

# Vietnam courier



A MONTHLY REVIEW

Volume XIX No. 4

● EDITORIAL OFFICE:

46 Tran Hung Dao,  
Hanoi, SRV.

● DISTRIBUTED BY :

Xunhasaba,  
32 Hai Ba Trung,  
Hanoi, SRV.





# THE SUMMIT CONFERENCE OF THE THREE INDO- CHINESE COUNTRIES IN VIENTIANE

At the opening ceremony of the Conference on February 22, 1983.



Signing of the Statement of the Summit Conference of the Three Indochinese Countries on February 23, 1983.

From left to right: Souphanouvong, Heng Samrin, Le Duan, Pham Van Dong, Chan Sy, Kaysone Phomvihane during a break.

Photos: XUAN LAM  
and MINH DAO  
(VNA)



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Front Cover: A new resettlement zone of the Thai ethnic group in Quan Hoa district, Thanh Hoa province.

Photo: TRONG NGHIEP

**Vietnam  
Courier**

4-1983

# STATEMENT OF THE SUMMIT CONFERENCE OF LAOS, KAMPUCHEA AND VIETNAM

The first Summit Conference of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam was held in Vientiane from 22 to 23 February 1983. At this conference, the top leaders of the three countries examined the general situation of the revolutions of the three countries and decided on the guiding principles, orientations and measures to enhance their solidarity and long-term cooperation in the new revolutionary stage of each country. They also discussed measures to assist one another in national construction and defence, thus contributing to the defence of peace in Southeast Asia and in the world.

Attending the conference were:

— For the Lao People's Democratic Republic:

Kaysone Phomvihane, General Secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the LPDR;

Souphanouvong, Political Bureau member of the LPRP Central Committee, President of the LPDR, President of the People's Supreme Assembly and President of the Front for National Construction.

— For the People's Republic of Kampuchea:

Heng Samrin, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party and President of the Council of State of the PRK;

Chan Sy, Political Bureau member of the KPRP Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

— For the Socialist Republic of Vietnam:

Le Duan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee;

Pham Van Dong, Political Bureau member of the CPV Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

In the opening speech Kaysone Phomvihane said:

"Fighting together in sacrifice and hardship over the past 50 years, we have a joyful meeting today. When drinking water we think of the source so we are extremely grateful to President Ho Chi Minh — the first person who brought Marxism — Leninism to the Vietnamese, Lao and Kampuchean nations, a beloved leader of the Indochinese revolutionary movement, a great architect who devoted all his life to fostering solidarity and friendship among the three nations."

He continued: "For the sake of our survival, the three nations had to rely on and help one another in the struggle against our common enemies... After the victory of the struggle against US aggression, thus completing the national and democratic revolution, the revolutions of the three Indochinese countries have entered a new stage. This Summit Conference of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam has an extremely important historic significance. It marks a turning point in the revolutions of the three countries and in the history of the relations between

them. It reviews the victories of the militant solidarity that has bound the three countries together during the past 50 years and more. We shall discuss measures to strengthen the solidarity and all-round cooperation in the new revolutionary stage aimed at helping one another in socialist construction and national defence, thereby actively contributing to the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress in Southeast Asia and in the world."

The conference unanimously adopted two documents:

— Statement of the Summit Conference of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam; and

— Statement on the Presence of Vietnamese Volunteer Troops in Kampuchea.

Prior to the summit conference, a ministerial conference of the three countries' foreign ministers was held on 20 — 21 February 1983 in Vientiane with the participation of Phoun Sipaseuth (Laos), Hun Sen (Kampuchea) and Nguyen Co Thach (Vietnam).

The Summit Conference of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam was held in Vientiane from 22 to 23 February 1983 and proceeded to exchange views on the situation in their countries and in the world. The Summit Conference examined ways and means of strengthening solidarity and all-round cooperation for the sake of socialist construction and national defence in their respective countries. The three parties made the following statement:

## I

From generation to generation, the Lao, Kampuchean and Vietnamese peoples have lived as good neighbours and constantly consolidated their friendship through each one's struggle for existence and development.

In the past, colonialist, militarist, imperialist and expansionist forces interfered in the three countries of Indochina and made them victims of aggression. Previous and present aggressors as well consider the three countries one single theatre for their aggression, using one as a springboard to invade the other two and sowing divisions among the three so as to rule them all.

The history of the three peoples' struggle, especially since the revolution in the three countries of Indochina was enlightened by great President Ho Chi Minh, who introduced Marxism-Leninism to us and founded the Communist Party of Indochina — predecessor of the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos, the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea and the Communist Party of Vietnam — shows that the militant alliance among them is a law of development of

the three countries' revolutions, and a fundamental factor for defeating all enemies and regaining their independence and freedom. Whenever solidarity is jeopardized, each country's independence is in danger. The treason of the Pol Pot clique — henchmen of reactionary forces in the Beijing ruling circles — seriously injured solidarity among the three peoples; caused horrible suffering to the Kampuchean people resulting from genocide and intervention by expansionist and reactionary forces; annihilated the attainments of the Kampuchean revolution and threatened both Laos and Vietnam's independence and security.

Under the leadership of the genuine revolutionary party in each country, the three peoples, paying with their own blood, have restored and brought to a higher level their vital solidarity. At present, they are cooperating and assisting one

another in carrying out, shoulder to shoulder, the task of national edification on the path of socialism, national defence, thereby sharing in the common struggle of peoples for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

## II

For the time being, Chinese expansionists and hegemonists have not yet abandoned their aggression and annexation schemes against the three countries; neither have they given up their multi-faceted sabotaging activities against the Lao, Vietnamese and Kampuchean revolutions, aimed at making the three countries a springboard for their hegemony all over Southeast Asia.

The new situation and tasks require from the three peoples of Indochina closer solidarity and cooperation in all fields. Bearing this in mind, the three parties pledge to:

1. Promote mutual solidarity and cooperation to assist one another in national edification and defence, contributing thereby to the cause of peace and stability in Southeast Asia and throughout the world without offending any other country.

2. Continuously strengthen solidarity and cooperation on the basis of Marxism—Leninism and socialist internationalism. All problems concerning relations among the three countries will be settled through negotiations in a spirit of respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs, mutual understanding, respect for

each people's legitimate interests and for those of all the three peoples as well.

3. Develop long-term cooperation and mutual assistance among two or three parties in all fields in a spirit of friendship and brotherhood, free consent and on the basis of equality and mutual benefits.

4. Strengthen solidarity among the three peoples against any manoeuvre of division by enemies and any manifestation of big-power chauvinism and narrow-minded nationalism, constantly educate the three countries' people on the traditional friendship and special relationship among them, as well as against any activity susceptible of harming their friendship.

The above-mentioned principles, which guide relations among the three Indochinese countries, not only meet the interests of the three peoples, accord with their long-standing tradition of solidarity and friendship but also conform with the spirit of international agreements on Indochina and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Non-Aligned Movement.

They lead the parties concerned to agree on the following:

1. Summit conferences of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam will be convened after leaders of the three countries consult with one another by way of conferences of foreign ministers of the three countries.

2. The Conference of Foreign Ministers of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam will be held twice a year to deal with all problems concerning relations among the three countries during the interval between the two summit conferences.

3. A Committee for Economic Cooperation between Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam will be established in each country to promote economic cooperation and co-ordination of national plans for economic development. The three committees will meet twice a year.

4. Whenever feasible, commissions will be set up for cooperation among the three countries in the specific sectors of economy, culture, science and technology, sports and physical education, etc.

5. This statement shall not affect bilateral or multilateral treaties and agreements signed by each country.

## III

Strengthened by great friendship, special solidarity and all-round cooperation among themselves, bolstered by solidarity and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, and united with the non-aligned countries and forces of peace and progress throughout the world, the three countries of Indochina have overcome most severe trials, won great victories and actively shared in the struggle for our time's common goals which are peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

The three peoples of Indochina, who underwent more than thirty years of strenuous war, have no keener desire than peace to build up their countries and achieve well-being. They are determined to join the socialist countries, the non-aligned countries and the peace-loving and progressive peoples in the world in the struggle for the defence and consolidation of peace, against the arms race, for

disarmament and international detente. They warmly welcome and fully support the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, particularly those proposals recently put forth at the meeting of the Consultative Political Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member States, held in Prague in January, 1983.

The three countries of Indochina will constantly strengthen unity and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, strive to contribute to the consolidation of the socialist community with the Soviet Union as the pillar. They give active support to movements for national liberation and independence in Asia, Africa and Latin America, support the struggle of the working class and working people for well-being and democratic rights, as well as peoples' struggle for peace. They are determined to intensify cooperation with the non-aligned countries in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, expansionism and hegemonism, racism, zionism and apartheid, for a new international economic order established on an equitable and rational basis. They warmly welcome the Seventh Summit Conference of the non-aligned countries to be held in New Delhi in March 1983 and are confident that its success will be an important contribution to the common struggle of all nations for peace, national independence and social progress in the world.

The three countries of Indochina are prepared to develop good relations with their neighbouring countries as well as with countries of different political and social

systems on the basis of principles of peaceful co-existence.

The three peoples of Indochina have an age-old tradition of friendship with the Chinese people and always cherish that traditional friendship. The mutual assistance between the Chinese people and the three Indochinese peoples in their struggle for the revolutionary cause is a historical reality which cannot be denied. The present abnormal situation in the relations between the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam with the People's Republic of China is not caused by the three countries of Indochina. The three countries, persistent in their policy, will spare no efforts to restore normal relations with the People's Republic of China on the basis of peaceful co-existence, in the interest of their countries and of the Chinese people.

The Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam have consistently pursued a policy of peace, friendship and good neighbourhood in their relations with the ASEAN countries in spite of obstacles created by international reactionaries in recent years. It has been shown with facts that relations of friendship and cooperation among the countries of Indochina and ASEAN are an important factor in preserving peace and stability in Southeast Asia. They should settle all differences through negotiations in a spirit of good neighbourhood, peaceful co-existence, cooperation and friendship with one another. They should not let outside countries interfere and divide them or

use the territory of one against another and should work together to build Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, stability and cooperation.

The three countries of Indochina with respect for their friendship with the American people, express their desire to have normal relations with the United States on the basis of equality, respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and non-interference in each country's internal affairs.

The three peoples of Indochina express their sincere gratitude to the Soviet Union, fraternal socialist countries, non-aligned countries, international organizations and friends all over the five continents for the valuable support and assistance they gave to their just cause and are confident that in the future they will give the three peoples of Indochina more support and assistance.

The combat of the three peoples of Indochina is today stauncher and its perspectives brighter than ever in spite of the difficult and complicated circumstances it faces. Holding high the banner of peace and friendship, their solidarity being combined with the force of the three revolutionary currents of our time, the three peoples of Indochina will certainly overcome all difficulties and trials, and march forward to achieve new and still greater victories in the building up and defence of their beloved homelands, making worthy contributions to the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress in Southeast Asia and in the whole world.

*Vientiane, February 23, 1983*

# STATEMENT

## ON THE PRESENCE OF VIETNAMESE VOLUNTEER TROOPS IN KAMPUCHEA

All through their long struggle for independence and freedom, the peoples of the three countries of Indochina have been closely united, assisting one another and fighting common enemies shoulder to shoulder. Vietnamese volunteers twice fought in Kampuchea side by side with the Kampuchean people's armed forces against aggressions by French colonialists and American imperialists and then withdrew when those aggressions were ended.

After the US defeat in Indochina in 1975, reactionaries among the Beijing ruling circles openly carried out a policy of hostility against the three countries of Indochina, using the Pol Pot clique to conduct the genocide of the Kampuchean people, waging a war of aggression against Vietnam and sabotaging the independence and security of Laos, in an attempt to annex the three countries of Indochina and turn them into springboards for their expansion in Southeast Asia. Proceeding from the traditional militant solidarity between the peoples and exercising the sacred right to self-defence and in response to the request of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea, Vietnamese volunteer troops once again joined the people and the revolutionary armed forces

of Kampuchea in the fight to overthrow the genocidal Pol Pot regime, thereby frustrating China's schemes.

After the Pol Pot clique was ousted, reactionaries among the Beijing ruling circles, in collusion with the US imperialists and other reactionary forces, still went on with their policy of hostility against the three countries of Indochina. They launched a war of aggression against Vietnam in February, 1979, and continue to use Thai territory as a sanctuary where the Pol Pot remnants and other Khmer reactionaries are nurtured and supplied with weapons to commit infiltration, destruction and subversion against the revival of the Kampuchean people; they also unceasingly step up provocations and tension along the Thai—Kampuchean, Thai—Lao and Sino—Vietnamese borders and conduct a multifaceted war of sabotage against the Indochinese countries, thus jeopardizing peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

In these circumstances and according to the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation signed in February 1979 by the two countries, the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea requested Vietnamese volunteer troops to stay on in Kampuchea

to fulfil their internationalist obligations, assist the Kampuchean people and armed forces for national construction and defence against intervention by reactionaries among the Beijing ruling circles and other reactionary forces. The presence of Vietnamese volunteer troops in Kampuchea meets the interests and keen aspirations of the Kampuchean people and completely conforms to the principles of the Non-Aligned Movement and the UN Charter on the right of nations to help each other for the purpose of self-defence.

In the past, Vietnamese volunteer troops together with the armed forces of Kampuchea and Laos defeated the wars of aggression conducted by colonialists and imperialists against the three countries of Indochina, thus eradicating the source of threat to peace and security of the peoples in Southeast Asia. Recently, for the third time they were sent to Kampuchea. This is a response to the need for solidarity and mutual assistance to cope with the danger of intervention and aggression from outside and not a threat to any country. Vietnamese volunteer troops are staying in Kampuchea at the request of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, they will return home at its request.



The presence of the Vietnamese volunteers in Kampuchea in the last four years has contributed to defeating attempts of reactionaries among the Beijing ruling circles acting in collusion with the US imperialists and other reactionary forces. Within a short period of time, the people of Kampuchea, with intelligence, bravery and creative genius, have recorded great achievements in their national reconstruction and defence; the armed forces of Kampuchea have been unceasingly consolidated. The People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam are determined to strengthen their solidarity and cooperation so as to contribute to the defence of peace and security of the three countries of Indochina.

Proceeding from their constant position on the presence of the Vietnamese volunteers in Kampuchea and taking account of the present situation, the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam agreed on the following:

1. All Vietnamese volunteer troops would be withdrawn from Kampuchea after the threat by reactionaries among the Beijing ruling circles and other reactionary forces as well as the using of Thai territory against the People's Republic of Kampuchea and all support for the Pol Pot clique and other Khmer reactionaries cease completely and the peace and security of Kampuchea, particularly along the Kampuchean — Thai border, are assured.

2. Each year a partial withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteer troops from Kampuchea will be decided upon with due consideration for the security of Kampuchea.

3. Following the withdrawal in 1982, some more units of Vietnamese volunteers will be withdrawn from Kampuchea in 1983.

4. In case the withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteer troops from Kampuchea is taken advantage of at the expense of peace and security of Kampuchea, the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea will consult with the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, as provided for in the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation between the two countries.

The Kampuchean people will keep forever in their memories the service given them by Vietnamese volunteer-officers and soldiers who, guided by the spirit of noble internationalism, spared no sacrifice to assist the Kampuchean people in fighting intervention by outside reactionary forces and their henchmen, i.e. the genocidal Pol Pot clique and other Khmer reactionaries, thereby creating favourable conditions for the revival and national reconstruction of the Kampuchean people.

The Lao People's Democratic Republic highly appreciates and warmly welcomes the above-mentioned decision of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and considers it a token of goodwill and an important new contribution to peace and security of the three countries of Indochina and to peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

The Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea reaffirms its determination to build an independent, peaceful and non-aligned Kampuchea. Once again, it declares that those Kampucheans who are in the ranks of the Pol Pot and other Khmer reactionary cliques, or who collaborate either directly or indirectly with them against the revival of the Kampuchean people, in service of the hegemonistic schemes of the reactionary clique in the Beijing

ruling circles and international reactionary forces, will enjoy all civic rights including the right to stand for election and to vote in free elections as stipulated in the Constitution if they leave the Pol Pot and other Khmer reactionary forces, give up their collaboration with them and respect the Constitution of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Foreigners will be invited to observe the free elections in Kampuchea.

The Lao People's Democratic Republic and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam highly appreciate the above-mentioned judicious policy of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

The Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam consistently pursue the policy of peace, friendship and cooperation with neighbouring countries and all others. In this spirit, they once again reiterate their proposals on concluding non-aggression treaties and normalising relations with China and the ASEAN countries on the basis of principles of peaceful co-existence and organising an international conference on South-east Asia to solve problems concerning peace and stability in the area.

Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam are confident that with the efforts by all parties concerned, Southeast Asia, which has been in a state of tension for over thirty years now, will become a zone of peace, stability, friendship and cooperation, with no foreign military bases, no foreign troops or foreign intervention, in accordance with the interest and aspirations of the peoples in Southeast Asia and the world.

Vientiane, February 23, 1983



# FOR PEACE, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Pham Van Dong, delivered a speech at the plenary meeting of the Seventh Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in New Delhi on March 8, 1983. Following is the full text.

The title and sub-headings are ours. Ed.

It is indeed an honour for us all that this historic gathering should take place in New Delhi, capital of the great Republic of India. In this city, as early as 1947, upon Jawaharlal Nehru's initiative, nearly 20 countries from all over the Asian continent met to express their militant solidarity for the cause of national independence and voice their dream of a world of peace, friendship and cooperation. With the Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung in 1955, followed in 1961 by the First Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement convened in Belgrade and later by the summit conferences in Cairo, Lusaka, Algiers, Colombo, Havana and today once again in New Delhi, successive milestones on the movement's course of growth were laid in close connection with developments that altogether altered the face of Asian, African and Latin American continents.

In this very city of New Delhi, in 1947, Jawaharlal Nehru, a great son of the Indian people, outlined

far- and deep-reaching concepts regarding non-alignment that until now have proved relevant to the trend of the movement. Jawaharlal Nehru stressed that "our foreign policy of non-alignment" has this positive aspect of peace" and pointed out that the other positive aspects are the "replacement of colonialism by free and independent countries and a larger degree of cooperation among nations". Jawaharlal Nehru added that we, the non-aligned countries "are not committed to the military blocs". This means that we are prepared to welcome new horizons in keeping with the will and aspirations of the people of our countries and the evolution of history.

Cradle of a culture that has given birth to noble spiritual values and marvellous works of art, crucible of the Mahabharata and Ramayana epics and of hard-working and valiant workers, homeland of Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Rabindranath Tagore, India is a country that has made impor-

tant contributions to the nations' peace, independence and freedom on this continent and in the world. India is steadily developing her economy and culture and solving the many highly difficult problems that face a large country. The green revolution in India has allowed a fast growth in the productivity and the production of grain, bringing the essential ending of the age-old food shortage. India's industry with a potential and with achievements ranking tenth in the world has attained an advanced level in a number of important sectors and is steadily making headway. India has obtained results of international stature in several modern scientific and technical branches, and recorded significant cultural and artistic achievements. To us, developing countries, this represents a cause for rejoicing.

We hold in high consideration the extraordinary efforts exerted by India that made thorough preparations for this conference within but a short time.

On behalf of the people and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, I would like to convey warm greetings to President Zail Singh and to the Government and the great people of India. Our wishes of best success go to the new chairwoman of the Non-Aligned Movement in the discharge of her noble duty.

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As everyone knows, in the recent past, international reactionaries have spared no efforts to undermine the Non-Aligned Movement and attack the country chairing the movement. This is quite easy to understand. The resolutions of the Sixth Summit Conference in Havana provided a correct and comprehensive expression of the movement's objectives. The Republic of Cuba did not disappoint us in the trust we placed in this heroic country. Faithful to the resolutions of the Sixth Summit Conference, resolutely preserving the internal unity of the movement, and showing full consideration for the aspirations and respect for the opinions of member States, Cuba and President Fidel Castro have, in the last three years, successfully taken the Non-Aligned Movement through a most critical phase and ensured its continued growth. It was during that period precisely that on the strength of its fine tradition the Non-Aligned Movement passed resolutions severely condemning the forces of aggression, strongly defending national independence and national liberation, and making an active contribution to the solution of the great problems of our times. In its position as chairman of the movement,

Cuba mobilised the non-aligned countries in their endeavour to rise out of poverty and backwardness and make constant progress on the path of economic and cultural development, and evolution towards the establishment of a new international economic order.

### **The Non-Aligned Movement, the Invincible Strength of History on the Rise**

In the history of mankind, from the middle of the sixteenth century, through hundreds of years to the twentieth century, the conquest and exploitation by Western capitalist countries of colonies took place everywhere, from the old to the "new world". In the course of this conquest and exploitation, they constantly resorted to the most evil manoeuvres and perpetrated countless bloody crimes.

For several centuries, oppressed peoples have successively stood up in struggle, determined to reconquer and defend their independence and freedom, thereby writing glorious pages of history and setting shining examples of bravery, staunchness and indomitability. In the early years of the twentieth century, with the success of the Russian October Revolution, mankind's history underwent extremely important developments. The national liberation movement broadened and after the Second World War spread tremendously to all continents: over a hundred countries regained their independence, leading to the birth of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Since its foundation, the Non-Aligned Movement has experienced a rapid growth and has gradually become a force endowed with a major position, significance and

We express cordial appreciation to President Fidel Castro for his high sense of responsibility and activities in his capacity as chairman of our movement over the last three years and for the important contributions made by glorious Cuba.

impact on the whole development of mankind.

The world situation today demonstrates imperialism's decline and deepening engulfment in an all-embracing political, economic, cultural and spiritual crisis, whereas our Non-Aligned Movement represents the ascending forces and embodies the necessary trend of history.

At present, we are on the whole poor, some of us, very poor, countries. At the same time, we are backward in the fields of economy, science and technology. This is an abnormal situation, the very cause of which we have to expose so as to draw relevant conclusions for our activities.

From this forum, we expose the deep root and the direct cause of this state of affairs as being precisely the many centuries-long oppression and exploitation by colonialism and imperialism as well as the continuing neo-colonialist policy that is being carried out by pernicious manoeuvres. In Western societies, this truth is acknowledged by clear-sighted people, people with a conscience. Progressive mankind stands by our side against the former and present policy of subjugation and exploitation that widens further the economic, scientific and technological gap between

us and the developed capitalist countries.

Here the need arises to restore a historical truth. Many of our countries have been, from ancient times, the cradle of brilliant civilizations and the source of great contributions to the development of mankind. Our own research workers as well as those from the West continue to discover new features in the ancient cultural patrimony of many of our countries.

In today's world we are developing countries in the finest and most positive sense of this concept. The Non-Aligned Movement as a whole, as well as each one of our countries are looking ahead with the determination to reconquer and preserve national independence. On this basis we are vigorously moving forward in the political, economic, cultural and social fields.

Our history of long arduous fight and construction proves that we are nations generously endowed with courage, intelligence, creative talent and also abundant manpower and rich resources. By relying on the forces of each respective country as well as the aggregate forces of the whole movement, while at the same time promoting cooperation with the socialist countries, the international organizations and the progressive circles within Western countries, we are certain to succeed in the task of consolidating our national independence, overcoming our poverty and eliminating our economic, scientific and technological underdevelopment. We shall build ours into prosperous countries with a comfortable and happy life for the people, creating a truly civilised way of life and fine human relations. This many countries in our movement are already doing and most of us will be doing.

In the context of imperialism's decline and deep engulfment in crisis, contrasting with the constant growth of the forces of peace, national independence, democracy and progress in the world, the imperialist powers are resorting to subtler and more pernicious manoeuvres with a view to intensifying their arms race, war preparations, intervention and aggression, stepping up their economic exploitation and coercion, thus confronting our movement and the whole of mankind with extremely serious challenges. Such a situation requires that we prove all the more steadfast and clear-sighted, determined to strive perseveringly for the realisation of the highly topical overall objectives of the whole movement, as well as of each country among us, which are: the defence of peace, the safeguarding of national independence and the establishment of a new, fair and reasonable international economic order. The whole movement and each of our countries have to show a full awareness and staunch will and take appropriate measures to make our greatest possible contribution to the solution of these most crucial and pressing problems.

Together with the peace forces of the world, our movement actively supports all initiatives aimed at putting an end to the arms race, achieving disarmament, defending world peace and detente, against the adventurist, warlike policy of US imperialism and international reactionary forces that is creating dangers of war in many regions and confronting mankind with the catastrophe of nuclear war.

With the close coordination existing within our ranks, side by side with the other democratic and progressive forces, our movement firmly

supports the struggle for self-determination and the defence of the nations' independence and sovereignty against all manoeuvres of neo-colonialism aimed at maintaining their domination and exploitation of many countries.

Our movement is broadening South-South cooperation in the fields of economy and science and technology. South-South cooperation is a great cause of our movement, a cause of pressing topical significance. All of our countries have to strive perseveringly toward a multiform cooperation through effective measures, covering many areas and aiming at realistic objectives. On the basis of a strengthened South-South cooperation, we shall proceed to open global negotiations on North-South relations, focussing on pressing issues, i.e. how to develop the production of food grain and energy, ensure equitable terms of trade, increase sources of investment capital for the developing countries, thus paving the way for the establishment of a new international economic order, against the designs of US imperialism and imperialist countries to continue imposing unequal relations, plundering our national resources and exerting economic coercion on us. At this point, I would like to recall Madagascar's proposals that were welcomed by the Sixth Summit in Havana.

In order to fulfil these highly significant tasks, what counts most and demands our main and constant concern is that our Non-Aligned Movement should strengthen its solidarity and unity. We are all fully aware of the acts of division carried out by imperialist powers and international reactionaries according to their traditional motto



of "divide and rule". Naturally, due to the fact that our movement encompasses a very large number of countries differing in many aspects, there exist inevitable divergences and even disputes on a number of problems within the movement as well as on certain international issues. However, these divergences and disputes are but minor compared with the common interests of our countries in the face of the challenges that imperialism is posing to the whole movement. It is entirely within our capability and indeed a duty for us to resolve together our internal problems through negotiations so as to reach an agreement or an acceptable settlement. Our customary approach consists in reaching a consensus over issues inscribed in the agenda of our various organizations. This is a clear-sighted and tested way of proceeding that helps safeguard the unity of the movement. Let all of us close ranks in unity, help one another and coordinate our efforts in the struggle for the common objectives, not allowing the movement to deviate from its orientation and interests. Looking back over the twenty-two-year span since the foundation of the movement, we feel all the more confident of our victory. The Non-Aligned Movement and each of our countries in particular, have grown at the same pace with mankind, and are animated by the invincible strength of history on the rise as it advances along the path of national, social and individual liberation. Just like India, Cuba, Algeria and many other countries, Vietnam is striving in this direction and we are convinced that all countries within the movement do so, too.

The Vietnamese people have gone through decades of endeavours and sacrifices in order to liberate their

country and build a new life. President Ho Chi Minh stated: "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom." This is a manifestation of the Vietnamese people's most powerful and deepest resolve, in accordance with the earnest aspirations of all peoples in the world and with the truth of our times.

Imperialists and international reactionaries are seeking by all means to encircle and undermine Vietnam so as to "bleed" her. They are trying by all means to tarnish

Vietnam's image in the mind of mankind. Our Vietnamese people show all the more determination in doing their utmost to foil all schemes and acts of the enemy, to overcome all obstacles, firmly defend their independence, freedom and territorial integrity, successfully carry out their tasks of economic and cultural development, and shoulder to shoulder with the other members of the Non-Aligned Movement struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress throughout the world.

### Peace and National Independence

At present, peace is the most important and urgent need of each of us and of the whole mankind. Therefore the struggle for peace represents our foremost and most topical task.

The successive peace initiatives of the Soviet Union, the proposals put forward by Sweden, India and the Non-Aligned countries regarding disarmament and the relaxation of tension in international relations all arise from an attitude of high responsibility towards the destiny of mankind.

We wholly endorse the peace initiatives of the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty member States' Political Consultative Committee held in Prague.

We support the aspirations of the countries which wish to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace and demand that the US dismantle its military bases in the Indian Ocean. We back Mauritius in its demand for the retrieval of its sovereignty over the Chagos archipelago among which is Diego Garcia. We stand consistently and

resolutely on the side of Asian, African and Latin American peoples in their struggle against the subjugation, domination and exploitation by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, expansionism, hegemonism, racial discrimination and all other forms of oppression.

It is with utmost indignation that we condemn the most barbarous crimes committed by the Israeli aggressors against the Lebanese, Palestinian and other Arab peoples. US imperialism which supplies the Zionists with weapons and planned the aggression, must bear responsibility for these awful crimes. The just cause of the Palestinian people whose sole legitimate representative is the PLO, along with that of the other Arab peoples, is weathering major difficulties and making progress. It will certainly wrest final victory.

We extend our resolute support to the people of Namibia, led by SWAPO, to the struggle of the South African people under the leadership of the African National Congress against the brutal domi-

nation of colonialism and apartheid. The South African aggressors must put an immediate end to their attacks and policies of hostility and aggression towards Mozambique, Angola and the other frontline States. We support the Democratic Arab Republic of Sahrawi under the leadership of the POLISARIO Front in the struggle for the realisation of their fundamental national rights.

US imperialism's policy of intervention and threat of aggression represents the cause of the situation of tension and a menace to the independence and revolution of the Central American and Caribbean countries. We resolutely demand that the US terminate its policy of hostility directed against Cuba and return to her the Guantanamo base. We give full support to the heroic struggle of the peoples of Nicaragua, Grenada, El Salvador, Guatemala, Puerto Rico, Surinam, Panama, Guyana, Argentina and the fraternal countries in Latin America for national independence and sovereignty, territorial integrity, and social progress.

Our determined support goes to the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the heroic Afghan people who, with the assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, are fighting against the undeclared war waged by imperialism and international reaction, for the safeguard of the April Revolution gains.

We sternly demand that the US withdraw its troops from South Korea and put an immediate end to its intervention and subversion directed against other Asian countries.

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Through the past few decades, the three Indochinese countries have united closely, staunchly struggling and wresting glorious victory in the reconquest of their independence and freedom and in building their countries in keeping with each respective country's characteristics. At present, the expansionists and hegemonists within the Chinese ruling circles, acting in collusion with US imperialism and other reactionary forces, are carrying on their policy of hostility and their multi-faceted acts of sabotage against the three Indochinese countries, the most serious being directed specially against Kampuchea.

In the face of such a situation, recently the Laos—Kampuchea—Vietnam Summit Conference was held in Vientiane with a view to strengthening the solidarity and cooperation among these three countries in their national construction and defence. With regard to the situation in Kampuchea, the conference underscored the need to eliminate all danger of interference from outside so that the Kampuchean people may pursue their revival and proceed towards a normal life, and the Vietnamese volunteer troops may totally withdraw on the basis of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation signed by the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The statements of the conference constitute an important contribution to peace in Southeast Asia, a manifestation of the Indochinese countries' goodwill, of their desire to establish relations of peace, friendship and cooperation with the ASEAN countries, to normalise relations with China and to maintain permanent and sincere ties of friendship with the Chinese

people. We are convinced that with the goodwill and endeavour of all parties, peace and stability will finally be restored in the Southeast Asian region.

Once again, allow me on behalf of the Government and people of Vietnam to convey our sincere thanks to all brothers and friends within the Non-Aligned Movement and over the five continents for the support they have given to our just cause.

Let all our delegations join efforts in striving for the fine success of this summit conference, thus paving the way for new victories of the Non-Aligned Movement. We all express our respect and our thanks to Cuba and President Fidel Castro for the excellent discharge of their mandate. All of us warmly welcome and voice full confidence in India and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in their capacity as new chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement.

May our seventh summit mark a new growth of the movement on the basis of our strengthened solidarity and endeavour to achieve the major objectives which are peace, national independence and the setting up of a new international economic order.

Through several decades, from Havana to New Delhi and for the years to come, the torch of the Non-Aligned Movement has been, is and will be continuously burning bright, illuminating and stimulating billions of people resolved as one in the endeavour to change their own lives with all the broad and deep significance that this implies, thus contributing to the renewal of the lives of the world people, i.e. people's emergence from the life of slaves to that of masters of their own fate.

# ON THE REPRESENTATION OF KAMPUCHEA IN THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

At the Conference of the Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries held in New Delhi on March 3, 1983 in preparation for the 7th Non-Aligned Summit Conference, Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach presented Vietnam's views on the question of the representation of Kampuchea in the Non-Aligned Movement.

He pointed out that those who argued for the presence of Pol Pot, or Pol Pot in disguise, in the movement had acted in the interest of neither the Kampuchean people nor of the highest interest of the movement. He urged this 7th summit to accomplish its noble task of uniting the Non-Aligned countries in the struggle for peace, national independence and a new international economic order.

He added: "Like the imperialists and reactionaries who did not hide their apprehension about this conference, they want our conference to waste time and get bogged down in discussions of the differences among some Non-Aligned countries which everyone can see are impossible to solve at the present moment. They are trying to make use of this forum to distort truth and reverse black and white."

The Vietnamese Foreign Minister put the following three questions:

The first question is, who is the genuine representative of the Kampuchean people? Any visitor to Kampuchea may ask any Kampuchean what they wish for, the genocidal Pol Pot clique or the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea which is organizing and leading the rebirth of the Kampuchean people, and he or she will easily get a clear answer.

The second question is about the Vietnamese volunteer troops in Kampuchea. These volunteers, Nguyen Co Thach pointed out, are gradually withdrawing each year and will pull out completely once China has ended its threat to the security of Kampuchea, terminated its assistance to Pol Pot and the

use of Thai territory against the Kampuchean people.

He went on:

"Singapore deplored the fact that the Non-Aligned Movement had not said anything against what it called the 'Vietnamese aggression' of Kampuchea' while the United Nations had condemned it. History has drawn a clear dividing line between aggression and occupation by a foreign army and the right to legitimate self-defence and the assistance of one nation to another for self-defence. In the Second World War, the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain made use of their right to self-defence to overthrow Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism and helped the people of the countries under their rule set up independent States. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, when commenting on the presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan, rightly remarked that the essential is to know whether these troops are occupying that country or are helping its people to help themselves. Today, who is helping in the rebirth of the Kampuchean people and who wants to reimpose the genocidal Pol Pot regime there?"

"Obviously, the wonderful achievements recorded by the Kampuchean people during the past four years are inseparable from the presence of the Vietnamese volunteer troops in Kampuchea. It is also obvious that the Kampuchean people continue to live under the threat of genocide by Pol Pot assisted by foreign powers and taking shelter on Thai territory.

"The Socialist Republic of Vietnam has unequivocally declared that Vietnamese volunteers in Kampuchea have come to Kampuchea at the request of the PRK and will withdraw at the request of the PRK. Any foreign visitor to Kampuchea may ask any Kampuchean on the presence of Vietnamese volunteers and he or she will be told that the Kampuchean people want the Vietnamese volun-

teers to remain in Kampuchea to help them defend the most sacred human right which is the right to live, and to counter the danger of Pol Pot again subjecting them to suffering and death. The ASEAN countries have loudly protested against the presence of Vietnamese volunteers in Kampuchea. Some of them actually took part in or supported the aggressive war of the United States in Vietnam and are today allowing their territories to be used as military bases of the United States. They are also supporting the occupation of East Timor by foreign troops.

"The Non-Aligned Movement has acted on the dictate of human conscience and has not stepped in the rut of the United Nations. Everyone knows that the United Nations condemned China as an aggressor when Chinese volunteers went to Korea to help the Korean people and it supported the United States which was the aggressor against Korea, and regarded the United States as the defender of the free world. From 1950 the United Nations recognized Taiwan and refused to recognize the existence of the People's Republic of China. In the end the situation in China has reversed the resolution of the United Nations. In the sixties and seventies public opinion universally condemned the aggressive war against Vietnam, but everybody knows that the United Nations acted as an accomplice of the United States by keeping silent. Moreover, the United States, who was the aggressor, had its seat at the United Nations while Vietnam who was the victim of aggression was excluded from this organization for thirty-five years.

"The Non-Aligned Movement comprises countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America which were victims of aggression and exploitation by colonialism, imperialism and other reactionary forces. The United Nations comprises all countries in the world including both the aggressors and the victims of aggression. To defend the interests of the Asian, African and Latin American countries against aggression and exploitation is one of the objectives of the Non-Aligned Movement. The resolutions of the Movement reflect our interests.

"In the fifties the United Nations was under the sway of imperialism but since the sixties it has changed gradually, that is thanks to the struggle of the Non-Aligned Movement, the socialist countries



# THE SEVENTH NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT CONFERENCE

## — A GREAT SUCCESS FOR PEACE AND PROGRESSIVE FORCES

*In an interview with Vietnam News Agency right after the conclusion of the 7th Non-Aligned Summit Conference in New Delhi, Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach highlighted the success of the conference.*

*Following are the questions and answers:*

**How do you assess the general result of the 7th Summit of the non-aligned countries in New Delhi?**

The New Delhi Summit ended in success, contrary to the desire of the US imperialists and the reactionaries in Beijing. The conference contributed to strengthening the solidarity of the non-aligned countries in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, against the policy of the arms race, for peace, national independence and a new international economic order.

The full extent of the conference's success can be evaluated only when compared with the great efforts deployed by the United States, China and other reactionary forces over many months and in many areas aimed at sabotaging the conference. The United States' scheme of pitting the non-aligned countries against the Soviet Union

has failed. So has the plot of China to manipulate the Third World to oppose the "two superpowers" which is actually to oppose the Soviet Union, and to plead for the United States.

The differences between member countries of the movement have been put aside or have been arranged between the concerned parties. These were not able to prevent the success of the conference. The member countries have shown a high sense of responsibility toward the common interest and have enabled the Non-Aligned Movement to continue developing in a positive direction, thus meeting the demands of the situation and the aspiration of the people of all nations.

The conference ended in success and did not collapse as had been expected by the US imperialists and the Chinese reactionaries.

**Would you comment on the resolution of the conference concerning the representation of Kampuchea?**

For four consecutive years, the United Nations has voted for erroneous resolutions recognizing the genocidal Pol Pot regime. China and the ASEAN countries have endeavoured to impose these erroneous resolutions on the Non-Aligned Movement. But the 7th Summit decided to retain the resolution of the 6th Summit in Havana and to leave vacant the seat of Kampuchea. This is the most glaring defeat for China and the other reactionary forces. They failed to bring Sihanouk to the conference in spite of all their threats, pressure, and deceptive manoeuvres in an attempt to coax the non-aligned countries into supporting the political corpse of the "coalition government". They also failed in their attempt to use

and other countries cherishing peace and justice. It is the duty of the Non-Aligned Movement to gradually loosen the control of the United States and the other imperialist powers over the United Nations. We should not do the contrary. To make the Non-Aligned countries follow the unjust resolutions of the United Nations is

actually to comply with the wish of US imperialism and international reaction."

The third question put by Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach refers to ASEAN's allegation that the vacating of the Kampuchean seat had been an arbitrary act of the Cuban Chairman. The Vietnamese Foreign Minister cited

many facts proving that Cuba has discharged in an outstanding manner its responsibility of defending the resolution of the 6th Non-Aligned Summit by leaving vacant the seat of Kampuchea. As a result of the discussions at the foreign ministers' conference in New Delhi, the seat of Kampuchea is left vacant for the time being.

the question of Kampuchean representation to create schisms within the conference and to divert it from other questions. They compelled the ministerial conference to devote almost all its time to discussing the question of representation of Kampuchea. This bitter and prolonged debate has brought out still more clearly their lamentable defeat and has led to the resolution of the ministerial conference to leave vacant the seat of Kampuchea and not to refer the question to the summit.

**What is your comment on the discussion of the question of Southeast Asia at the conference?**

The ASEAN countries provoked the debate on the question of Southeast Asia at the Political Committee with a view to imposing on the Non-Aligned Movement the erroneous resolution of the UN General Assembly and the UN-sponsored international conference on the so-called "Kampuchea question" and to rejecting the resolution of the ministerial conference of non-aligned countries in New Delhi in February 1981.

Everybody knows that the New Delhi formula concerning Southeast Asia was the result of a bitter debate between the two groups of countries, Indochina and ASEAN. The latter demanded a solution to the so-called "Kampuchea question". But the New Delhi resolution pointed out that there must be a global solution to the questions in Southeast Asia. ASEAN urged the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops but the New Delhi resolution provides for the withdrawal of all foreign forces and military bases from Southeast Asia. They wanted to provoke confrontation but the New Delhi resolution encourages dialogue in order to restore peace, stability and develop cooperation in the region.

In 1981, after the ministerial conference of non-aligned countries adopted this resolution, the ASEAN countries set out to distort its letter and spirit, describing it as their "victory". At the summit conference this time, they put forward a new demand and negated the resolution on Southeast Asia adopted by the New Delhi

conference in 1981. However, the 7th Summit rejected their new draft resolution and decided to retain intact the resolution on Southeast Asia of the New Delhi Conference in 1981.

**What are the reasons behind the conference's big success?**

The fundamental reasons for the success of the 7th Non-Aligned Summit are:

The world situation during the past few years has developed in a way favourable to peace, national independence and social progress. The forces of peace and national independence have continued to grow. US imperialism has met with numerous difficulties and failures in its attempt to push the world to the brink of war and to oppose the independence and sovereignty of nations. The contradictions among the imperialist countries and between the imperialist countries and the developing countries in both the political and economic fields have become more and more acute.

The non-aligned countries have seen more and more clearly the cruel nature of imperialism and have gradually become disillusioned about "economic aid" from imperialism. At the same time, the non-aligned countries have had to cope with the scheme of the imperialists and reactionaries to divide the Non-Aligned Movement. That is why, there has been a very strong demand within the movement to increase solidarity, to oppose all divisive plots and focus efforts on the common struggle for peace, independence and economic development. The divisive allegations were merely discordant notes at the conference.

**Why did the ASEAN countries fail to impose the United Nations resolution on the representation of Kampuchea and the so-called "Kampuchea question" on the Non-Aligned Movement?**

The United Nations comprises all kinds of countries in the world, including imperialists and international reactionaries while the Non-Aligned Movement comprises

countries which have been victims of aggression by imperialism and colonialism or are being heavily exploited economically. It also encompasses peace-loving countries.

As a result, over the past 38 years, the United Nations have adopted many resolutions contrary to the interests of the Non-Aligned Movement including the resolution on the so-called "Kampuchea question" which the United States and China have been trying to impose on a number of nations.

The Non-Aligned Movement has flatly rejected the erroneous resolutions of the United Nations concerning the so-called "Kampuchea question". That is in the interest of the unity of the movement and in the interest of the common struggle for peace, independence and economic development.

**How do you assess the role of India in the Non-Aligned Movement?**

India is the cradle of the Non-Aligned Movement and a country with a great historic role in the development of the movement. India is also a big country pursuing a foreign policy of peace, independence and broad international cooperation. She has a lot of experience and the ability to effectively promote South-South economic cooperation. South-South cooperation is a determining factor in the struggle for a new international economic order.

For all these reasons, India is fully worthy of the trust of the whole Non-Aligned Movement.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, who is now the Chairperson of the Non-Aligned Movement, made outstanding contributions to the success of the conference. She will certainly continue to do her part in taking the movement forward in the interests of peace and the welfare of the more than 100 countries of our Non-Aligned Movement.

# **THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT**

## **AND THE STRUGGLE**

### **OF THE INDOCHINESE PEOPLES**

The Non-Aligned Movement has given increasing support to the just struggle of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, especially since the Third Summit Conference held in Lusaka (Zambia) from September 8 to 10, 1970. The representative of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam attended this conference as an observer. The conference adopted a resolution on Indochina, condemning the US war escalation in Indochina and declaring full support for the struggle of the people of the three Indochinese countries for freedom and independence, and demanding immediate, complete and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnam so that the Vietnamese people might exercise their right to self-determination without outside interference..

The consultative conference of the foreign ministers of non-aligned countries held in New York in September 1970 reiterated the resolution on Indochina adopted at the Lusaka conference and voiced support for the seven-point proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam.

The conference of foreign ministers of non-aligned countries held in Georgetown (Guyana) in August 1972 passed a resolution on Indochina condemning the aggressive policy and the war escalation of the United States in Indochina and reaffirming its support for the just and heroic struggle of the people

of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea for independence and freedom. The conference demanded that the US government end its war in South Vietnam conducted in the form of its "Vietnamization of the war" policy, and discontinue the mining and blockade of Vietnamese ports and its air strikes against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The 4th Summit Conference of non-aligned countries held in Algiers from September 5 to 9, 1973 was attended by the Republic of South Vietnam in its capacity as a full member. The conference passed special resolutions on Vietnam and Kampuchea. The resolution on Vietnam welcomed the signing of the Paris Agreement on Vietnam, regarding this victory of the Vietnamese people as a common victory of the non-aligned countries and of all nations struggling against imperialism and colonialism, old and new, for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. The resolution demanded that the United States and the Saigon administration put an immediate and effective end to their violations of the Paris Agreement on Vietnam and strictly abide by the provisions of this agreement.

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam came to the 5th Non-Aligned Summit held in Colombo (Sri Lanka) from August 16 to 19, 1976 as representative of 50 million people of a completely liberated and reunified Vietnam. The Poli-

tical Declaration of the conference extended the heartiest congratulations on the great victory of 1975 of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea and brought out its historic significance. The declaration stressed that the victorious fight of the Vietnamese people was a big contribution to the common struggle of the non-aligned countries and the whole of progressive mankind against the common enemies, namely imperialism, colonialism, old and new, and racial discrimination, for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress, and called on the international community to actively cooperate in helping rebuild the war-devastated economy of Vietnam. At this summit, Vietnam was elected to the Coordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Movement.

The 6th Summit Conference of non-aligned countries held from September 3 to 9, 1979 in Havana (Cuba) decided to leave vacant the seat of Kampuchea at all conferences of the Non-Aligned Movement. This decision practically threw the Pol Pot criminals of genocide, henchmen of the reactionaries in the Chinese ruling circles, out of this international organization.

The conference of the foreign ministers of non-aligned countries held in New Delhi from February 9 to 13, 1981, in the section about Southeast Asia of its Final Declaration, expressed deep concern over



the general situation in Southeast Asia resulting from the continuing conflicts and tensions in the region, and urged the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the region in order to ensure full respect for the right to self-determination, independence and territorial integrity of all nations in the region, including Kampuchea, the realization of a global political solution and the conducting of dialogues to solve the differences between nations with a view to establishing durable peace and security in the region and eliminating involvement and threat from outside. It also decided to maintain the resolution of the Havana Summit to keep the seat of Kampuchean vacant.

In this connection, the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam recalled that the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea had many times declared that all decisions pertaining to the sovereignty of Kampuchea taken without the participation or the approval of the Council would be considered illegal and null and void. The Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam fully supports this stand of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

At the conference of the foreign ministers of non-aligned countries held in New Delhi from 3 to 5 March 1983 in preparation for the Seventh Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement, it was once again decided to leave the seat of Kampuchea vacant. The Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries, acting as an *ad hoc* committee to examine the question of Kampuchea's representation, will make recommendations on the subject to the conference of foreign ministers to be held in 1985.

At the Seventh Summit of Non-Aligned Countries held in New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, in the section about Southeast Asia of its Final Declaration, the formula which had been adopted by the conference of foreign ministers in New Delhi in February 1981 was retained.

# TEA and TEA PROCESSING

When did tea first appear in our country and come into our daily life? Nobody knows. But we do know that in the early decades of the twentieth century, with the policy of exploiting their colonies, French capitalists had a plan to grow and process tea. Thus many tea plantations owned by French colonialists were set up in the Bac Bo uplands, in Gia Lai—Kon Tum and Lam Dong provinces.

Besides tea plantations, several small tea-processing factories were built for export.

Tea exportation in Vietnam before the August 1945 Revolution was as follows: 1925: 1,051.9 tonnes; 1926: 1,145 tonnes; 1936: 1,306 tonnes; 1940: 2,446 tonnes. According to Vietnamese and foreign research workers, our uplands and red basaltic soil are suitable for tea cultivation.

In Vietnam over 90,000 ha could be exploited for tea-growing; however only 50,000 of them have been used so far. Tea output is still rather low: just over 3 tonnes of fresh tea-buds per hectare on average in State tea farms or from 1 to 2 tonnes per hectare in each peasant household and co-operative.

At present the whole country produces more than 20,000 tonnes of dry tea-buds, half of which are for export.

Tea cultivation is concentrated in the following areas: Vinh Phu province, comprising Thanh Ba, Ha Hoa, Doan Hung, Phong Chau and Thanh Son districts. This is regarded as the principal tea-grow-

ing area in our country. Between 1936 and 1939 there were some tea plantations run by the French. Here and there in the province there appeared a few Chinese plantations. Owing to colonial exploitation, the soil became barren, the tea plants degenerated and productivity fell sharply. Nevertheless, the area remains a nursery for tea plants. Twenty-five years ago with Soviet cooperation three tea-processing factories were built in Ha Hoa, Thanh Ba and Doan Hung each with a capacity of 25 to 35 tonnes daily. In 1980 the Song Lo agro-industrial tea complex was established covering Van Linh and Van Hung State farms with the three above-mentioned tea-processing factories, which produce mainly black tea for export, 600 to 700 tonnes a year.

Vinh Phu area grows unmixed tea. Recently Phu Ho experimental farm has successfully crossed a new species from Indian maniquya tea called P.H.1 (Phu Ho 1) which yields 9 to 10 tonnes of tea-buds on average and sometimes up to 20 tonnes in some places. This species is being developed rapidly in the area. Thus Phu Son farm (of joint tea factories), which lies in Thanh Son district (Vinh Phu), has planted P.H.1 on two-thirds of its tea area and got 15 tonnes/ha in some places. Specially for export, P.H.1 is strong, sweet and fresh. Each year Vietnam exports up to 5,000 tonnes of black tea.

Vinh Phu area has also two other varieties of tea for export: Thanh Tam and Hong Dao which



Picking tea in a State farm in Thanh Son district, Vinh Phu province.

Photo: DAO QUANG THEP

province produces 100 tonnes a year as does Lai Chau; Lac Son, Yen Thuy and Luong Son districts in Ha Son Binh province also produce more than 100 tonnes a year. Song Cau farm in Bac Thai province has an output of 500 tonnes a year not to mention the tea produced by agricultural co-operatives in Dai Tu, Phu Luong and Dinh Hoa districts. Bac Thai tea is highly appreciated nationwide, particularly the Tan Cuong variety, which gives a green, sweet and strong brew that cannot be found anywhere else in the country.

With more than 50,000 hectares and over 10,000 workers in various agro-industrial complexes, the Vietnam tea branch is striving to exploit 70,000 ha by 1985 to ensure the full operation of tea-processing factories—most of them are now working at only 70% of their capacity. A fairly big quantity of fresh tea-buds produced by the population is not yet treated in processing factories.

While expanding the area of tea plantations the joint tea factories are actively boosting intensive cultivation and prolonging the economic cycle of tea plants. In this way many areas exploited for 23 years still give more than 3 tonnes of tea per hectare. A number of tea-growing areas like Thanh Hoa and Nghe Tinh have been handed over to the joint tea factories which have taken measures to exploit and invest during the present five-year plan period and the eighties. The State also enlarges the scope of operation of the branch by allowing it to allot 10% of its yearly output for re-equipment and manuring, namely to feed tea by tea. As a result, the yield increased noticeably in 1982. Another important factor is the encouragement given to investment in peasant households and agricultural cooperatives. This ensures a development of the tea branch for both output and quality in the years to come.

DAO QUANG THEP

although somewhat reduced in quality are still the best in Vietnam.

A research institute on tea biochemistry has been built beside the tea factory in Thanh Ba.

Tran Phu tea-growing area (Hoang Lien Son province) ranks second. It is a relatively concentrated area with an agro-industrial complex, including four State farms: Tran Phu, Nghia Lo, Lien Son, Au Lau, and three tea-processing factories in Tran Phu, Nghia Lo and Yen Bai. Their production amounts to 2,200 tonnes of dry tea a year (Van Chan district alone accounts for 1,500 tonnes).

Ha Tuyen area has about 1,000 ha belonging to two State farms which produce and process tea to the tune of 700 tonnes of dry tea-buds a year, mainly for domestic consumption. Apart from the tea area concentrated in these two farms, Ha Tuyen also has a variety of *san* tea grown in the highland area, such as in Quan Ba district, collected by the local population and purchased by the State to produce a kind of yellow tea for export. Each year Vietnam sells about 1,000 tonnes of yellow tea to foreign markets.

*San* tea is also found in Suoi Giang, Van Chan district, Hoang Lien Son province. However, its purchase and processing still meet with a lot of difficulties due to

poor transport and communication conditions. That is why its exportation is not yet developed despite its renown all over the country.

Moc Chau—Chiang Ve area (Son La province) has two State farms producing and processing tea (more than 900 tonnes/year). These farms also rear milch cows and pedigree oxen.

In the future tea plants grown on these farms will be taken over by the joint tea factories for better investment and production. At present, with Soviet aid, a factory processing black tea for export is being built in Moc Chau plateau with a capacity of 35—42 tonnes a day.

In addition to these big tea-growing areas there are others like the Bau Can—Bien Ho area (in Gia Lai—Kon Tum province) producing more than 100 tonnes of dry tea a year, the Bao Loc area (Lam Dong province) has a fairly good tea for export. In 1927 there was a French plantation producing tea for export to Britain, Belgium and Luxemburg (capacity: 13 tonnes/day). Now Lam Dong tea-growing area has about 400 ha but practically no tea for export. With its potential in land and labour, Da Lat should produce tea for home consumption and export.

The highland and upland areas in Bac Bo and Trung Bo also produce and export tea. Son La

# An important question for the advancement of women in Vietnam:

## VOCATIONAL TRAINING

In 1946, one year after regaining national independence, Vietnam promulgated its first constitution, and for the first time in national history, an official State document recognized the principle of equality between the sexes: "Woman is the equal of man in all fields."

Since then the Constitution of the Vietnamese republic has been reviewed twice in order for it better to accord with the evolution of society and the country. Each time, more concrete and comprehensive formulations were adopted concerning the principle of equality. In the latest Constitution, that of 1980, women's right to equality with men is made concrete through provisions relating to the political, economic, cultural, social and familial fields. The Constitution stipulates in Article 63: "The State and society concern themselves with the raising of the political, cultural, scientific, technical and professional level of women and must promote their role in society."

This gradual advancement of women has received the constant approval of social opinion, for traditionally Vietnamese women have always played an active and efficacious role in the community in all periods of national history.

### **From Equality in Law to Equality in Fact**

Ancient Vietnamese folksongs represent women as standing by the side of their menfolk in daily labour. The old autarkic economy based on small-scale family production required the participation of all members of the family regardless of sex. While in later centuries Confucianism, which had

become the dominant ideology in Vietnamese feudal society, held women in contempt, among the people tradition went in the opposite direction: women remained the equal of men in economic activities and consequently played an important role in the family. Indeed, woman was the manager, the "minister of the interior" as the saying goes. The annals also recognize their active, militant role in the country's defence against foreign aggressions.

And so, even under the feudal regime, and in spite of discriminatory treatment by law and by Confucian rules, women enjoyed a certain degree of *de facto* equality in the family and the village community.

When the Communist Party took in hand the leadership of the struggle for national liberation and, once independence was regained, equality of the sexes became an essential principle of social revolution aimed at the elimination of class exploitation and oppression. The Communist Party of Vietnam correctly assesses the important contribution of Vietnamese women in production and in revolutionary struggle and strives to bring about their emancipation and equality with men.

The Vietnamese woman has become conscious of the fact that her own emancipation is bound up with the country's liberation. In more than thirty years of revolutionary struggle, the importance of her contribution has been recognized by the entire people. In all the years of struggle for national independence and for national construction, many women have been promoted to leading roles in militant organizations and later in State organs. The judicious policy pursued in this field by

the CPV and the Government, and the tremendous efforts put in, by women have resulted in the promotion of women in all fields of activity. Women now account for 52.8% of the workforce and the majority in light industry, medicine, education and trading services.

The change is particularly striking in the countryside where at the liberation of North Vietnam in 1954, 95% of the peasants were illiterate. At present, women managers of farming cooperatives, leaders of production groups, heads of livestock breeding teams, technical teams and people's committees, etc., are leading members of their communities and effectively work for the improvement of their living standards.

Thus, the CPV and the Vietnamese Government have been patiently working for the complete emancipation of women and the full development of their potential. They have created favourable conditions for them to translate this equality in law into equality in fact.

The main point in this endeavour consists in helping women to exercise their right to work and consequently to gain economic independence and their right to manage the country's economy as the equals of men.

### **Catching up with Men: Vocational Training**

The policy of discrimination and obscurantism practised against women under the former regime left serious sequels: 90% of the women were illiterate (in the countryside this proportion was even higher), and almost all were

without education and training, and were condemned to menial drudgery all their lives. In the eyes of feudal law, woman was a minor all her life. Morally and economically she depended on her husband and her menfolk.

With the establishment of people's power, concrete policies and regulations were promulgated by the Vietnamese State to allow women to catch up with men.

First of all, illiteracy was eliminated among young women and working women, then complementary education classes were organized to give them the basic education needed by all working people. By 1959, four years after the liberation of North Vietnam illiteracy had been eradicated. Tens of thousands of women were attending complementary education classes free of charge. In 1975, following the liberation of the South, the same endeavour was undertaken with the watchword: "Bring the light of culture to every corner of the country."

At the same time great attention has been paid by the State to the development of general education. The network of schools extends down to villages and city quarters. All children regardless of sex are admitted; education is dispensed free of charge and the curriculum is the same for boys and girls. Girls benefit from a two-year age dispensation in view of the delay in their education caused by old social habits. Thus the maximum age for the graduating class of secondary education is 18 for boys and 20 for girls. By the end of the first Five-Year Plan (1960-65) the proportion of girl students from the elementary to the secondary levels was 50% of total.

To train scientific and technical cadres for the country's economic development, girls are freely admitted to colleges and universities. At entrance exams to those establishments, girls were at first given one more point, dubbed "priority point for girls". After 20 years, however, this measure was abolished in 1976 upon the proposal of the youth organization. The generation which had grown up under the new regime now wanted real equality.

And yet, priority for young women is still observed in cadre recruitment for such occupations as teaching, medicine, State trading service, which are deemed better suited to women's psycho-physiological characteristics.

Women workers, peasants, and government employees who have distinguished themselves in their work and who are not older than 30, may be admitted to complementary schools for workers and peasants where they will complete their secondary education. Before passing entrance exams to higher education establishments, they will spend one more year in preparatory classes and thus be able to catch up with girls who have received a regular education.

For women graduates of general education schools who have not passed their entrance exams to establishments of higher education, there is a network of second-

dary technical schools where many trades are taught. So far several batches of skilled workers and technicians have been trained for all branches of activity: each ministry, province and city has its own secondary technical schools for the formation of specialists needed by various localities and branches. No legal provision stands in the way of the admission of women to these schools, even in branches usually thought to be suitable only for men. Young women have been attracted to such newly-set up establishments as the garment-making schools in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City, the catering school, the secondary schools training repairers of electrical appliances and television sets, etc. A new generation of skilled technicians has taken the place of unskilled workers of only a dozen years ago. In those secondary schools, girls account for one-

## MONIKA WARN'ENSKA and her 15 works on Vietnam

This Polish woman, Vice-President of the Poland-Vietnam Friendship Association, is the first foreign writer to receive the Resistance Medal from the Vietnamese State. She first came to Vietnam in 1962 and has just made her fourteenth visit to our country, having written a record number of books about Vietnam: 15 in the space of 20 years.

Whilst in Saigon during the American occupation she wrote about the movement of struggle by women and students in Southern towns. In 1965 as a result of a visit to the liberated zones of South Vietnam her book "Three Months with the Guerillas" appear-

ed. It was during this time that she acquired her Vietnamese name of "Sister Ba". In 1975 when South Vietnam was liberated she made a long journey from North to South which she recounts in a book setting off our great victory over the American imperialists. In 1978-1979 she wrote about our two resistance wars in the Southwest and the North against the Chinese hegemons and their Kampuchean agents.

Attending a recent international symposium in Ho Chi Minh City on toxic chemicals used during the war, Warnenska was able to visit the Ma Da forest where the chemicals were sprayed and to see hospitals where the victims of such spraying are being treated. In the future she intends to write a new book on Cham culture.

Apart from her numerous writings on Vietnam she has given many talks on the struggle of our people in Poland and other European countries.

In 1982 Warnenska won a prize for children's literature the theme of which was also Vietnamese.



third or even half of total enrolment.

The State also seeks to free women from household chores by setting up creches and kindergartens in villages and town quarters. Parents contribute only very small sums to the considerable budget needed for the construction of day nurseries and teacher-training schools, nurses' salaries and the cost of food for the children, etc., the main burden being borne by the State. In the countryside subsidies are paid by the local co-operative management.

In Vietnam the diet is still quite frugal. Woman have a hard time feeding their families adequately. For the time being, the setting up of canteens and supply cooperatives in factories and town quarters is undertaken jointly by the State and the population with a view to improving living conditions of workers and employees and alleviating the housekeeping drudgery of working women.

At present, in the field of vocational training, there is no longer any need to invoke women's right to priority: it has become a matter of course that anyone with the right capacity can gain acceptance in a training school.

Difficulties, however, still exist.

Women seeking entrance into fields so far predominantly reserved for men are running into a kind of "monopolistic spirit". A certain conservative opinion still does not trust women to go into such "men's careers" as law, surgery, modern mechanics, etc.

Another major obstacle is the reluctance shown by certain leaders at various administrative echelons in having women recruited into their services, the reason being that they are too much taken up by their housekeeping work, especially care for their children. This is a real hurdle which can only be overcome if funds destined to lighten women's household chores are increased.

To those difficulties must be added the economic handicaps suffered by a poor country ravaged by long years of war and frequent natural calamities. Vocational training is hampered by insuffi-

cient investments in these so-called non-productive sectors and the attendant shortage of equipment. The quality of the training also suffers.

Many measures need to be adopted to improve women's vocational training. First of all, an erroneous tendency must be redressed with regard to the curriculum of general education schools, which confine themselves only to dispensing general education. These last few years, greater emphasis has been laid on vocational guidance, with special guidelines for girls. Each year, half a million students graduating from junior and senior secondary schools (7th and 12th grades), half of whom are girls, do not go on to college or secondary vocational school. They will find employment more easily if they have been given vocational guidance along

with their general education. In the educational reform now being conducted, an important place has been given to vocational guidance, in particular with regard to agriculture and handicrafts. Complementary education, now a full-fledged branch of education for adults, must seek to raise the professional level of working women in view of the fast rate of development of science and technology.

Working women of the present generation are aware of the profound meaning of the movement launched by the Vietnam Women's Union with this watchword: "New Vietnamese women strive for equality to become a reality." They have embarked upon this new, arduous, stage with great confidence.

MAI THI TU

## SOME STATISTICAL DATA

Year	Total	Sex		Area	
		Men	Women	Urban	Rural
1979	1. Average population 52,462	25,444 48.5%	27,018 51.5%	10,057 19.2%	42,405 80.8%
1979	2. Workforce	42.2%	52.8%	24.1%	75.9%
	3. Female workforce			1975	1979
	— Light industry			59.1%	65 %
	— Agriculture			61 %	62.69 %
	— Handicrafts			59.1%	85 %
	— State trading service			61 %	63 %
	— Health			62.2%	61.5 %
	— Education			58.4%	60 %
	4. Percentages of women among				
	— Technicians			56.2%	41.6%
	— Doctors and candidate doctors			7.6%	8.1%
	— College-level cadres			20.7%	25 %
	— Secondary technical cadres			43.5%	47.8%
	— Skilled workers			34.3%	34.6%

## MOVING THE "LE LOI POEM ROCK"

Le Loi (1385 — 1433) was the organizer and leader of the Lam Son uprising which started in Thanh Hoa in 1418 and victoriously ended in 1428 with the abolition of the occupationist rule of the Chinese Ming dynasty and the recovery of independence for Vietnam. In 1431 Le Loi who had by then established himself as king of independent Vietnam led a punitive army to the Northwest of the country to crush a rebellious attempt by Deo Cat Han, an influential tribal chief in Muong Le, Lai Chau province, who at the

instigation of the Ming wanted to detach his native region from the rest of Vietnam. Back from his expedition, while encamped with his troops at Cho Bo in Ha Son Binh province, about 70 km south-west of Hanoi, he composed a poem exalting the reunification of the country and had it carved on a rock on the bank of the Da river. Le Loi himself supervised the carving. The rock has since been popularly referred to as "Le Loi Poem Rock".

It was a small limestone promontory about five metres high lying close to the water's edge on the right bank of the river. On the side of the rock facing the river a rectangular smooth surface 1.4 metres by 0.90 metre was wrought for the carving of the poem together with the legends and the

date (1432) totalling 135 Chinese characters.

The construction of the reservoir on the Hoa Binh hydro-electric power plant will place an area stretching 200 km from Hoa Binh town to Ta Bu under water, including the place where the "Le Loi Poem Rock" lies. The Culture and Information Service of Ha Son Binh province decided to move the rock to the House of Culture at Hoa Binh town in order to preserve a precious historical relic.

After one year of strenuous work, the local stone carvers, assisted by mechanized transport means and modern restoration techniques, have succeeded in detaching the rock and moving it safely to the House of Culture where it now stands at the entrance.



Duc Luu and Bui Cuong starring as Thi No and Chi Pheo.

Photo: FAFIM

## A New Film

# VU DAI VILLAGE OF YORE

This is one among thousands of similar villages in Vietnam before the August 1945 Revolution which writer Nam Cao depicted in his famous work "Chi Pheo".

Born in 1917 in a village of present-day Ha Nam Ninh province, Nam Cao finished secondary education and went to earn his living in Saigon and then Hanoi. Later on he returned to his home to live. It was in 1941 that he began writing about the society of that time. "A Worn Life" revealed the thoughts of a petty intellectual living in a colonial and feudal environment under the oppression of the French and the Japanese as well as the local mandarins, landlords and village bullies. "Chi Pheo" and "Old Hac" disclosed the life of the poor and unfortunate in the countryside, victims of the daily oppression and injustice before the August 1945 Revolution.

The film-makers have based themselves on these works to portray the life of the peasants, and that of the petty intellectuals in the predominantly rural Vietnamese society on the eve of the revolution. The central character of the film, teacher Thu in "A Worn Life", is the very image of writer Nam Cao. Thu chose the revolutionary path like Nam Cao who participated in the August 1945 Revolution and the Resistance war against French re-invasion before laying down his life in 1951 during a mission.

Nam Cao is regarded as one of the best realist writers of the pre-revolutionary days. His works have been brought to the screen by the same director — Pham Van Khoa — who gave us "When the Light Is Out" by Ngo Tat To, another pre-revolutionary realist writer.

"Vu Dai Village of Yore" was highly appreciated by Vietnamese cinema goers.

Since the liberation of South Vietnam in April 1975 the Saigon National Music School has taken great strides and undergone radical changes to become the present Conservatoire of Ho Chi Minh City. Teachers and musicians in the former institution have quickly adapted to the new regime and reformed their teaching program to make it more comprehensive and practical in serving socialist transformation and building the new society. Beginning from the 1976 — 1977 academic year, the school introduced a completely new teaching program at both the secondary and tertiary levels embracing all

complex exercises for the *dan tranh* (16-string zither), raising this discipline to the level of the Hanoi Conservatory.

The Conservatoire of Ho Chi Minh City has compiled many textbooks for the tertiary level of string instruments as well as a complete curriculum for the secondary level. It has also compiled two elaborate glossaries on composers and musical terminology.

The conservatoire has also given guidance on composition and performance, both professional and amateur, in the city and neighbouring provinces. In the past six years it has given no less than

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## *Vietnam Advances*

# THE HO CHI MINH CITY CONSERVATOIRE

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the seven disciplines: composition and conducting; traditional instruments; piano; string, wind; singing; guitar, mandolin and accordion; as well as in the two departments of choreography and general education.

Through the years, this program has been gradually readjusted and complemented to conform with the program taught at other music schools in the country.

At the end of 1981, the school was changed into the Ho Chi Minh City Conservatoire. The school has included many Vietnamese compositions in the teaching programs of Western music disciplines such as string and wind instruments. Likewise, the traditional music section has seen the introduction of many

200 performances to the population and armed forces from the city to the southwestern border. The popularization of musical appreciation among working people has been successfully undertaken through evening courses dealing with a wide range of topics, such as solfa, singing, harmony, composition and conducting.

These activities have enriched the conservatoire's experiences for continually improving its teaching programs as well as methods.

In conjunction with the Hanoi Conservatory, the Conservatoire of Ho Chi Minh City is making a major contribution to the training of composers, musicians and musicologists throughout the country.

LY TRUNG CHINH

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VIETNAM COURIER

# AT THE DA NANG REHABILITATION CENTRE

The rehabilitation centre at Da Nang in Central Vietnam consists of a row of single-storey buildings, simple and quiet in the middle of a lively city. Many war disabled and invalids from the city and surrounding areas are being attended to there: amputees; some with atrophied limbs; others with spinal inflammation, still others who are completely paralysed.

Not a few are former resistance cadres or soldiers of the Liberation Army wounded in battle. They were sent to the centre for orthopaedic treatment and rehabilitation.

This is no easy process. The personnel at the centre have been endeavouring to find the exact cause of their infirmities and administer long-term treatment with the earnest hope of returning them as soon as possible to normal life. This requires not only a high professional standard but more important still, great perseverance, and compassion. The results obtained so far have been very encouraging.

Le Thi Lan Huong, a 13-year-old girl, was paralysed in both legs when she was first brought to the centre. Her knees were stiff, her legs deformed and she could not

walk. Her parents had lost all hope. She was operated on and received orthopaedic treatment. After painstaking efforts coupled with the devoted help of the nurses in drilling, she is now able to walk by herself. Tuyet Nhung is another case. This 11-year-old girl is the size of a child of five. When she was brought to the centre all her limbs were paralysed, soft and limp. Now, after months of determined exercising, she is taking her first halting steps. Nguyen Thi Nga, a woman of 82, broke her thigh bone in a road accident, an injury that is usually fatal at such an age. After a period of treatment and training at the centre, she has regained her former health.

Many invalids have returned to their families following recovery. Ms Nguyen Thi Chanh who lost both her hands during the war can now write with a pencil attached to the stump of her right arm. Today, she is an active teacher of literacy classes in her commune. Nguyen Mau Tan, a young farmer, lost both arms and legs after striking a mine left by the American and puppet armies in the field he was farming. After treat-

ment of his wounds, he was fitted with artificial limbs and today he is able to walk, write and even paint. The portrait of President Ho Chi Minh in gouache displayed at the guest-room of the centre was painted by him and presented to the centre.

Not all invalids in the region can come to the centre, either because they live too far away or for some other reasons. Some even do not know about the centre's existence. The centre has sent many mobile teams to examine invalids, take measurements and make plaster moulds for artificial limbs which it later fitted and gave guidance in exercises. This solicitude has deeply touched the population in the areas visited by these teams. Many invalids or their families have written to the centre to thank the doctors and medical workers.

Over the past six years, in spite of poor equipment, the Da Nang Rehabilitation Centre has successfully treated 6,500 patients and outpatients.

DANG MINH PHUONG

# NEW DEVELOPMENTS OF THE LAO REVOLUTION

The victories in 1975 in Vietnam and Kampuchea created very favourable conditions for the success of the Lao revolution. Seizing this once-in-a-lifetime opportunity, the Lao People's Revolutionary Party led the people in a simultaneous uprising on the basis of a three-zone battle front: the liberated zone; the revolutionary bases behind enemy lines; and the neutral zone; and a three-prong strategy: mass uprising; pressure of the revolutionary armed forces, and mutiny among enemy troops. This was coupled with the legal battle to wear out and paralyze the US-trained army and finally force it to surrender. By August 5, 1975, the stooge administration of the United States had been basically demolished in the major provinces and cities.

The Lao people started socialist construction from an agricultural economy which remained basically an autarkical one, inchoate industry and handicrafts and the ruins of more than three decades of war. Party cadres and members, although dauntless and battle-hardened, lacked experience and the necessary scientific knowledge for economic construction. Added to this was a very perfidious post-war plan of sabotage against the Lao revolution hatched by the US imperialists right after the conclusion of the Paris and Vientiane agreements. In concert with the US imperialists, the reactionaries in the Beijing ruling circles ordered their Kampuchean agents, the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary — Khieu Samphan clique, to attack Southern Laos. At the same time, Beijing sent into action thousands of Thai Maoist insurgents and the Vang Pao bandits in coordination with 30,000 Chinese "road builders" in Laos in an attempt to subvert the revolutionary government.

Faced with this situation, the Lao People's Revolutionary Party early adopted a correct and efficacious internal and external policy. Right from the start, it pointed out that US imperialism is the fundamental and long-term enemy of the Lao revolution, while the Beijing reactionaries are a dangerous enemy who now have openly revealed their treacherous nature. The Party set out two strategic tasks: to defend and build the socialist homeland, and to this end it is necessary to carry out the socialist revolution, build the economy and develop culture along socialist lines.

The 30,000 Chinese "road builders", the thousands of Thai Maoist insurgents who had been introduced into Laos under previous agreements, were asked to leave. Dozens of bandit bases and numerous commando and spy groups were destroyed. Many rebellious or subversive plots were uncovered and their authors punished. The revolutionary armed and security forces have quickly developed and grown in both quantity and quality. Starting from a few infantry units, the Lao revolutionary army now is composed of many well-trained and well-armed branches and services embracing both the regular army, militia, self-defence and security forces deployed in the whole of the country.

The agricultural cooperatives have so far involved 17.5% of peasant families, 20% of the rice-fields and 4% of the hilly plots. Other lower forms of cooperation have been evolved. In the old regime, Laos produced a single rice crop per year. Today among the 1,943 cooperatives, 627 are practising double cropping, of which 427 cooperatives have achieved 400 kilograms of paddy per head of population while 25 others

got 700—800 kilos. In some particular cases, the yield was as high as four or five tonnes of paddy per hectare in a crop compared with the average of one tonne formerly.

At present, Laos has 31 State farms and a system of stations and farms in service of agriculture and forestry, an animal feeds factory with an annual production of 80,000 tonnes, a veterinary medicine factory with a production of one million doses of vaccine a year, 1,700 assorted agricultural machines, etc.

Paddy production has exceeded 1,100,000 tonnes which is enough to meet the basic needs of the population in food.

The area under coffee plantations has doubled compared with pre-liberation days. The area under tobacco has also expanded. In the past few years, the country has reaped annually 5,000 tonnes of coffee and 2,700 tonnes of tobacco.

The cattle herd now counts 1.4 million head of buffaloes and oxen.

The whole country has 177 State-owned industrial enterprises employing 10,000 workers. Some important products have shown a marked increment: 807 million kWh of electricity, up by 3.5 times compared with 1976, brick production up by 15 times, farm implements up by 1.6 times, 40,000 tonnes of gypsum, 5,890 tonnes of mineral salt, 500 tonnes of detergent, 15 million packets of cigarettes, etc. Laos is exporting electricity, timber, tin, gypsum and various agricultural and forestry products.

Illiteracy has been eradicated in 10 among the 13 provinces, and in 8,836 among the 10,682 hamlets. A comprehensive system of education ranging from infant classes to university has been formed enrolling nearly 600,000 students of general education and more than 20,000 students of higher and vocational education. Four thousand Lao students are following university or vocational courses abroad.

The medical service now has 750 establishments staffed by nearly 10,000 medical workers including 1,200 doctors and assistant doctors.



The social evils left by the old regime have been solved through very humane methods.

More and more attention has been given to Party building and the training of cadres, based on the requirements of the new period when the Party is the ruling party. The whole Party, from the highest officials to the rank-and-file at the grassroots have been making great efforts in study to improve their political standard and their capacity for economic and social management as well as the necessary knowledge in Party building, mass agitation and in various fields of the economy. The number of key leading and managerial cadres has trebled and the number of scientific and technical workers has increased fivefold compared with 1976. The new Central Committee of the Party elected by the Third Party Congress in 1982 included 17 veteran Party cadres who had joined the former Indochinese Communist Party. This is a united collective from among the Lao people of various nationalities and commanding great respect.

Following a correct line and appropriate tactics, the Lao People's Revolutionary Party has made active contributions to consolidating the bloc of unity of the three Indochinese countries, strengthening its ties with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and has been able to develop its role and influence in the international arena and won more and more international support for the defence and building of the country. On the special Lao—Vietnamese relations, the Central Committee of the Party, headed by Kaysone Phomvihane, has always considered it to be a major topic in the education of the entire Party and people of Laos. All major resolutions of the Central Committee plenums have laid great stress on this relationship.

At the Third Congress of the Party the strengthening and all-round development of the Lao—Vietnamese relations, the relations between the three Indochinese countries and the relations of Laos with the Soviet Union and the socialist community were among the fundamental topics for discussion.

THAO HIEN

# **Kampuchean Agriculture**

## **A NEW TURN**

### **From the Restoration of the Cultivated Area...**

In the revival of the nation and economic rehabilitation Kampuchean agriculture plays an important part. Increased food production is keeping famine at bay and is step by step stabilizing the people's life and supplying raw materials to factories. It also enables the State to purchase enough food for the State sector and the army. In this dry season there is much food, rice in particular, in urban and rural markets with stabilized prices. Food is enough to boost agriculture, including industrial crops, animal husbandry, fishery and forestry, while creating conditions for other economic branches to develop. Under the Pol Pot regime stock-breeding stagnated so much that the cock's crowing was unheard in many regions when liberation came. Now the country boasts over one million oxen, 420,000 buffaloes and half a million pigs. Poultry is developing rapidly and costs less than pork. The fish catch has reached more than 70,000 tonnes as in the peak years before 1970. Nearly 10,000 hectares of rubber plantations have been restored.

The difficulties faced by the peasants in the first year of liberation were enormous. Famine was looming, people's health was exhausted after nearly four years of exploitation, the few material and technical bases particularly, water conservancy had been

wrecked by the Pol Pot clique and social production had been pushed back several decades.

Great efforts were made by the revolutionary power to help the peasants impel production through efficacious policies. The Vietnamese people readily supplied their friends with seeds and production means to tide over their difficulties. The valiant Kampuchean people worked to restore fallow land and reclaim new areas. Many people, among them Vietnamese soldiers, were wounded and even killed in this battle for rice owing to mines left over by the enemy or bullets fired by their remnant followers. Cultivated area rapidly went up: 650,000 hectares in 1979, 1.6 million hectares in 1981, and over 1.8 million in 1982.

During the four years since liberation the countryside has reaped three good harvests resulting in surplus products sold to the State and on the market in many regions. The countryside is being rebuilt, the fields are verdant, material and cultural life is markedly improved, all that speaks volumes for the peasants' bonds with the new regime, confidence in the Party and determination to defend the revolutionary power—and unbreakable unity and onemindedness.

### **...To the Implementation of Intensive Farming Measures with Irrigation in Top Place**

Kampuchean agriculture is fairly dependent upon nature, an exten-

sive cultivation of one rice crop a year with many varieties, of which floating rice accounts for 15.5%. Although water conservancy is a great requirement there are only 1,037 dams and 64 pumping stations, big and small, the few irrigation works built by the Pol Pot regime being incomplete or inefficacious.

To bring agriculture a step forward, the Kampuchean State advocates the rehabilitation and development of agriculture along three lines: in the first year to restore fallow land and reclaim new areas; then gradually to apply technical measures of intensive farming from lower to higher levels; and to expand the area of dry crops into a main crop. A great achievement has been made with the present almost two million hectares of cultivated land.

As regards intensive farming this is an uphill task for many reasons. The harvest is unstable with less than one tonne of paddy per hectare. The weather is favourable to tropical farming in general with half a year of drought and half a year of unevenly distributed rain: 1,400mm in Phnom Penh and up to 5,000 mm in the highlands. The soil is fertile but can be tilled only in the rainy season for lack of a water source in the dry season. Sunlight is abundant but man cannot yet turn it to good account.

To promote agriculture, the Kampuchean people on the one hand struggle to do away with the casual, nature-dependent intensive farming, and on the other persuade the peasants to apply such common intensive farming techniques as scheduled planting with rational spacing, use of manure, green fertilizer combined with chemical fertilizer, weeding

in due time, in a correct way, building of field embankments to hold water, struggle against drought, etc. The technical revolution will be carried out in two ways: to introduce high-yield rice strains and to do irrigation work while restructuring the planting and developing the area under dry crops. At present, every rural area in the fertile plains or on the highlands witnesses two widespread movements of using new strains and doing water conservancy. Thus, IR 36 rice strain giving 3—4 tonnes or even up to 6—7 tonnes per hectare embodies the confidence in the revolution.

Many rice strains with a short-growth cycle and high yield are being experimented with and food production has been boosted by the introduction of a rice crop of short-growth cycle added to the main one.

Thanks to 12 hectares devoted to early rice crop the peasants of Co Po Penh have an additional amount of 225 kg of paddy per head on average. Inspired by its achievements in 1982, Samrong Tong district (Kompong Speu province) extended its area of early rice crop to 4,000—5,000 hectares this year, and hopes to get through intensive farming measures over ten thousand tonnes of paddy as goods. Kampuchean farmers consider water conservancy the foremost measure, taking small irrigation as the core and combining it with field-building to be carried out appropriately for each region, from small areas to large ones, from easy to difficult work, creating conditions for agriculture to embark on specialization and intensive farming. Water conservancy is a mass movement in which the people and the State closely participate. Highlights of intensive farming, multiplication of crops,

use of high-yield rice strains are found in many a village, region, district and province, and are being learnt from. With common intensive farming measures productivity of the main crop already surpasses one tonne per hectare, not counting certain provinces credited with 1.7—1.8 tonnes. With their experiences of intensive farming in the Red River and Mekong River deltas, Vietnamese agricultural experts are close and reliable friends to the peasants in the fraternal People's Republic of Kampuchea.

### **An Adequate Form of Agricultural Production Management**

Over three million Kampuchean peasants have been organized in 106,500 solidarity production teams. Each of them groups 10—15 families mutually helping one another to manage production, this being an organization suitable to the peasants' capacities at present. Depending on its members' aspirations, it can take various forms. In some places the land and production means become collective property and labour is remunerated according to the work done (here labour is only rated strong or weak without labour norms and work criteria). In other places the team is responsible for such tasks as preparing the soil, doing water conservancy work, preventing and fighting pests and diseases... while the peasant families look after the remaining jobs. In other places the peasants still work individually. So it is up to the peasants to decide the form of organization suitable for them. The Kampuchean Ministry of Agriculture clearly advocates that the teams remunerating labour according to the work done shall be helped to raise the quality of management, especially that of

labour by rating labour and keeping a register of work-points. The teams adopting other flexible forms of organization shall be guided to specifically determine the jobs run by the teams as a whole. The teams ensure the distribution of materials supplied by the State to the peasants and borrow money from the bank for the peasants to remunerate the work done by the teams. The later form of organization is widely appreciated by cadres and peasants alike as most conducive to production development. Anyhow all these solidarity production teams have promoted their impact in uniting the peasants, boosting their production and defending the countryside. In many places both the solidarity production teams are consolidated and the family economy strengthened.

The Kampuchean Party and Government consider the consolidation of solidarity production teams a revolutionary task to stabilize the situation in the countryside, organize and educate the peasants, and build grassroots revolutionary power. This is a form of organization to initiate the peasants in collective production in the socialist way.

Kampuchean agriculture bids fair to develop, particularly as regards food and rubber. To restore and develop the national economy the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party advocates starting from agriculture, taking it as the central link to stabilize and raise the people's living conditions, supply raw materials to industry, obtain more agricultural products for export, and contribute an initial accumulation for industrial development.

XUAN HOI

## KAMPUCHEA

# HEALTH CARE

## FOUR YEARS AFTER LIBERATION

In the past, there were very few medical establishments in Kampuchea and they were almost totally destroyed under the Pol Pot regime. Today in the country's 1,353 communes, there are 1,317 health stations.

The total number of sick beds has reached 16,730, i.e. an average of 25 for every 10,000 people, whereas in 1975 there were only 6,000 beds in the whole country.

In 1982, 230,000 patients were treated in hospitals (fewer than in 1981), the average treatment time being about 12.8 days per patient. 13 million medical check-ups were recorded in 1982, thus the ratio was 1.9 times per year for each person. All along the Tonle Sap, there are several mobile health stations to look after fisherfolk.

Preventive hygiene and the treatment of social diseases are progressing. As a result, there is a marked improvement in the people's health compared with the period right after liberation.

According to data given by the Kampuchean Centre for Mother and Child Welfare, in late 1981 the annual birth rate was about 4%. The health service is paying particular attention to mother and child care in an effort to raise the population back to its level prior to Pol Pot's time. At the same time, it has begun studies on measures for birth control, increased the number of

hospital beds for children, improved the quality of paediatric treatment, and built more crèches.

The use of traditional medicines has now become widespread. In the mountainous areas near Angkor Wat and Angkor Thom, where visitors have a panoramic view over Tonle Sap, 32 kinds of special medicinal plants have been found. Traditional medicines are dispensed at every health station. A traditional medicine research establishment was set up in Phnom Penh. Various kinds of medicines are now produced by several pharmaceutical works or by certain provincial hospitals, thus alleviating, to some extent, the country's needs in medicines.

A great success — which is regarded as the direct cause of the above-mentioned results — is the training and recycling of medical workers. Only one year after liberation, the College of Medicine, Pharmacy and Dentistry was reopened. Another central medical college and many other medical schools in the provinces were also set up. The total number of medical workers — either under training or already graduated in 1982 — is 3,985, an increase of 1,000 compared with 1981. The Ministry of Health has also sent several teams of medical workers to mountainous regions to run courses for training and recycling health workers on the spot.

# A WAN RETURNS

*Editor's Note: On the occasion of the 8th anniversary of the liberation of South Vietnam (30 April 1975) we publish below a short story by a South Vietnamese writer, Anh Duc.*

At four in the afternoon, the train from the North pulled into Dieu Tri station. I got into a carriage. A man made room for me on one of the seats. He was about forty, wearing thick glasses. I nodded to him and sat down. After some confusion, with people getting in and out, the train started again. I took a packet of cigarettes from my pocket and offered my neighbour one. He took it with courteous words of thanks. As I gave him a light I noticed that his fingers were trembling. I looked at him more closely: a face with an intellectual's features but a deep tan; reserved and sensitive manners. He was a difficult man to place: neither a cadre nor a trafficker. As luggage, he had only an overnight bag, foreign made but battered-looking. What struck me most, however, was a kind of enthusiasm that shone in his eyes.

"Going to Ho Chi Minh City?" I asked him.

"Yes."

I looked at his feet, sunburnt in rubber sandals. Peasant's feet, which strangely contrasted with his delicate features. He inhaled deeply, then took his cigarette from his lips and looked at it: a filter-tipped Du Lich.

"I haven't smoked this kind of cigarette for a long time," he said. "For two years now I've been smoking the water-pipe. You find cigarettes insipid after using the water-pipe for some time." A

pause then he added, "My family is in Saigon, but I've been away in the North for two years."

A thought flashed through my mind, but before I could say a word, he continued:

"I was a major in the Saigon army. I just got out of re-education camp four days ago, together with seven or eight other men. They're in the next carriage."

"Let me congratulate you," I said.

"Thanks. These last few days, I've been so excited and happy I couldn't sleep at night. When I think that to-morrow I'll meet my wife and children, it's like a dream."

He remained silent for a while, then asked me:

"Are you going to Saigon too?"

"Yes, but maybe I'll have a stop-over in Nha Trang for a few days. In fact it will be my fifth visit since I left Hanoi. I'm collecting materials for a few stories I'll be writing... But perhaps I won't stop in Nha Trang after all. We won't arrive there before very late at night, and I've interrupted my journey too often already."

"So, you're a writer," he said, looking at me attentively. "I'm very pleased to meet one. I used to dabble in literature, too, but found out soon enough that I had no gift for it, and so went in for electrical engineering. I had hoped that an engineer's career would be smooth sailing, but..."

He stopped. Just then the train seemed to be stretched out and piercing shrieks came from the couplings. We were climbing up a pass, at Co Ma. I looked out of the window. Night was falling. At a bend I saw the locomotive puffing up a slope ahead. There was still some light in the sky out at sea, which was a dark blue, but it, too, was soon invaded by the shadows of evening. In the carriage the lights were now on.

"Have you eaten?" I asked my neighbour.

"Yes, we had a meal at the last station."

"Well, let's have some coffee together, if you're not afraid of staying awake for another night."

"No fear... But I don't think they have coffee at the canteen."

"I've got this."

I took a small thermos flask from my bag. It usually contained hot water to make tea with, but earlier in the day a friend in Qui Nhon had filled it with strong coffee, to help me, he said, stay fully awake to admire the beauty of the sea at night.

So we drank coffee together, as the train began its descent of the pass before starting on a new climb, up the slope of Cu Mong this time. My companion seemed to enjoy the hot coffee enormously. I offered him another cigarette.

"I told you just a moment ago," he said, "that I had thought that I would have a secure and soft

career, but things turned out otherwise. At the beginning, I was happy enough. After my graduation from engineering school, I got a job with a good salary. I married a nice girl, a school-teacher, and we had children. I worked on the building of a few power plants then was sent abroad for further technical studies — Australia, New Zealand, Japan. When I returned I worked at the construction site of the Da Nhim hydropower plant."

His last words raised some fresh memories in my mind. Only recently I had paid a visit to the wife of my late divisional commander, whom I considered an elder sister. She was then president of the administrative committee of a ward in Phu Nhuan district, Ho Chi Minh City. When I called on her at her office, she had a visitor, a young woman in her early thirties with a little girl about twelve. When the caller left, she walked with her to the gate and I overheard her telling the young woman:

"Cheer up, Younger Sister, I've proposed to higher authorities that he be released. Do call on me from time to time." There was an inaudible answer, and a choked sob.

After she had returned to her desk, my friend told me her visitor's story.

"Her name is Ngoc and her husband who used to work as an engineer in Da Nhim. He was later drafted into the puppet army and became an officer in the engineer corps. After liberation he was sent to re-education camp, at first here in the South, and some time later to the North. She has been waiting for his return ever since. In the days of the Saigon puppet administration, I earned a living by running a private pre-school class. My husband was in the maquis and I myself was a member of the revolutionary underground in Saigon. Ngoc's children attended my class. She

and her husband had a hunch that I was working for the resistance but they didn't seem to mind. On the contrary, when I was arrested, they gave some assistance to my family... Ngoc's husband has turned to good account his time at re-education camp. He has been filling thick reams of paper, several hundred pages, with what he knows about the building of hydropower projects in Vietnam. He told his wife about it in a recent letter, and she showed the letter to me. I took the letter to some people I know in the City Party Committee, and they were quite pleased. They said we need such people of talent and goodwill. They promised to study his case for an eventual early release."

And so, when I heard my companion mention his work at Da Nhim, I somehow thought that perhaps he was the husband of the young woman named Ngoc. But I didn't think I should ask questions as yet and just waited for him to continue his story.

"I'm ashamed of my ignorance of the revolution and revolutionaries," he said after a thoughtful moment. "During my time in the puppet army I didn't shed the blood of any one of them; didn't even fire a shot at any one of them. But I built a lot of power stations, big and small, for Saigon military bases. It was work against the holy war of resistance. Only recently did I come to understand the sacred character of this war against foreign occupation. In the first days of re-education, I argued with my educators, telling them that I was only an engineer who had been forcibly drafted into the Saigon army, that I hadn't been consciously betraying the nation. But soon I came to be ashamed of that argument. Revolutionaries are also made of flesh and blood, like us. And yet they endured terrible sacrifices for the common good. They left their families and faced dangers and hardships. As for us,

we just lived in clover under the wings of the occupier. I've realized that you don't have to dip your hands in blood to be a criminal."

Again he paused, and both of us remained silent for a while.

"On the 30th of April 1975, the day Saigon was liberated, I was back in my house after a hasty flight from Vung Tau. The sky was full of American helicopters taking their men out, and soon I heard the thunder of tanks. As I remember it now, I was not afraid of retribution at their hands, I only felt shame and humiliation. But my wife was in an utter state of panic. Nothing, however, happened to us that day. At dusk, my wife slightly opened the door and, after making sure everything was quiet, ran to Sister Tu's. But I must tell you first who Sister Tu was and what she had been to us."

He had a few puffs at his cigarette. Then he said:

"Sister Tu ran a pre-school class near our place. We sent our children there as soon as they were six, for she was a very good teacher. The day she came and lived in our street, she was about 25. With her were her mother and her child, a little boy of three. We were told she was a widow and pitied her for having lost her husband so young. But in fact she was not a widow at all. Her husband was a revolutionary who had left for the North as a regrouped after the 1954 armistice agreement. Years later he returned to the South and fought in the maquis. And so one day Sister Tu was pregnant and in due course gave birth to a girl. She must have been visiting her husband out in the maquis but of course nobody knew about it, and her mother told everybody that she had been seduced and abandoned by some minor official in Long Xuyen. My wife and I, however, found it hard to believe the story. Sister Tu was a handsome woman



but she was not the kind with loose morals. What we suspected became more and more obvious as the little baby grew up: it looked just like its older brother. Obviously they had the same father. We talked about the matter between the two of us and decided that we should do something to help Sister Tu, who depended on the meagre fees of her pre-school class to feed herself, her mother, and her two children. We asked her to accept higher fees for our children under some kind of pretext. Sometimes she would be absent from town for about a week, visiting her husband, probably. We would ask her to accept some gifts, things that she would be able to take to her husband: condensed milk, coffee, some tonic... My wife had to insist a great deal before she would accept those gifts, as if she had guessed our thoughts. Once, seeing tears trickling down her face, my wife burst into sobs, too, and they fell into each other's arms."

My companion's features darkened as he continued his story:

"The police spies, however, had smelled a rat, and one day her house was searched. They found incriminating evidence of her work for the revolution: a mimeograph, a typewriter, printed documents, etc. She was taken away. I learned of the event in the late afternoon on my return from work. The uniform I was wearing felt as though it were made of horse hair and a deep sense of shame penetrated my whole being. We were living in comfort, even luxury: we had a big refrigerator, a television set, costly furniture and clothing, a Datsun car to go to the seaside at week-ends. Sister Tu and her patriotic comrades were living on the edge of misery. They lived and fought for noble ideals while we only thought of ourselves."

I said consolingly:

"Besides the direct action of armed resistance, there was also

silent and indirect contribution from countless people and only the combination of the two led to the 30th of April. I know of many members of the opposite side who gave assistance to the revolution although I must say that they knew very little about it and could not be said to be revolutionary-minded."

My companion was visibly moved by what I said. Behind the thick lenses of his glasses his eyes grew moist. When he talked, his voice was trembling with contained emotion:

"Thank you for saying so, but what I did was so little as to be insignificant..."

"After Mrs Tu's arrest, were you able to do anything for her?" I asked.

"Not much. My wife managed to bribe a guard and send her some provisions through him. For my part, I befriended a judge and when she was brought to trial, instead of the five-year sentence that was in store for her, she only got three years."

"That was something," I said. "The Americans will never know all the reasons for their defeat. So many people who they thought were on their side were assisting the resisters."

Our train rolled on in the starry night. We didn't pay any attention to the stations we passed. All we knew was that we were travelling between the mountains and the sea. The mountains were silhouetted against the sky, like pondering giants. On the other side was the immense expanse of the sea. In the starlight, I saw boats at anchor, beaches veiled in mist and, on one occasion, two ancient Cham towers.

My companion seemed absorbed in the contemplation of the nocturnal landscape. We lit cigarettes and stayed silent. Suddenly I remembered what he had said at the beginning of our conversation.

"So on the 30th of April 1975, your wife came to Sister Tu's," I said, turning to him. "But didn't you say she was in prison?"

"When my wife returned, joy was on her face. Sister Tu had returned from prison, she said. She was now head of our ward. She assured my wife that there would be no bloodbath and that members of the former Saigon army and administration would be done by fairly. And she immediately tackled the multitude of problems of the post-liberation period. We found plenty of food for thought in her attitude and action: weak from her stay in prison, with her old mother and young children to care for, and no news as yet from her husband, she set to work fervently caring for the nearly twenty thousand people in the ward, who were facing all kinds of problems, material and moral. My wife one day asked me to come with her for a visit to Sister Tu. At first I was rather reluctant, not wanting to give people the impression that I was currying some favour with her. But I finally decided I should go. Sister Tu greeted us warmly. 'Now, I admit to you that I was a Vietcong,' she said smilingly. 'You had a hunch, didn't you?' Then she assured us that the revolution would seek no vengeance on people of the other side in spite of all the rumours being spread and that there would be lenient policies with regard to them. Some time later, I received a summons to attend re-education courses. My wife was so worried she went to see Sister Tu. She found her in tears: she had just received notification of the death of her husband, which had occurred only a few weeks before liberation. After so many years of separation, she had only seen him a few times, during secret visits to the maquis."

My companion was lost in thought for a moment. When he

spoke again, his voice was filled with contained emotion.

"How could we bother her with our trivial worries?" He said. "When I came to bid good-bye to her, she asked me, 'Do you think you should go to re-education?' I replied right away, 'Of course, I need a thorough cleansing of my mind and soul.' She looked quite pleased and said to me, 'Don't trouble your mind about your wife and children. We'll take care of them.' So I went to re-education camp, stayed one year in the South then was sent North. I won't tell you about what we did at the camp. You know all about it: political lectures, discussions, work in the fields, etc. For my part, however, I was able to spend my leisure time usefully: I wrote down all I knew about hydropower exploitation in our country, filling about seven hundred pages over a period of three years. Of course I told the camp managers about it and they heartily approved."

He unzipped his bag and took out a roll of paper tied up with a string.

"Here it is," he said, timidly handing it to me. "It is my most precious possession, together with some knick-knacks, like this aluminium dish on which I engraved an overall view of the Thac Ba hydropower station. At one time our camp was set up in that neighbourhood."

He showed me the dish, and I sincerely admired the craftsmanship. The roll of notes he put in my hands weighed at least one kilogram, but the labour this man had put in his work should not be assessed in terms of quantity alone. I was convinced he had put his whole heart into it.

"As my work progressed," my companion said, "I wrote to my wife about it, telling her the number of pages I had filled since my last letter and how the cold

weather of the North was numbing my fingers... What was gnawing at my heart as I thought of her was the fear that she might seek to leave the country. I had full confidence in her, but how could one say for sure? If you run into any kind of difficulties, take counsel with Sister Tu, I kept telling her. And don't listen to strangers."

"Did your wife tell you at any time that you might have the benefit of an early release?" I asked him.

"Oh yes... but how do you know?"

"Because... because you told me Sister Tu had promised something like it."

"Oh, it was surely Sister Tu who..."

"No," I interrupted him, "Sister Tu couldn't have achieved it single-handedly. Your own efforts greatly contributed to your early release. You have been away three years, haven't you?"

As my companion stared at me in surprise, I decided to tell him the whole story:

"Sister Tu Loc went to see members of the City Party Committee with the letters you sent your wife. They were pleased with them and intervened on your behalf."

"How do you know her full name?" My companion exclaimed.

"Because she is my sister," I said, smiling. "Well, she is not quite my sister but I've always considered her so. She is the wife of my late divisional commander. In 1945, when the revolution broke out, it was he who enlightened me, took me into his unit as a young soldier, and gave me guidance in revolutionary warfare. Under him I eventually became a regimental political officer. Some time before liberation he was mortally wounded. Before dying he asked us, his assistants, to look for his wife and children and take care of them. We've kept the prom-

ise we made to him that day. Soon after Saigon was liberated, I found Sister Tu Loc and her children, and ever since, I've been giving her a hand in raising her family. In the times we're living a man can't just look after himself and his own family. He is very likely to owe debts of gratitude—to his friends, to his compatriots—and he must repay them."

Remembering my companion's preoccupation, I told him:

"You can set your mind at peace about your wife and children. Sister Tu Loc has been taking care of them. She arranged for your wife to teach school, and Ngoc manages to make both ends meet. I once met your wife at Sister Tu's home, the same cramped room you used to come to."

"When did you meet her?" he hastily asked.

"A few months ago. She had your youngest child with her. Sister Tu said your little girl and her own daughter are great friends."

I took the flash and poured out the rest of the coffee into our cups.

"I'm only repaying you my debt in coffee," I said with a smile.

He looked nonplussed. I burst out laughing. "Because," I added, "you used to send gifts of coffee to my divisional commander, through his wife."

My companion, too, laughed. It was an unrestrained, joyful laughter. I looked at his shining eyes and thought of the day in the future when I would meet him again. He would then be engaged in whole-hearted work at some hydropower project, I felt certain. For the man who returned today, a new journey full of promise would soon begin.

November 1982.

# CHRONOLOGY

(February 16 — March 15)

## FEBRUARY

16. *Vietnam News Agency* issues a statement protesting to China for permitting foreign companies to carry out oil and gas exploration on the Oanh Ca area in the Bac Bo gulf, thus violating Vietnamese sovereignty.

17. A Vietnamese economic delegation ends its visit to Iraq begun on February 12.

18. A delegation of the Indian Foreign Ministry, headed by K.S. Bajpai, Secretary to the Ministry, ends its visit to Vietnam begun on February 16.

19. *Hanoi*: Opening of the 8th session of the Vietnam—Poland Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation.

23. The Indo-Chinese Summit Conference is held in Vientiane (February 22—23). Two statements are published: the Joint Statement and the Statement on Vietnamese Volunteer Troops in Kampuchea.

— The Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam and the Standing Committee of the Council of Ministers hold a meeting on the socialist transformation of agriculture and the readjustment of land holdings in the former Nam Bo provinces.

25. Signing in Hanoi of an agreement between Vietnam and Hungary on cooperation on geological surveys on Vietnamese territory.

— An international forum for peace in Southeast Asia is held in Phnom Penh on the initiative of the World Peace Council in co-ordination with the Kampuchean Peace Committee.

27. Unison Whiteman, Foreign Minister of Grenada, ends his friendship visit to Vietnam, begun on February 24. A joint communiqué is published.

## MARCH

1. A delegation of the Federal National Assembly of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, led by Alois Indra, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Chairman of the Federal National Assembly, pays a friendship visit to Vietnam.

— Signing in Phnom Penh of a protocol on economic cooperation, goods exchanges and cadre training between Vietnam and Kampuchea.

3. Publication of decrees on agricultural tax by the SRV Council of State.

— The Conference of Non-aligned countries at foreign ministerial level is held in New Delhi. Vietnam is elected vice-chairperson of the conference. The conference decides that the seat of Kampuchea "will not be seated by any side" and there is no need to refer this problem to the coming Summit Conference.

— The Ministry of Culture holds a symposium to discuss measures for the implementation of the Resolution of the Fifth Party Congress and that of the Third Plenum of the Party Central Committee.

7. Opening in New Delhi of the Seventh Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries. Vietnam takes part in the Presidium of the conference.

9. A French transport experts delegation, led by Antoine Porou, adviser to the Minister of State for Transport, ends its visit to Vietnam begun on March 3.

— Signing in Phnom Penh of a protocol on medical cooperation between Vietnam and Kampuchea for 1983.

10. A delegation of the SRV Ministry of Agriculture, headed by Minister Nguyen Ngoc Triu, pays a visit to Cuba.

— The delegation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee ends its visit to Vietnam begun on March 1.

11. The Hanoi University holds a symposium on Karl Marx on the occasion of his 165th birthday and the centenary of his death.

— A delegation of the Government of Socialist Ethiopia pays a visit to Vietnam.

— Publication of a decree on the amendment of some articles on industrial and commercial taxes by the SRV Council of State.

— The 19th conference of leaders of the Writers' Associations of socialist countries is opened in Hanoi.

— Vietnam is elected to the Coordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Movement at its Seventh Summit.

14. *Hanoi*: Holding of a meeting to define scientific and technological programmes and the application of scientific and technological advances to production, economic management, social management and people's life.

15. A Party and State delegation of the Republic of Nicaragua, headed by Revolutionary Commander Daniel Ortega Saavedra, ends its official friendship visit to Vietnam begun on March 12. An agreement on exemption from entry visas for Vietnamese and Nicaraguan citizens and an agreement on cultural and scientific cooperation between the two countries are signed.



## A PARTY AND STATE DELEGATION FROM THE REPUBLIC OF NICARAGUA VISITS VIETNAM

*At the invitation of the Vietnamese Party and State, a Party and State delegation of the Republic of Nicaragua, led by Revolutionary Commander Daniel Ortega Saavedra, member of the National Leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front and Coordinator of the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction, paid an official friendship visit to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam from 12 to 15 March 1983. The two sides issued a joint communique on March 15, 1983.*

▲ Daniel Ortega Saavedra is greeted by the people of Hanoi. Next to him is Truong-Chinh, Political Bureau member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam and President of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

At the talk between the Vietnamese Party and State delegation, headed by President Truong-Chinh and the Nicaraguan Party and State delegation, headed by Revolutionary Commander Daniel Ortega Saavedra (13 March 1983).

Foreign Ministers Nguyen Co Thach and Miguel d'Escoto sign agreements on consular affairs and on cultural and scientific cooperation between the two countries.



Photos: THE TRUNG (VNA)







## CULTURAL ACTIVITIES IN SOUTH VIETNAM EIGHT YEARS AFTER LIBERATION

An art ensemble of the Cham ethnic group in Phan Rang city, Thuan Hai province.

Photo: THE THUAN



Pupils of the Trade Secondary School in Can Tho city, Hau Giang province, practising callisthenics.

Photo: LE CUONG



A mobile library for the K'ho ethnic group in Lam Dong province.

Photo: THANH HAI

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courier

**Le courrier**  
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**НОВОСТИ**  
**ВЬЕТНАМА**

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

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