural hydraulics have compiled new data on reclamation of salt marshes, mountains and tidal plains, and canal design. Teachers of surveying and hydrology have discovered a method of calculating the water volume at different gradients, the investigation of the hydrography of the tidal plains, and of the factors determining the courses of the Northern Vietnamese rivers. The teachers not only impart to their students scientific knowledge but also guide them in applying it to the needs of Vietnam. Therefore they link their teaching to production.

Many young teachers have in the course of their work found appropriate topics of scientific research and the results of their efforts are well worth popularisation. In helping build the Lien Khuong reservoir in Lam Dong plateau, geology teacher Nguyen Cong Man has made further studies on the characteristics of basalt in construction. This is a highly porous substance in its natural state, with a fairly high concentration of oxides and hydroxides. These make it unfit for many construction purposes, and so many people are reluctant to use it at all, for instance, in the foundations of a dam. Lien Khuong reservoir, a project to expand the Da Nhim hydroelectric system, was planned by the former Saigon regime who gave the investigation and designing work to the Japanese *Nippon Koe* Company. Professor Nguyen Cong Man and his colleagues have read the documentation left behind by the Japanese company and other material written in the Soviet Union, Great Britain, the United States

and France on the characteristics of basalt found in Asia, Africa, Oceania and America. This enabled them to solve the problems holding up completion of the project.

The book: "Deflecting the Red River Waters into the Day River", by teacher Ngo Dinh Tuan has helped solve the problems of the Red River floods and of improving the Day River. The author has in the process enriched his lectures on the factors determining the course of the Red River as part of his classes on hydroelectric power and hydrology.

The Water Conservancy College has been allowed by the Ministry of Water Conservancy to set up two work groups with their own budgets and the juridical status enabling them to sign contracts with production units. This is how the College can find research topics, organize scientific research to be carried out by teachers and students and provide for the results to be applied. A capital of over 400 million *dong* has allowed the College to fulfil the tasks given it by the Ministry of Water Conservancy and the contracts made with various production units and localities during the past three years.

Since its foundation, the Water Conservancy College has trained 14 batches of graduates totalling 3,900 engineers, 7 batches of engineers who studied on the job and 10 batches of engineers following refresher courses in various subjects: agricultural hydraulics, designing, hydroelectric stations, construction of irrigation projects, hydrology and general water conservancy.

The Water Conservancy College was awarded a Labour Order, Third Class, by the National Assembly in March 1976 and another, Second Class, in June 1978. In the 1977-1978 academic year, the College received the title of "Outstanding Unit of Higher and Vocational Learning". These awards show the effective contribution of the College to changing the face of the country and the life of its people.

MAI THI TU

The Fall . . .

(Continued from page 16)

dream of forming the "Indo-chinese Federation" and is "committing aggression against Kampuchea".

As they are all faced with enemies many times stronger than themselves and in order to defend their sovereignty, reason demands that each of the three Indochinese countries forge and continually enhance its solidarity with the other two and defend this solidarity at all cost against all the enemies' tactics of division and sabotage. Vietnam would not have security to build socialism if a hostile regime serving the imperialists or international reaction remained just across its western border. This was clearly demonstrated during the years of the US neo-colonialist regime in Laos and especially in the three years of the Peking's puppet regime in Kampuchea.

Now that Laos has become a people's democratic republic and has taken its destiny into its own hands and that the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique has been overthrown

in Kampuchea, the causes of disunity between Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea have been eliminated; gone too is the sabotage of peace and stability in the whole of Southeast Asia. The Pol Pot — Ieng Sary regime not only sought quarrels with Vietnam but also frequently caused disturbances at its borders with Thailand and Laos. It refused all international co-operation, staying out of all activities of the Mekong Committee. Through this puppet regime the Peking rulers were easily able to extend their sabotage against other countries in Southeast Asia. Today the People's Republic of Kampuchea emerging from its second liberation war has solemnly declared its foreign policy of peace, friendship and non-alignment and its willingness to establish good relations with all its neighbours. Is that not a positive factor for peace and security in this part of the world?

Vietnam and Southeast Asia

THE Socialist Republic of Vietnam for its part has constantly reaffirmed its foreign policy of independence, sovereignty, peace, friendship and international cooperation.

Vietnam has always declared its policy of uniting with both the Soviet Union and China. During the resistance against US aggression as well as after victory, Vietnam has consistently kept to this policy in spite of many manifestations of great-power chauvinism on China's part. The Vietnamese people persisted in this till the last minute when China started to openly oppose Vietnam and threaten its independence and security. To safeguard its independence and sovereignty it stands to reason that Vietnam had to enhance its solidarity with the Soviet Union. Any attempt to misrepresent and distort Viet-

nam's independent and sovereign foreign policy will be futile.

As a Southeast Asian country Vietnam attaches great importance to enhancing its relations of co-operation and friendship with the other countries in the region. At present a number of Southeast Asian countries have joined together in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). It should be pointed out that in the past ASEAN countries had co-operated with the imperialists to oppose the independence and peace of the peoples in Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. On the other hand, neither Vietnam, Laos nor Kampuchea have ever threatened the peace and security of any ASEAN country. Today the situation has changed. Vietnam is ready to forget the past and is stretching out its hands in friend-

ship and co-operation with the ASEAN nations and all the other countries in Southeast Asia.

Two paths are open to the ASEAN countries: either to encourage co-operation between ASEAN and the Indochinese countries in order to safeguard peace, independence and stability in the region, or to take up an antagonistic stance in regard to the Indochinese countries, thus, like it or not, playing into the hands of the Chinese expansionists. Obviously, it is not in the interests of the ASEAN countries to fall into China's divisive trap.

Now as before, Vietnam respects the principles governing its relations with the Southeast Asian countries, as was already enunciated in the joint communiques between Prime Minister Pham Van Dong and the Southeast Asian leaders during his recent visits to these countries. On this basis, Vietnam is ready to hold bilateral or multilateral discussions with the countries in this region on the creation of a peaceful, independent, free, neutral, stable and prosperous Southeast Asia.

The founding of a genuinely revolutionary government in Kampuchea is actually a positive factor for the realization of the above-mentioned objective. The situation is gradually returning to normal in conformity with the aspirations of the Indochinese peoples as well as with the interests of peace and security in Southeast Asia.

China's desperate efforts to breathe life into the defunct Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique which has been overthrown by the Kampuchean people and its intensified pressure against Vietnam are just a losing battle in a lost campaign.

A new leaf has been turned in the history of Indochina and Southeast Asia. The peoples in Indochina and Southeast Asia are embarking on a new era, that of solidarity and co-operation in independence, freedom and equality, free from the sinisters spectre of the imperialist and international reactionary forces.

HOANG NGUYEN

CHRONOLOGY

16 January 1979 — 15 February 1979

JANUARY

16. The Foreign Ministry of the People's Republic of Kampuchea issues a statement on Chinese slanders about the situation in Kampuchea at the UN Security Council.

17. Chea Soth, Ambassador of the People's Republic of Kampuchea to Vietnam, presents his credentials in Hanoi.

— Opening in Hanoi of the fourth session of the Mekong Committee on its plan for 1979.

19. Arrival in Hanoi of a delegation of the Communist Party of Italy.

— The Chinese Foreign Ministry unilaterally issues a communique abolishing agreements on exemption from visa requirements and visa charges between China and Vietnam.

20. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam sends a note to the Chinese embassy in Hanoi putting the true situation about the railway section at the link-up point in Lang Son province.

22. Signing in Bangkok of a maritime trade agreement between Vietnam and Thailand.

25. Nguyen Duy Trinh, Deputy Prime Minister and member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, receives the visiting delegation of the Guinea-Bissau Communist Party and Government.

— A representative of the Vietnamese Ministry of Foreign Affairs meets the Australian chargé-d'affaires ad-interim in Hanoi to protest to the Australian Government about its unfriendly statements and acts against Vietnam in connection with the liberation of Kampuchea.

— The first issue of KAMPUCHEA, the central organ of the NUFSK, is published in Phnom Penh.

26. The CMEA Committee on Scientific and Technological Co-operation adopts a resolution on assistance to and co-operation with Vietnam.

27. Hun Sen, Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, sends a message to Kurt Waldheim, UN Secretary-General affirming that the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea is the genuine and only legitimate representative of Kampuchea.

28. A delegation of the SRV Government led by Minister Nguyen Thi Binh arrives in Maputo (Mozambique) to attend the conference of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-aligned Countries on the support for the struggle of the peoples in southern Africa.

31. A Vietnamese delegation leaves Hanoi to attend the Inter-Governmental Conference on Information in Asia and the Pacific.

— Chinese Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping says in an interview granted to American journalists, "It is necessary to teach Vietnam a lesson."

FEBRUARY

1. The SRV Ministry of Foreign Affairs sends a note strongly protesting to the Chinese authorities against their continuous instigation of serious incidents in the border area of Lai Chau province.

2. VNA: A committee for Solidarity with Vietnam is founded in Cremona province (Italy).

— Signing in Hanoi of documents of the 5th session of the joint Vietnam-Soviet Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation Committee, and agreements on Soviet assistance to help Vietnam build the Ho Chi Minh Museum and three engineering plants including one for producing tractors.

3. UPI: The Sydney dockers decide to stop loading and unloading Chinese ships to protest against Peking's threats against Vietnam.

— The World Peace Council adopts a resolution on solidarity with the Kampuchean people.

— The Japanese News Agency JPS: The Japan-Vietnam Friendship Association steps up its campaign for solidarity with Vietnam.

7. VNA: In January 1979, China made 171 intrusions into Vietnamese territory, airspace and territorial waters, all along the border.

— Deng Xiaoping says in Tokyo, "It is necessary to punish Vietnam."

8. Chinese troops use 75mm. and 85mm. recoilless guns to attack the Ho Pa border-station and the surrounding areas in Ban May (Ha Tuyen province).

9. The *Far Eastern Economic Review*: China has deployed 160,000 troops and 700 combat planes including Chinese-made F.9 bombers along the China-Vietnam border.

10. SRV Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Nguyen Duy Trinh sends messages to the President of the UN Security Council and the UN Secretary-General to denounce China's threats of war against Vietnam.

13. The SRV Government recognizes the Islamic Republic of Iran.

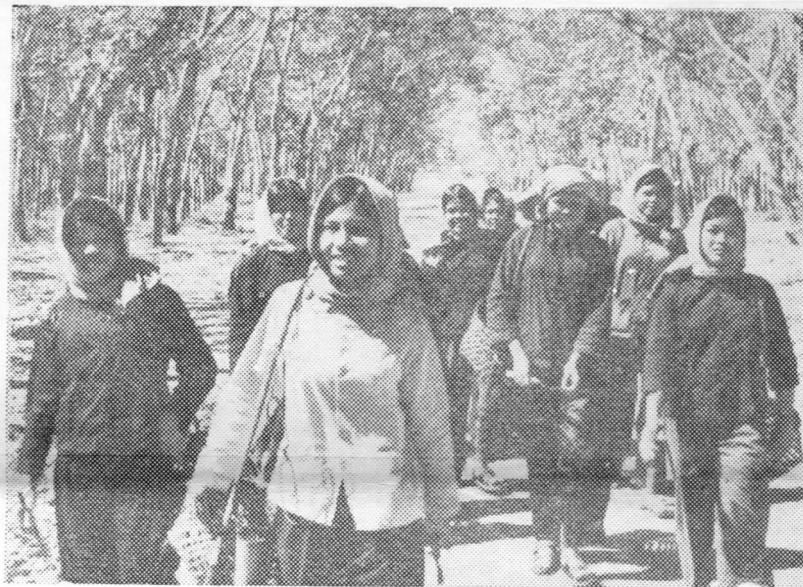
14. The SRV Ministry of Foreign Affairs holds a press conference to make public a memorandum on the Chinese authorities' intensified armed activities along the Vietnamese border and their frantic war preparations against Vietnam.

— The spokesman of the SRV Ministry of Foreign Affairs issues a statement condemning China's deployment of a battalion to occupy Hill 400 (in Lang Son province) about two kilometres inside Vietnamese territory on 10 February 1979.

— A delegation of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) led by Mrs Sadako Ogata, President of the Fund's Executive Council, concludes its visit to Vietnam. A basic agreement on co-operation between Vietnam and UNICEF is signed.

15. *Nhan Dan*: People's self-management committees at district and village levels have been established in many provinces of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

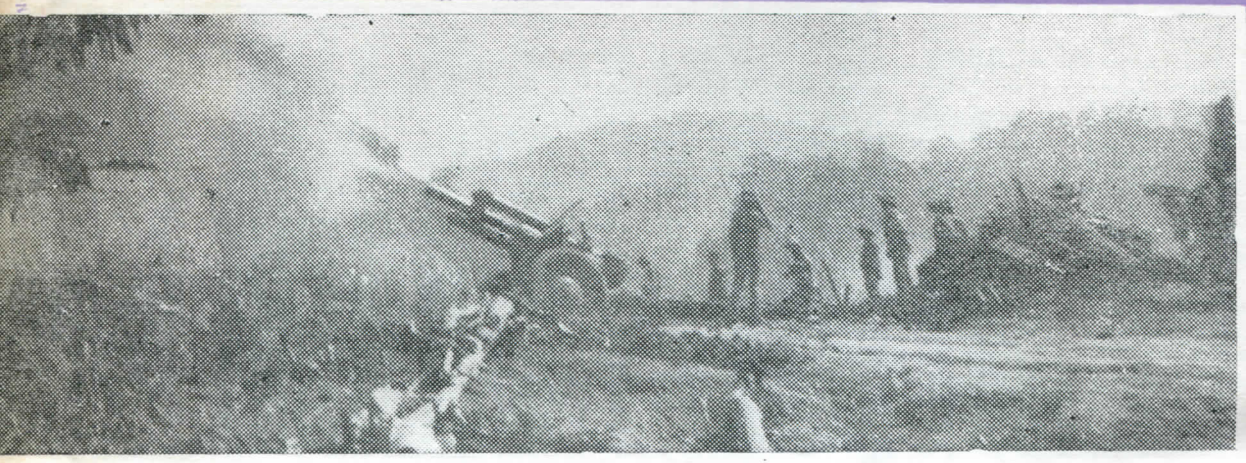
*Rubber workers
in Kompong Cham*



KAMPUCHEA AFTER LIBERATION

Soldiers helping with the rice harvest in Svay Rieng.





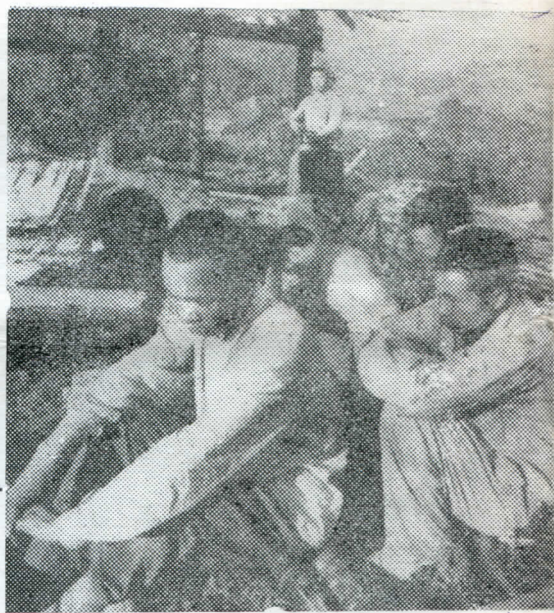
Vietnamese artillery in Hoang Lien Son province.



A Chinese tank destroyed.

RESISTANCE TO CHINESE AGGRESSION

Chinese prisoners of war.



XUẤT BẢN BẰNG CÁC NGŨ:

- VIETNAM COURIER
- LE COURRIER DU VIETNAM
- НОВОСТИ ВЬЕТНАМА
- EL CORREO DE VIET NAM

BÁO ĐỐI NGOẠI TIN VIỆT NAM

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

In tại Hà Nội.

Chi số: 12462