

VIETNAM COURIER

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MONTHLY



New series



Our Monthly

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THE new 6-point proposal for achieving peace and national concord put forward by the PRG on March 22 is being given a warm welcome by the South Vietnamese people and other peoples in the world. The most urgent measures included in the proposal were: strict implementation of the cease-fire throughout South Viet Nam; return of all captured and detained civilian and military personnel; full exercise of democratic liberties.

Secretary of State and chief American negotiator of the January 27 Agreement and the June 13, 1973 Joint Communiqué declared unequivocally that, from the US standpoint, it is precisely the Paris Agreement that constitutes the juridical basis for the new US commitment to the Saigon administration, a commitment according to which the United States will provide military and economic aid as long as is required by the situation.

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LE DUAN

Thus, more than one year after the signing of the Paris Agreement, the position of the parties concerned have become perfectly clear: the Vietnamese people, as their 6-point proposal shows, are anxious for its complete implementation, while the US-Saigon side is virtually turning it into a dead letter.

Washington has introduced into South Viet Nam large quantities of new weapons and war material, including F-5E fighters, M-48 tanks, and warships. On April 16, the Defence Department officially announced an additional military aid worth 266 million dollars to the Thieu regime, for the 1973-1974 fiscal year. At the same time, the White House was trying to persuade Congress of the necessity of approving a military aid budget for the 1974-1975

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Henry Kissinger, in particular, astonished the world by his topsy-turvy logic. In a letter dated March 25 sent to Senator Edward Kennedy, the US Sec-



fiscal year which will be the double of the current one. W. Colby, Director of the CIA, formerly responsible for the sinister Phoenix "Pacification" programme which has been in operation since 1968, made a secret visit to Saigon at the end of March for a firsthand "assessment" of the situation. It is known, from Western sources, that American aid to the Saigon police system, of which W. Colby is one of the main promoters, has been raised since 1967 to nearly 132 million dollars, and the Paris Agreement has not in the least affected this aid. According to Senator Edward Kennedy, for the 1973-1974 fiscal year, it includes 8.8 million dollars for weapons and ammunition, 1.5 million dollars for means of communication, 256,000 dollars for training of policemen, and 869,000 dollars for electronic computers designed for controlling the activities of 80 per cent of the population living in the US-Saigon zone of control.

With this US aid, the Thieu clique is continuing to step up its police and mopping-up operations in the areas under its control, and the land-grabbing operations, artillery attacks and air raids against the liberated zone.

Public opinion had hardly recovered from the shock caused by the massacre of schoolchildren in a primary school at Cai Lay—and no one any longer has doubts of Saigon's responsibility for this odious crime—than there was a new worry in the tension created by Thieu in connection with the Tong Le Chan affair. Tong Le Chan, a Saigon military base situated on the Cambodian border, has long served as a starting point for land-grabbing operations and a guiding centre for shelling and bombing the liberated zone. In order to punish the Saigon troops stationed there, the PLAF, after many warnings,

encircled the base and subjected it to heavy bombardment. On April 12 the besieged troops had to take to flight, leaving behind many wounded and a large amount of war material. Then Saigon planes flew 30 bombing sorties over Tong Le Chan and according to Western correspondents literally levelled it to the ground.

In a well-orchestrated propaganda campaign, Washington and Saigon described the Tong Le Chan incident as a large-scale attack by the PLAF, supported by tanks, with a view to capturing the base. That was a psywar trick aimed at diverting public attention from the new 6-point proposal put forward by the PRG, and at creating a new tension and war psychosis which, Thieu hoped, would make it easier to get Congress approval for American military aid credits.

For several successive days, under the pretext of taking retaliatory measures against the attack on Tong Le Chan, Saigon planes savagely bombed Loc Ninh and other liberated areas killing and wounding many people. The PRG military delegation at Tan Son Nhut saw their privileges and immunities violated: their telephone and air communications were suspended and all contact with the press cut off. The work of the Joint Military Commission was sabotaged and the La Celle Saint Cloud Conference unilaterally postponed sine die by the Saigon side.

Declarations by Kissinger or actions by Thieu, both are part of the same US design to use every possible means to impose neo-colonialism on South Viet Nam.

However, in this part of the world where the peoples have given proof of their ability to resist the schemes of imperialism, Washington does not hold all the cards.

In Laos, despite US efforts

to sabotage the peace and national concord stipulated by the February 21, 1973 Vientiane Agreement, a Provisional Government of National Union and a National Political Council of Coalition were formed, with the participation, on an equal footing, of the patriotic forces. The Vietnamese people rejoice at the great success of the fraternal Lao people and find in this a source of encouragement for their own struggle.

In Cambodia the war continues, due to Washington's obstinate refusal to recognize the fundamental national rights of the Cambodian people. But military operations are taking a turn obviously favourable to the patriotic forces. After the fall of Oudong, the old Khmer royal capital, Kompong Luong has been the next to be liberated. It is noteworthy that American C-130 planes, from their base in Utao, Thailand, have been dropping food supplies and war material to the Lon Nol troops besieged in this town, only 29km north of Phnom Penh. The US Embassy remains the general headquarters for military operations of the puppet troops; American and military aid to Cambodia this year will amount to 350 million dollars. All this will not save Washington's henchmen from defeat, or close their ranks, torn apart by internal rifts.

As regards the resistance, the prestige of the NLFK and the RGNUC has reached a new height with Vice-Premier Khieu Samphon's first visit to fraternal countries, and first of all, the DRVN.

In the same way the visits by DRVN Premier Pham Van Dong to Belgrade and Stockholm (after he had visited Havana and Algiers) show that the struggle of the Vietnamese and other Indochinese peoples is enjoying the great sympathy and support of progressive mankind.

April 25, 1974

Third Coalition in Laos

THIS is the third time in 17 years that a coalition government has been formed in neighbouring Laos. Each coalition government marks a progress for the national, peace and democratic forces in Laos and a setback for the US imperialists in their attempt to implant neo-colonialism in the "One Million Elephants" country.

The first coalition government was set up in 1957. The Geneva Agreements signed in 1954 recognized the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Laos; it recognized also the political position of the Pathet Lao in the Kingdom and Sam Neua and Phongsaly as two provinces of regroupment of the patriotic forces. After repelling the attacks of the rightist army, the Pathet Lao, giving proof of their goodwill and spirit of national concord, signed the Vientiane Agreements in 1956-1957, reinstated the royal administration in the two provinces of regroupment, merged the patriotic armed forces in the national army, and participated in the coalition government in which the Pathet Lao had two portfolios. Among the documents signed was a protocol on the foreign policy of peace and neutrality which had an historic significance: in fact, this was the first time that the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference were formally written down in an important document of a country of the third world. However, the US soon began to sabotage this coalition government, Graham Parsons, US Ambassador, admitted: "I struggled for sixteen months to prevent a coalition." What Parsons did was in agreement with the policy of Dulles, then Secretary of State in the Eisenhower administration who once said that neutrality was "immoral." On orders from the Americans, the troops of the reactionaries encircled and disarmed the two Pathet Lao Battalions N°1 and N°2, and arrested Prince Souphanouvong and other Pathet Lao leaders, after overthrowing the coalition government in August 1958.

However, under the leadership of the Lao Patriotic Front, the Lao people rapidly shifted to armed struggle combined with political actions. The Pathet Lao Battalion N°2 successful breakthrough of the enemy encirclement, the wonderful escape of LPP leaders from prison and the coup d'état staged by some army units in Vientiane in August 1960 — all these are clear proofs of the indomitable spirit of the Lao people. The débâcle suffered at Nam Tha in 1962 by the CIA strong man Phoumi Nosavan led to the signing of the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos and the formation of the sec-

ond coalition government in which the LPP had two ministers and two vice-ministers, while the patriotic neutralists were given a number of ministries. After Cuba, the Laos setback in 1962 was the hardest blow dealt to US neo-colonialism on a world scale. But the Americans would not accept defeat. The rightist troops continued to encroach upon the liberated zone, while in Vientiane still under the control of the reactionaries, the coalition government was paralysed. The assassination of Foreign Minister Quinim Pholsena in April 1963 heralded the impending storm. A coup d'état staged by the rightist elements, succeeded in overthrowing the coalition government (April 1964). One month later, the US started their air war in Laos while continuing the special ground war, with the rightist troops as cannon-fodder.

However, in the liberated areas which covered two-thirds of the national territory and were inhabited by half the Laos population, the patriotic forces' leaders conducted a heroic resistance war foiling all the aggressive schemes of the US to which Thailand lent an active hand. The rightist troops, Vang Pao's "special forces" and the Thai mercenaries were powerless in face of the might of the patriotic armed forces. Three and a half million tons of bombs, dropped by the US, could not prevent the liberated zone from expanding over to four-fifths of the national territory, including important strategic areas such as the Plain of Jars and the Bolovens Plateau. The result was that Johnson's "special war," greatly intensified by Nixon, suffered an ignominious defeat. On February 21, 1973, one month after the conclusion of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam an agreement was signed in Vientiane to restore peace and achieve national concord in Laos.

But the US imperialists remain obdurate. The struggle for the implementation of the Vientiane Agreement has been a long and fierce one. The ultra-rightists attempted a coup on August 20, 1973 in an attempt to undermine the agreement, and only after it had ended in fiasco, was the protocol to the agreement signed on September 14, 1973. After another difficult tug-of-war, agreement was finally reached on the neutralization of the cities of Vientiane and Luang Prabang, paving the way for the setting up of two highest State organs, namely the Provisional Government of National Union and the National Political Council of Coalition pending general elections.

The fact that in these two bodies the patriotic forces have a membership and a position equal to

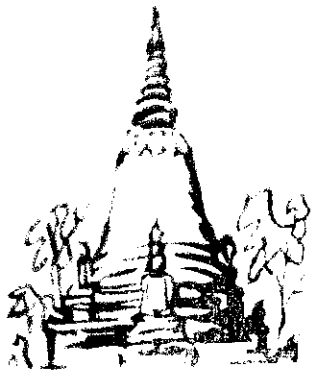
those of the Vientiane side is indicative of the growth and decisive role of the patriotic forces, compared with the previous two coalitions. The liberated zone has been recognized *de jure* and *de facto*, and this is another big stride forward.

But the main progress has been in the growth and unity of the patriotic forces, guided by a sound political line and strengthened by the co-ordinated struggle of the other peoples of Indochina and the sympathy and support of progressive peoples of the world.

Inversely, the reactionary forces see their ranks weakened and split up. The time of such "Young Turks" as Phoumi Nosavan and Siho is definitively over. Phoui Sananikone too has lost all prestige. A new phenomenon has appeared in urban centres: a seething movement of struggle for justice, peace, national concord is spreading among various sections of the population, especially among school and college students. Prince Souphanouvong was escorted by three hundred Honda-riding youths along a four kilometres long stretch of road lined with cheering people when he returned to the capital city of Vientiane after an eleven-year absence; nothing could express more vividly the invincible might of the patriotic forces, which stems from the masses.

For many years, the development in Laos has been closely associated with the general situation in this part of the world especially in Viet Nam.

When the Americans egged on their henchmen to sabotage the first Lao coalition government in 1957, it was also the time when Ngo Dinh Diem accelerated the "denounce Communists, kill Communists"



campaign, dragging his guillotine through the country to behead South Vietnamese patriots. When the Americans mounted a coup d'état in 1964 to overthrow the second coalition government in Laos and started the air war against the Lao liberated areas, it was also the time when they were scheming to stage the "Tonkin Gulf incident" to give themselves a pretext for unleashing their planes against North Viet Nam and introducing the GIs *en masse* into South Viet Nam.

On the other hand, the progress made by the Lao patriotic forces gave an impulse to the common movement in the region. The solution of neutrality

adopted for Laos in 1962 was a satisfactory precedent for the settlement of the Viet Nam question proposed by the PRG in the Paris talks, which included the formation of a tripartite government following a foreign policy of peace and neutrality. The débâcle suffered by the Saigon puppet army on the Road 9 - Southern Laos front in 1971, the result of the excellent co-ordination between the armed forces and people of Viet Nam and Laos, was a prelude to the bankruptcy of the "Vietnamization" of the war, and created conditions for the 1972 strategic offensive in South Viet Nam.

Clearly, the success achieved by the Lao people, like that of the Vietnamese and Khmer peoples, has also exerted a good influence on the situation in Thailand where the pro-US, militarist dictatorial government of Thanom and Praphas was finally toppled. This event in Thailand was heartily welcomed by the people of Laos and the other peoples of Indochina.

The Vietnamese people have always desired a peaceful Laos along the western frontier of their country, a Laos with which we maintain relations of friendship and co-operation, which is not a new-type colony and a US military base capable of becoming a threat to our country. A peaceful and neutral Laos is ever closer to becoming a reality after three coalitions. We highly value this progress which is beneficial to Viet Nam as well as to other countries in this part of the world.

The present satisfactory development in Laos is, of course, exerting a healthy influence on broad sections of the urban population under Thieu's control. What, one wonders, now stands in the way of the realization of peace and national concord in South Viet Nam, now that Laos is taking that road? Of course, this further exposes the Nguyen Van Thieu clique who are sabotaging the Paris Agreement and attempting to suppress the PRG and the third political force in South Viet Nam.

We warmly welcome the development of the situation in Laos, but we do not have any illusions about it. The objective of American imperialist policy in Indochina has remained unchanged: to maintain neo-colonialism there. They have not ended their involvement in Laos: thousands of US militarymen in civilian clothes are still carrying on concealed operations in that country; US military aid continues to pour into Laos to the tune of 300 million dollars a year, that is six times more than in 1962; a considerable number of Thai troops are still stationed there. The US war of aggression in Cambodia is fiercer than ever, while in South Viet Nam, the Saigon puppet army, maintained and commanded by Americans, continues to launch operations of "pacification" and encroachment against the liberated zone. All this calls for heightened vigilance on the part of our people and the brother Lao people.

However, looking back on the three successive coalition governments and on the whole situation in this region, we may say that in Laos as in Viet Nam, though the march of history, at times, may suffer some delay or have to take a roundabout way, it cannot be reversed.

NGUYEN HOANG

VIET NAM COURIER



On April 4, 1974 the King of Laos Sri Savang Vathana, formally invested :

● The National Political Council of Coalition (42 members : 16 from the Patriotic Forces side, 16 from the Vientiane side and 2 chosen by mutual agreement of the two sides) with Prince Souphanouvong (Patriotic Forces) as its President, and Sisoumang Sisaleumsak (Vientiane side) and Khamsouk Keola (Patriotic Forces, who is also the Council's Secretary General) its Vice-Presidents ;

● The Provisional Government of National Union, headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma (Vientiane side) with 24 other members (11 from the Patriotic Forces side, 11 from the Vientiane side and 2 chosen by mutual agreement of the two sides) including 2 Vice-Premiers : Phoumi Vongvichit (Patriotic Forces) and Leuam Insisiengmay (Vientiane side).



*Prime Minister
Pham Van Dong
and President
Houari
Boumedienne*

VIET NAM-ALGERIA

TWENTY years ago, when the French garrison at Dien Bien Phu surrendered, a great clamour of joy rose from all over the towns and countryside of Algeria; speaking in Hanoi on March 6, 1974, President Houari Boumedienne recalled that the Algerian people regarded that victory as their own. On the other side, is there any Vietnamese who cannot remember with emotion the strikes and demonstrations staged over a period of years by the dockers in Oran and the population of the Algerian cities in support of the Vietnamese people's struggle for national liberation?

While the Algerian people were waging their own war of national liberation, the Vietnamese people were entering a new stage of their struggle, that of countering US intervention and neo-colonialist aggression. Once again, the two peoples, waging the same struggle

on two different fronts, felt closely bound to each other. The coal miners in Hongay, the dockers in Haiphong vied with one another in making the "month of solidarity and support for the Algerian people" a success; in South Viet Nam, an "Algeria" battalion was set up during the war of liberation against the Americans.

Clearly that fraternity and solidarity between the two peoples of Algeria and Viet Nam, marked by the blood of the countless heroes fallen for the great cause of independence and freedom, are indestructible. While President Boumedienne recalled in Hanoi that "you [the Vietnamese people] were the moving power behind one of the greatest leaps forward which has marked the changes in the contemporary world," Premier Pham Van Dong, on his side, exclaimed in Algiers: "Algeria was the first African

country to rise up, arms in hand, and make use of revolutionary violence to smash counter-revolutionary violence and liberate itself. Algeria has been the gravedigger of an old colonialist imperialism."

That fraternity and solidarity are being strengthened day by day; the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism, the building of a new economy and culture are ties which bind the two peoples together despite the distance separating them. The reception given by the Vietnamese people to President Boumedienne and the Algerian delegation during their visit to the DRVN were a vibrant response to the enthusiastic greeting and passionate cheering of the Algerian crowd which welcomed the Vietnamese guests Mr Nguyen Huu Tho, Mme Nguyen Thi Binh. In April 1974, twenty years after Dien Bien Phu, Premier Pham Van Dong was greeted in Algiers and other localities in Algeria as a brother and a friend.

All Vietnamese know that the Algerian Democratic People's Republic is the first African government to recognize the South Viet Nam NLF and the PRG of the RSVN. At every international forum Algeria has always raised her voice to support the Vietnamese people and condemn US aggression in Viet Nam. At the non-aligned countries' summit conference held in Algiers 1973, at the Conference for the Development of International Humanitarian Law in Geneva in 1974, the Algerian Government unequivocally defended the just cause and position of the Vietnamese people. US imperialism has used pressure and blackmail but has never been able to break that sacred tie uniting our two peoples. For their part, the Vietnamese people understand that Algeria is at the frontline of the struggle now being waged by the Arab peoples against Israel and imperialism; the resounding victories won by the Arab peoples since October 1973 are regarded by the Vietnamese people as their own, and on their behalf, Premier Pham Van Dong expressed unreserved support to Algeria's positions and theses. These noble words of President Boumedienne on March 6, 1974 in Hanoi,

went to the hearts of all Vietnamese :

"The Algerian people are conscious of the efforts you have made in concert with the PRG of the RSVN, to implement the Paris Agreement. They are aware of the violations of that agreement by the US government and the Saigon puppet administration. That is why we once again demand the strict and loyal implementation of all provisions of that agreement, chiefly the stipu-

lations regarding the cease-fire, the release of political detainees and guarantee of democratic liberties...

"Faithful to the memory of their martyrs and to their revolutionary traditions, and conscious of the changes now being wrought in the world the Vietnamese and Algerian peoples will further strengthen their co-operation and solidarity in order to play their full role in the settlement of major international problem."

peaceful reunification of Viet Nam. To show her solidarity with the Vietnamese people, Yugoslavia declared her readiness to contribute to the task of healing the wounds of war and the economic rehabilitation and development of the DRVN." The communiqué lays emphasis on Yugoslavia's wholehearted support of the 6 points put forth on March 22, 1974 by the PRG of the RSVN, regarding this as a "proposal of particular importance to solve the urgent problems in South Viet Nam and pave the way to a political settlement of the South Viet Nam issue, in accordance with the Paris Agreement." Our people warmly welcome the good results of the friendship visit of our government delegation to Yugoslavia and the consolidation and development of friendly relations between the Vietnamese and Yugoslav peoples.

VIET NAM-YUGOSLAVIA

RECALLING President Ho Chi Minh's wish as expressed in his Testament, Premier Pham Van Dong paid a visit to Yugoslavia from April 5 to 8, 1974 to thank, on behalf of our government and people, the League of Communists, the Government and people of Yugoslavia for their staunch support to our struggle against US aggression for national salvation. Premier Pham Van Dong praised the heroism and indomitable spirit of the Yugoslav people in their resistance against fascist aggression in World War II, and hailed their success in bringing prosperity to their country, and improving their material and cultural life.

The Yugoslav leaders praised the undaunted and victorious struggle of our people, and strongly condemned the Saigon administration, backed by the Americans, for systematically violating the Paris Agreement, thus preventing the restoration of peace in South Viet Nam and denying the Vietnamese people the fruits of their struggle. President Dzemal Bijedic said: "We assure you that Yugoslavia will continue to give wholehearted support to the just struggle of the Vietnamese people."

The Viet Nam - Yugoslavia Joint Communiqué underlined that: "Yugoslavia staunchly supports the position of the DRVN Government and of the PRG of the RSVN, which is to fully respect and seriously implement the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and demand that the other side do the same. Yugoslavia resolutely supports the Vietnamese people's struggle in

its new stage to preserve and consolidate peace, build socialism in the North, achieve independence and democracy in the South and advance toward the

Excerpts from the Nhan Dan editorial, issue of April 10, 1974.



*Prime Minister
Pham Van Dong
and President
J.B. Tito*

VIET NAM - SWEDEN

WHAT made Sweden, a country which is geographically far away and politically different from Viet Nam, show concern for the struggle of the Vietnamese people and give their wholeheart-

ed support to it? In a speech made at a banquet given in honour of Prime Minister Pham Van Dong (during his visit to Sweden

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The New Woman in the Socialist Society

At the 4th Congress of Vietnamese Women (March 4-7, 1974), Le Duan, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, made a speech on the role of women as "collective master" of the new society. Following are excerpts from his speech :

WHAT does the question of women's emancipation and the achievement of equality between men and women imply in the present stage of the socialist revolution in North Viet Nam? It is clear that after the decisive victories of socialist transformation and the establishment of new relations in production, the principal content of the struggle for the emancipation of women is mainly a struggle against economic poverty and against the backward and wrong conceptions of women current in the old society; it is a struggle to ensure the ever-increasing participation of women in the management of the community and production, in a manner compatible with their characteristics and capability; to lighten household work through rational re-organization of their life; to strive to raise women's political, educational, scientific and technical standards. Thus in the socialist revolution, to emancipate women is in essence to ensure their fullest participation as collective masters in all the three respects: to be masters of society, masters of nature and masters of themselves. This is the content of the struggle for the emancipation of women in the period of transition to socialism.

Only the socialist regime, this new regime in history in which everyone is master, can emancipate not only the whole society but also every individual family, bringing a new life to society and to each family and harmonizing the interest and happiness

of every family with that of society. Furthermore, the regime of collective mastership not only promotes women to be masters of society and of the State, it also creates conditions for them to become masters of nature and of themselves and to make ever greater strides forward. Therefore to establish a socialist regime of collective masters is in full agreement with the interests and aspirations of women and is a basic way by which women can become completely emancipated. Of course, that lofty cause can be brought about only by the successful implementation of the three revolutions (the revolution in relations of production, the technical revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution), and the transformation of backward small-scale production into large-scale socialist production. Lenin has pointed out: "Only when and where a struggle by the masses (under the leadership of the proletariat in power) has begun against that small family economy, or rather only when there is a transformation of the whole small economy into a socialist economy on a large scale, can there be a real start in the emancipation of women and can there be real Communism." In that revolutionary cause, a cause most dear to the women themselves, they must strive to make progress. They must eagerly march forward, overcome all difficulties and obstacles, and do away with any inferiority complex and self-complacency. With all their strength and intelligence,

let our women rise up as a dynamic force, to hasten the process of building a new regime, a new economy and a new man so as to render our society truly fine and superior, and to bring prosperity and glory to the Fatherland, and happiness to every family. This is a heavy responsibility and a great honour for the women's movement in this new stage.

In order to fulfil such a noble historic mission, the specially important task of the women's movement in the North is "to build a new socialist woman." What does this mean? A new woman is one who fulfils satisfactorily her duty as a socialist citizen; a woman who fulfils satisfactorily her noble function as a mother toward her children, and as a wife in the family. It is true that in any society a woman is a citizen, a mother and a wife.

But there is a basic and striking contrast between a slave citizen, a hired labourer in a regime of private ownership and a socialist citizen who is collectively master of the community and of the State; between a feudalist or capitalist family and a socialist one; between a mother, a wife in the old society and a mother, a wife in the new one. In our regime, not only women's participation in public affairs (economic management and State-management) but even their childbirth, the bringing up and education of their children, and household work, all assume a profoundly social character, and are closely related to the general

progress of society and constitute an integral part of the cause of transforming the old society and building a new one.

At present, after the great victory of our resistance war against US aggression for national salvation, the Vietnamese revolution has entered a new stage in which the *general tasks of the North* as laid down by the 22nd Plenum of the Party's Central Committee are: to unite the entire people, strive to carry out socialist industrialization, speed up the three revolutions, build up North Viet Nam and quickly, strongly and steadily lead it to socialism, combine closely economy with national defence, raise one's vigilance, stand ready to smash all manoeuvres of the US imperialists and their henchmen, strive to fulfil one's duty in the revolutionary struggle for the completion of independence and democracy in South Viet Nam, advance toward peaceful reunification of the Fatherland and fulfil internationalist obligations towards the Lao and Cambodian revolutions.

For the two years 1974-1975, the task of the North is to: rapidly complete the healing of the war wounds, strive to rehabilitate and develop the economy, promote culture, continue to build the material and technical base of socialism, consolidate the socialist relations of production, and the socialist regime in every aspect, stabilize the economic situation and the people's life, strengthen national defence, and strive to fulfil the obligations towards the heroic South.

To fulfil the duty of a Vietnamese citizen who loves her country and socialism, every woman should do her utmost to contribute to the achievement of this general tasks.

Nowadays, the women's labour force accounts for more than 60% of the total labour force in agriculture, 42% of the total number of workers and employees, 52% of handicraft workers, nearly 60% in commerce, nearly 60% in the public health service, 52% in education, etc. With their participation in all branches of our national economy, with their industriousness and their capacity to endure through all kinds of weather, Vietnamese women should become the real core of the movement of labour, production and thrift for socialist construction. If we formerly spared

no sacrifices and devoted our lives to the struggle for the independence and freedom of our Fatherland, we now stand ready to use all our physical and intellectual power for the cause of national construction. If formerly Vietnamese women have added glorious pages to the history of our nation's fight against foreign invasion, they are now all the more capable, with their conscious and creative labour, of making worthy contributions to glorify our country and to eliminate poverty and backwardness and all negative and unhealthy manifestations which are in contradiction to the nature of our regime and the lines and policies of our Party and State.

In our society, when speaking of labour we should lay emphasis on labour with technique, organization and discipline, for labour in our regime must have high productivity, it must turn out much material wealth for ourselves and for society, for the present generation and the generations to come. Labour without technique or without high productivity is primitive labour at variance with the nature of our socialist labour. Therefore, more than anybody else, our women should strive to study, unceasingly raise their professional standards, master science and technique, set good examples in the observance of labour discipline, criticize the hired-labour attitude, idleness, laziness and sluggishness. So many heroines and model women workers in various economic and cultural branches have displayed a new style in labour and eloquently testified to the women labourers' great capabilities. The question is how to mobilize, above all how to organize and manage them.

As good citizens in our society who make up a large force of the population, women should play a worthy role in the management of society and the State. At present, in our National Assembly, 30% of the deputies are women and in the people's councils the proportion is 40%. There are 50 vice-Chairwomen and women members in provincial administrative committees, more than 3,000 chairwomen and vice-chairwomen of district and village administrative committees; 130 managers or deputy-managers of factories, 1,200 college lecturers, nearly 7,000 presidents or vice-presidents of agricultural co-operatives. This is a big stride forward in the women's movement, indicative of the equality between

men and women and of the latter's role as collective masters of our society. In the days to come, we should create favourable conditions for women to participate more efficiently in the management of economy and the State.

Our Party and State hope that this Congress will concentrate its discussion on finding out all measures to arouse an effervescent revolutionary spirit among women, and together with the Trade Unions and the Youth Union strongly step up the movement of labour production and thrift for the building of socialism, for the kith-and-kin South and for the reunification of the country.

The woman is at the same time a citizen, a worker in society, and a wife, a mother. Only if we see all these aspects can we make a correct assessment of the women's problem, correctly solve the tasks of women's emancipation and thoroughly understand the women's movement. To speak of the wife, the mother, is to speak of the family. The question of women's emancipation is closely associated with the building of a new, socialist family.

The family is a natural cell of society, a form of existence of human life. Without the family there can be no reproduction of man himself and the society cannot survive and develop.

As a product of society, the family has developed together with the evolution of society. The socio-economic conditions in any historical period is the factor which decides the character and structure of the family. In exploiting societies, the family was based on private interests; and therefore it gave birth to the principle "the husband calls the tune," in a feudal family and the principle "hand over the money first" in capitalist marriage. These inhuman principles brought untold sufferings and humiliation to women. In socialist society, which abrogates the regime of private ownership, oppression and exploitation, the family is built on equality and real love between husband and wife. The family is no longer an economic unit as in former societies of small-scale, individual production. As an essential expression of socialist sentiment and virtue, the family now carries out functions which are indispensable to the life and development of the new society.

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from April 8 to 11 1974 — *Ed.*) Premier Olof Palme said: "The struggle of the Vietnamese people symbolizes the struggle of a people determined to defend its national independence and its right to decide its own future at all costs. It has launched a generation throughout the world on the path to political consciousness." The Premier stressed that President Ho Chi Minh's well-known saying 'nothing is more precious than independence and freedom' constitutes a fundamental principle for all small and medium-sized countries in search of national independence."

With this political consciousness, the Swedish people have united with Vietnamese people and wholeheartedly and unreservedly support their just struggle. In recent years people of all walks of life, the Left Communist Party, the Social Democratic Party and many other political parties and organizations in Sweden have enthusiastically taken part in, and responded to, the movements in support of Viet Nam, turning them into the largest mass move-

*Prime Minister Pham Van Dong
and Swedish Premier
Olof Palme.*



VIET NAM — SWEDEN

ments ever known in their country. Together with the Swedish people, the Swedish Government took sides with Viet Nam and condemned the US imperialist aggressors. After the historic victory of the Vietnamese people, the Swedish Government and people continue to support Viet

Nam by demanding that the US and Saigon Administrations implement the Paris Agreement and at the same time actively help the Vietnamese people restore and develop their economy.

Excerpts from the Nhan Dan editorial, issue of April 13, 1974.

STOCKHOLM INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON VIET NAM

"LAST year the world witnessed systematic violations of several provisions of the Paris Agreement by the Saigon administration aided and abetted by the US government... In the present difficult situation, we feel it our duty to side with the Vietnamese people, to afford them the greatest assistance to rebuild their country, to give firm support to them in the political field so that their struggle for peace, freedom, national independence and democracy may be crowned with success."

This was the declaration made by Mrs Birgitta Dahl, acting

President of the Stockholm Conference on Viet Nam, President of the Swedish Committee for Solidarity with Viet Nam, at the opening session of the International Conference on Viet Nam, held in Stockholm from March 29 to 31, 1974, attended by 300 delegates from 54 countries.

The determination of all honest people in the world is reflected in these statements as in the Conference resolutions which demand that the US put an end to all its military involvement and interference in the internal affairs of South Viet Nam and that the Saigon administration fully im-

plement the three urgent points: complete cease-fire, return of all detained military and civilian personnel and guarantee of democratic liberties.

The 6-point proposal made on March 22, 1974 by the PRG of the RSVN was regarded by the conference as an important initiative to achieve peace and national concord in South Viet Nam on the basis of the Paris Agreement.

The convening and the successful conclusion of the Stockholm International Conference on Viet Nam testifies to Washington's failure to drop the Viet Nam question out of sight and to present the hostilities there as an insignificant "civil war." Once again, it has been clearly shown that the tension in South Viet Nam stems from US neo-colonialist ambition.

FACTS AND EVENTS

To Die for Whom ?

MR ROBERT RANSOM, a New York lawyer, had a son who fought in Viet Nam. As everybody knows, the Viet Nam war was a crusade in which a whole generation of Americans was urged to take up arms in order to defend, among other things, "universal human values," "the right of the South Vietnamese to live a life worthy of the name," and so on and so forth... At least that was what all the US presidents, from Eisenhower to Nixon, kept on drumming into the Americans.

So Ransom Jr left for Viet Nam and he never came back.

Mr Ransom, the father, tried to comfort himself with the thought that at least, his son had sacrificed his life for a noble cause.

But here we are, one year after the Paris Agreement, and the war is going on in South Viet Nam with weapons supplied by the Americans, under the direction of American "advisers," while the South Vietnamese are far from enjoying the kind of life for which Ransom Jr sacrificed himself. Mr Ransom father is extremely grieved.

To see things for himself he made a trip to South Viet Nam.

What he saw and heard there was quite upsetting and shocking for the father of a "hero." The impressions he gathered on the "field of honour" appeared in an article published by the *New York Times* and the *American Report* of February 1974.

First, Mr Ransom found that in the all-powerful police state headed by Thieu, there is not a shred of elementary human rights or democratic liberties,

Private residences may be searched at any hour of the day or night by the police and army.

Political prisoners are legion. Their crime? Opposing the one-man election or standing for peace.

They are subjected to an unimaginable treatment and the worst tortures. Many have been

languishing for months on end in prison without being brought for trial. On the rare occasions when someone comes up before a court, his fate is decided in a few minutes. Most of the time, the families do not know where their dear ones are detained, or are informed that they have "died" during their detention.

The prevailing impression is, according to Mr Ransom, that

of "suffering, corruption, repression and fear" "so characteristic of the Thieu regime."

Is it for all this that his son has fallen? Mr Ransom father asks himself with bitterness.

There are, of course, tens of thousands of Robert Ransoms in the US whose sons have thus been uselessly sacrificed.

Moreover the March 25, 1974 letter sent by Henry Kissinger to Edward Kennedy and the State Department's comments indicate that the US will substantially step up its economic and military aid to the Thieu regime.

To keep alive a regime which has cruelly mown down a generation of young Americans.

Wrangling in Phnom Penh

ON March 31, Lon Nol dissolved the Supreme Political Council set up on April 24, 1973 (composed of Lon Nol, Cheng Heng, Sirik Matak and In Tam), and replaced it by a Supreme Executive Council made up of Lon Nol, Sirik Matak, Long Boret and Sosthène Fernandez, with Lon Nol as Chairman and Sirik Matak as Vice-Chairman.

As In Tam had been practically discarded in December last year, the reshuffle in the topmost body of the Phnom Penh puppet regime this time was aimed at eliminating Cheng Heng, head of state after the March 18, 1970 coup d'état and ex-chairman of the Supreme Political Council, and to toss onto the political scene such upstarts as Long Boret and Sosthène Fernandez. It is worth noting that Long Boret is regarded as a "United States man" (*AP*, April 2, 1974).

Realizing the scheme of Lon Nol and his American bosses, Cheng Heng held a press conference at his residence. In this he denounced the Americans whom he accused of being deeply involved in the affair and claimed that it was they who urged Lon Nol to dissolve the Supreme Political Council (*Manila Radio*, March 31).

During the last four years, countless wrangles have broken out among the top US henchmen: cabinet reshuffles in May and

October 1971, bloodless coup in March 1972, plebiscite in April 1972, presidential elections in June 1972, elections to the National Assembly in September 1972, formation of a special government in October 1972, setting up of the Supreme Political Council in April 1973 and formation of the In Tam government in May 1973, but all these efforts of the Americans to bring political stability to Phnom Penh have been in vain.

Foreign observers remark that this change in the puppet regime coincided with the arrival, on April 4, of the new US ambassador to Phnom Penh, John Gunther Dean, a former ambassador to Laos, well-known for his skill in manipulating the US puppets there.

So, to create favourable conditions for Dean to carry through his new task the White House has put at his disposal this new team of US agents in Cambodia. However, great difficulties are awaiting him: Oudong town has been taken by the patriotic forces; Kampot is in a desperate situation. Though US aid is pouring in (350 million dollars in military aid and 250 million in economic aid) the picture remains gloomy. One wonders how long the present group of puppets will survive as chorus to such an ambitious man as Lon Nol.



*Statue of
Amida (Phat
Tich Pagoda)*

An Exhibition of Ancient Stone Sculpture

MANY important artistic works and monuments of the Vietnamese people have been destroyed or ruined by the wars against foreign aggression and the severe tropical climate. Under French rule the colonialist administration paid only scant attention to the conservation, research and study of this precious heritages. This was only carried out in real earnest, after the founding of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in 1945 and has continued even during the arduous war against US aggression in recent years. As a result, the Fine Arts Museum

(under the Ministry of Culture was inaugurated in 1966. Since then, numerous special exhibitions of folk-painting, folk-wood-carving, modern painting and sculpture have been held, attracting a large number of Vietnamese and foreign visitors.

The Exhibition of Ancient Stone Sculpture, which opened in spring this year, displays in three rooms of the Fine Arts Museum, 199 objects including originals, restorations and reproductions, drawings and photos.

This exhibition is the result of several years of research and

selection work at over 60 sites in 14 provinces and towns, with the wholehearted help and co-operation of the local cultural organizations and the population. The relics displayed are not numerous, but they can give the visitors a general and, at the same time, systematic idea of ancient Vietnamese stone sculpture.

Stone sculpture is a decorative art. Almost all stone carvings are integral parts of such monuments as pagodas, towers' temples, tombs and palaces. Every piece, so far as its dimensions are concerned, is closely related to the overall lay-out of a monument or the surrounding landscape, and each bears the imprint of the age in which it was created. Taken away from their original settings for model display, these pieces can hardly convey to the visitors the harmony of the whole. This is a weak point of the exhibition but one which is difficult to avoid. The earliest exhibits date back to the 11th century except for two of them which belong to be Neo-lithic Age.

Stone reliefs are found in the foundations of pagodas and towers, bases of pillars and statues, thresholds and balustrades, etc. Their finely carved designs observe the symmetrical principles of Vietnamese classical architecture. Dragons, phoenixes, lions, chains of flowers, musicians, dancers... all such ornamental details are composed with compactness and vividness.

There are also stone statues — of Buddhas, arhats bird-headed men, attendants and guards, lions, dragons, tigers, etc. The statue at Phat Tich pagoda (in Ha Bac, 1057) is one of the most splendid achievements of our ancient sculpture. The sculptor who carved this statue, probably after the model of a beautiful Vietnamese girl, seems to have grasped the sublimity and mystery of the attainment of Nirvana. In the 11th and 12th centuries Buddhism was the dominant religion and the sculpture of this period is usually inspired by religion or mythology with figures of Buddhas, dragons, demons, bird genies, bird-headed men...

*Tiger
(Tran Thu Do's tomb)*

→

Stone sculpture in and after the 13th century tends to be more naturalistic. The tiger (at the tomb of Tran Thu Do, 1264) is shown in comfortable reclining position, its body heaving, its muscles vibrating. On the stone storey of Pho Minh tower (in Nam Ha, 1305), one finds diversified ornaments, of great freshness. Waves, clouds, flowers with a frieze of lotus petals in relief give the impression of a tower emerging from a huge lotus flower.

Human statues, animal statues and ornaments in pagodas, temples, towers and tombs of monarchs and mandarins in the period from the 15th to the 19th century represent a development of the folk character of sculpture whose more moderate size, boldness of form, simplicity and ease of features contrast with the former tendency to over ornamentation.

Busts of real personages like those of Lady Sao and Lady Nen (Thong Pagoda in Hai Hung, 1694) constitute a speciality of our stone sculpture at this time.

Themes close to the people's life, unknown in the sculpture of the period from the Ly to the Tran dynasty (11th to 14th century), begin to make their appearance: a cat catching a mouse, and carvings of horses encircle the plinths of stelae in Canh Phuc Pagoda (in Nam Ha, 1695).

The DRV Advances

"Lotus 12" Tractors

The Agricultural Engineering Works having successfully drawn up its own design and manufactured prototypes, has now begun mass production of "Lotus 12" tractors. It will turn out 500 tractors this year and increase production in years to come in order to meet the requirements of agricultural mechanization.

Recently, after manufacturing and assembling the hydraulic

transmission system, the technicians and workers designed and manufactured a machine for boring the gearbox of the "Lotus 12," in replacement of the universal boring machine used formerly. With this 12-shaft boring machine, a worker can do the boring for 30 gearboxes per day, increasing productivity by 30 times in comparison with the old process, and achieving a higher technical standard.

"Victory" Fishing Boat

135-HP, steel-hulled ships named "Victory" are new products of Building Yard No 1 (of the Aquatic Product Agency).

The yard, which only a short time before had been a small workshop for repairing road-rollers and motor launches, undertook the construction of the Victory at the beginning of 1972, when Nixon unleashed the war of destruction against North Viet Nam. At the end of 1973, it completed the building of its sixth ship, ahead of schedule.

The "Victory" ship, of medium size, is used for fishing by scouring nets and lights and suits

the present needs of fishing co-operatives and state-run fishing enterprises. The ship is technically equipped for long voyages far away from the coast and working under different conditions. Several tests have proved the quality of the ship.

At present the ship-building yard is trying to reduce the cost price and to cut down construction time by one-third. It is also working on a project to build 200-HP ships.

A Haul of 100.7 Tons of Fish

Recently the fresh water fishing technique experimentation group at Tien Son in Ha Bac province, fishing in Cam Son fish-rearing lake, caught in a single haul 100.7 tons of fish, each fish weighing between 3 kilograms and 27 kilograms. During the night of March 5, 1974, after casting their net at one end of the lake, the fishermen detected the passage of a shoal of fish about 3 kilometres away. They immediately shifted their net to surround the fish at midnight. After making a barrage, they quickly drove the shoal toward their nets. The catch and the transportation of the fish to the shore, which began on the morning of March 6, 1974, ended one week later.

This big haul was made possible thanks to the application of a combination of techniques: blocking all escape, driving the fish into a corner, etc. As early as 1970, this innovation had led to catches of from 50 to 70 tons of fish per haul.





The Poem and the Gun

"One might think that this child, born on the battlefield, would know nothing but screaming, but it was a song that was rising..."

CHE LAN VIEN

I met Pham Tien Duat again in 1967. He was back from the front. The city was then under fierce bombing. We strolled together for hours past gaping façades of houses and shattered roofs, up to the West Lake, along the Youth Road — our road.

*The trees that listened to our talk of love have fallen
Their sap still keeping some of our breath.
The part where the wood was sawed off to build
bridges
Is now blood red.
Yesterday they protected the children from sunshine
Today they link up the roads to the battlefield.
At night, covered by the mist
They count the steps of combatants
While thinking of those who loved in the shade
And whom the war has separated.
Their place in the former park
Is taken by A.A. gun;
There, on the stump of a fallen tree
A soldier sits and plays a flute.*

In order to appreciate the simplicity and depth of Duat's poems, they should be placed in the current of the young Vietnamese poetry called "Green Poetry" by poets and critics obviously in tribute to those works which, born in a context of war

and destruction, are extremely lively and tender, like the young rice plants that grow on the brinks of bomb craters.

Pham Tien Duat is now 32 years old. He was a student of the Hanoi Teachers' College when he wrote his first poems. Inspiration then came to him with the familiar landscapes, the arch of a bridge, the smile of a girl, the crossing of a ferry. He got a degree in letters, then enlisted in 1964 when the Americans extended their war of destruction to North Viet Nam. Since then, his life has been a link between poetry and struggle, a struggle shouldered by him, by the majority of young people of his generation, as an immediate and lasting concern.

*Far from Seng Phan
Day and night, the unending blasts of bombs
And the drone of planes
Echoed in my mind.*

And it was at the front that he began his hymn to the fighting youth. On a chance table, a shell case, sometimes at night, in a dark straw hut — if truck convoys can move in the dark, why should one wait till daylight to write poems? — he wrote about man, about his own love for his country, which was as strong as his hatred for the aggressors. He wrote about the roads, that fantastic live network of the anti-US resistance, With shells

and other lethal means, the American air force and navy tried to cut supplies to the South. But in vain. Night fell on a road full of craters: the next morning the trucks were rolling.

*The darkness of night in Viet Nam
Like an interval at the theatre
It brings great changes.*

(The Glimmer of the Lamp)

The roads stretched out, and widened into a network, intricate and moving. In Ha Tinh province alone, from 1965 to 1967, as many kilometres of roads were built as in all the 19th century over the whole of Viet Nam. Nothing in this may be considered miraculous, except for the labour and courage of those thousands of young volunteers who were an integral part of the roads all through the war and to whom Pham Tien Duat has, through "young girl," dedicated the following poem:

*How can I love you?
I haven't yet seen your face.
Of all the young volunteers
You had the whitest shirt.
While planting stakes around the craters
You joked, and your mates roared with laughter
A magnetic bomb fell near the well,
You slept, your legs covered with mud.
All day long defusing bombs
At night, in your dreams, you were speaking
And your whisper lulled the straw hut.*

To move earth, she put on a white shirt. She was afraid, of course, but nothing could silence her laughter, this was the way she took up the challenge. The girl Duat had come across one day on his way to the front has given her name to thousands of other girl members of the "Young Volunteer Brigades": *em*, or younger sister...

Pham Tien Duat passes the daily reality through the sieve of his sensitivity and his imagination, but his poems remain deeply anchored in life; this is one of the features of that "Green Poetry" whose current has been growing in strength during the war. Each literary contest discovers new talents. In 1969-1970 the Jury of the All North Viet Nam Poetry Contest received 13,000 poems. In 1972-1973, the number more than doubled. Of course, one should not base oneself solely on figures. Nonetheless, they testify, in their way, to the vigour of poetical creation in Viet Nam.

Big efforts have been made at the initiative mostly of the Writers' Union, with the aim of encouraging the emergence of new talents and their improvement. "Green Poetry" blossomed everywhere, even at the battlefield, in actual combat, where it echoed the watchword of the Vietnamese youth: "Let our songs drown the blasts of bombs."

*Near Seng Phan.
Trees fall with a crash
The glass trembles on the table
Even the flame of the lamp shivers.
Bombs roar like wild beasts.
At Seng Phan.
The tunes of a guitar in the cavity of a rock.
The stones that burst under our mines,
The long hiss of the hubble-bubble,
The rumble of an engine on the road
Drown the roar of bombs...*

(Seng Phan, Dec. 1968)

*My wound is light, yet they send me to hospital.
The truck waits for its load, the engine gets impatient.
Nostalgia for the friendly moon, when lying face
upward,
Nostalgia for the jerry, when lying on my side,
Exhausted I sit up, nostalgia for the hillside road.*

(Nostalgia 1969)

To a foreign poet who asked about his age, a young A.A. gunner replied, intermingling his own life with that of his country: "I am 4,000 times twenty years old."

For his part, Duat has replied by writing "Present Work" which describes how "A General History of Viet Nam" was written.

*Our "General History" is finished,
Its last page written in a shelter.
The manuscripts are back from So-tan, (1)
Piled up on pedicabs
Which bump across an A.A. ground.
While watching the luggage,
The man who makes history - the combatant -
Opens his ears to the present and smiles to
the past*

At present, Duat is preparing a long collection with a score of chapters on the Truong Son (the Indochinese Cordillera) — *Canh rung khong dan* (The Uninhabited Forest) (2).

"For more than ten years past, thousands of combatants have crossed the immense Truong Son Range to join the frontline. It is crisscrossed by thousands of kilometres of roads. Never before have I seen or heard of such a gigantic communications network. Four million tons of bombs have fallen here, nearly one-third of the hardware dumped by the Americans on the whole of Indochina. But the network has been maintained, and has even been staked out with new solid and comfortable relay stations... That is why, one evening, in the forest still disturbed by enemy reconnaissance flights and shaken by a strong wind, I decided to write *Canh rung khong dan*..."

NGUYEN VINH

(1) *Evacuation place during the US air war.*

(2) *Main works by Pham Tien Duat :*

First Collection (1970) — Vang trang, quang lua
(*Blazing Moonshine*).

Second Collection (1970) — Mot chang duong
(*A Stage of the Journey*).

Third Collection (in the press) — Duong dai tren ban dao
(*The Long Road on the Peninsula*).

The Two Slopes of Truong Son

*Together, they hang up their hammocks
A whole forest separates them
The road to the front is radiant in this season
The Eastern slope misses the other one.*

*One cordillera, but the clouds have two colours
Here warm sunshine, there, cold and rain
Like us, like the North and the South,
And the East and the West, the forest is one.*

*I think of you
It rains on the rice route
The mosquitoes are ferocious, pull down your
sleeves
Finish the vegetables, do you like bamboo shoots?*

*You know, here it is winter
Streams run dry, butterflies dizzily turn around
rocks*

*My heart beats for the South
And you're defending our road.
I get into the cabin, a downpour ;
The windscreen wiper dissipates my homesickness
You go down to the valley, the sun is now
blazing
Let the boughs drive away your sadness.*

*From the East to the West letters do not get
through*

*But weapons and rice do.
In the East your blouse is green
So is my uniform here.*

*You are coming to me
The endless files of front-bound soldiers
Link up the two sides of the Truong Son
As love links the endless chats of lovers.*

PHAM TIEN DUAT
1970

Blazing Moonshine

*The top of the hill blazes
And glows with a dancing halo
Then,
The moon rises.
The trees mingle in the fire of lightning.
A group of soldiers sit near a post
One of them sings — He raises his voice :
In a shelter a girl listens to him.
In the fire of lightning
The convoys quicken their rhythm
At the top of the hill, the moon
Seems to blaze.
Calm.
Their songs mingle with the smell of powder
On their stained blouses
The steel pellets patter like rain.
The road is buzzing down to the horizon
For the North and the South a sole heart throbs
Beyond the blaze, rises a single crescent.*

PHAM TIEN DUAT

Psywar Tricks

Following the article "How a Psywar Agent Is Licked into Shape" carried in the Viet Nam Courier of January 1974 we publish below some stories gleaned by Do Than, Quan Doi Nhan Dan (People's Army) correspondent, on the tricks used by the US-Saigon psywar propaganda machine in Quang Tri when that province was still under the Saigon control.

A Model Teacher

WHEN the Leatherneck Division built its defence line north of Highway 9, Cua Viet port became its supply base. The port was defended by the McNamara electronic barrier running from east to west and passing through Gio Hai, a village under "pacification" opposite Cua Viet.

One day, on an outboard motorboat plying from Dong Ha to Cua Viet, a stranger was noticed among the fish dealers returning from market. He was about 30, tall and sunburnt, wearing a white shirt and blue trousers, and looked like a mechanic with, at the same time, something about him which gave him the appearance of a provincial official. In a journey acquaintance can easily be made and the travellers came to know that the man was Vy, a draftee just demobbed, now returning to his former teaching profession.

"I like the quiet country life," the man said.

The local inhabitants were overjoyed to see him as ever since they had been concentrated in Tam Nuan camp, their children had been left without education. After producing his papers to the rural police chief, Vy found accommodations at Reverend Diep's, and at once visited all the families with children of school age. It took him only 10 days to know nearly all the names of the kiddies at An Trung and Giem Ha Thuong hamlets. He built the school with his own money and even accepted boarders.

Once, when arguing with Father Diep, he said, "You're better acquainted than I with the spiritual life of our people, but, sorry, I know worldly things better than you. I'm a teacher and I'll look after any child, be he the offspring of a 'Viet Cong' or a 'government' citizen."

Then he moved to the family of one of his pupils. He would spend the nights in one pupil's house after another coaching them and was held in esteem by the population. Even the local authorities had a high regard for that young teacher who had such wide knowledge and so many acquaintances and even dared to speak rudely about the district chief.

Then rumours were spread by the children that teacher Vy was a boxer and had the magical power of being unhurt by slashings. He was also said to have the power of becoming invisible. Once, he challenged the troops of Sergeant Kieu Sa that if they could injure him in an ambush, he would give them a pig to eat. Six platoons waylaid him but could not prevent him from entering the district office unnoticed. After that he was held in awe by Kieu Sa, a man known for his cruelties.

At that time, the PLAF team in charge of destroying the enemy

ships at Cua Viet was meeting with great difficulties. It could not get in touch with our men who were hidden. Its field of operation was mined and the section of road it used to cross was guarded by American tanks. Day and night, an enemy scout battalion and two companies of the riverine task force visited the localities suspected of having underground hiding-places. The rural cadres were closely watched. When the Party secretary went to the district town for a meeting a rumour was spread about that he had surrendered to the [Saigon] "government" with an AK, thus receiving a prize of 100,000 piastres.

Teacher Vy went on with his business in the day time and at night he visited the families of his pupils. He once sued the tax collectors before the provincial court for bribery and they had to pay reparations for that. Vy's prestige was growing day by day. The children went to his school in greater and greater numbers. Only when Chai, a "stay-behind" spy, was arrested was Vy's identity revealed.

One day, an NFL scout going to prepare the battlefield was seriously injured by a mine. He took refuge in Chai's house to dress his wound. As the NFL man was bandaging his injured leg, Chai snatched his AK and urged him to surrender.

"How can you go away to night? There is nobody left in the revolutionary base here after the surrender of the Party secretary," Chai said, "You should look which way the wind is blowing before you hoist sail."

"How can I go out as my leg is aching terribly?" the patriotic fighter said. "If you want to help me, give me a walking-stick."

As Chai was coming near, the scout took out a hand grenade, shouting "Stand still or you'll get killed. Give me back my fire-arm!"

Later, with the help of a patriotic-minded soldier in the Saigon army, the underground guerilla organization captured Chai and took him to the liberated areas together with the wounded armyman.

Chai declared he was a spy under the command of Lieutenant Vinh, known as teacher Vy.

Vinh was an intelligence officer trained in the US and paid by the Americans. He had learnt many trades which allowed him to carry out his job under different covers. His mission was to investi-

gate the activities of the ship-hunting team at Cua Viet. The information supplied by his spies, by the parents' association and by the Gio Hai police made it possible for him to find out the methods used by that team. Vinh skilfully hid under a well-camouflaged cloak of his supposed supernatural powers which, given wide publicity by his pupils, would deter any one who wanted to follow his activities.

After his arrest, Vinh made a clean breast of his acts.

Division

GIO HAI has a good Party cell. The woman Party members are mostly unmarried, but one Party activist, N., was a young widow. She was the scout of the local guerilla unit and member of the soldier-persuasion committee. After receiving orders from his superiors, Ho Tuan, the hamlet police chief, secretly followed N.'s activities and gathered all information about her in a special file. Then he sent a woman to show N. the document. N.'s face went white, as all the information gleaned about her was accurate.

"Mr Tuan asked me to show you this record confidentially," the woman said. "He has much sympathy for you, a widow with small children, and as your relative, he winks at what you are doing. Be cautious not to let the district and provincial authorities know this or you'll court a lot of trouble."

A few days later, a large-scale purge took place at Gio Hai. Those arrested were put to the rack. N. and the other women underwent only a short interrogation. After this, N. was left free to go home. But she was on tenterhooks as she was at a loss to know the real intention of the enemy!

On N.'s husband's death anniversary, Ho Tuan came with a pig's head and a bottle of wine, saying, "I saw you buy votive papers at Cau market and remembered at once that today is your husband's death anniversary. You were only recently married into our family and do not know that he and I are relatives."

N. didn't know whether to believe him or not. But living in another hamlet, she had not yet got to know all the members of her husband's family when he had suddenly died, leaving her with two small children. So she apologized to Tuan: "I'm too clumsy in my relations with the family. Excuse me, Mr Police Chief!"

Tuan stroked the hair of the two children and said to them, "You see, your mother is so clumsy that just recently she went as far as Nhi Ha post to establish a Viet Cong base there!"

N. hemmed and hawed: "I went there to ask for some empty shell boxes to store rice, and know nothing about the post, Mr Police Chief!"

"Oh, I know. The boxes are to contain rice for you and shells for the guerillas; you kill two birds with one stone. You women are so clever! But never mind! Why do you call me 'Mr Police Chief'? I am a policeman at my

office, but here family hierarchy is to be observed. In the family you rank above me. Today is your husband's death anniversary, so don't let's talk business. Accept these presents of mine for the worship of his soul."

N. asked Tuan to stay for dinner, but he refused, promising a further visit. The news that the police chief had brought in a pig's head and a bottle of rice wine to commemorate the decease of N.'s husband rapidly spread all over the village.

Another day, Ho Tuan rode on his Honda to Cau market and bought 5 kilograms of chicken and two litres of alcohol; then he went with two other policemen to see N., telling her: "I've to entertain some friends from the district, but my wife is away, visiting her parents; be kind enough to prepare the meal for me!"

N. was forced to do the cooking. During the meal, Tuan said appreciatively: "Why is your boiled chicken so tenderly cooked while that prepared by my wife is as hard as wood? That is why she gives me only daughters. How unfortunate we are!"

From the back room, N. replied: "Oh, your wife is a very clever woman!"

"Clever or not, what I want is a boy. Can you find me a good woman to marry?"

After the meal, the tipsy policemen stayed for the night in her house. The following morning the Mai Xa inhabitants going to market spread the news that N. had entertained the policemen to dinner. Very unhappy, she had no other way to clear herself than to work, and work harder. Nevertheless, as her house was frequented by policemen, she was refused participation in all revolutionary tasks.

On another occasion, N. was summoned to the rural police station and could not go to market, which intrigued the villagers. In the afternoon her

father-in-law was arrested and tortured. During the whole interrogation, he was asked only one question: "Why didn't you report to the government that your daughter-in-law works for the Viet Cong?"

As he denied knowing anything about N.'s activities, the policeman plucked his goatee. The next day he was released, in agonizing pain. N. was unable to vindicate herself in this affair.

One evening, the same woman sent some time ago by Tuan visited her again and said: "The Party suspects you and will not give you any work. Under these circumstances, even though you are not doing anything wrong, you are regarded as a counter-revolutionary and you have lost the Party's confidence."

N. wept. How could she extricate herself from such a situation, when even her friends and relatives no longer trusted her!

It would have been better for her, she thought to be incarcerated and put to torture rather than live such a lonely life facing the scorn of the population. She could bear physical torture but not these mental sufferings.

At that time, she was frequently

visited by Ho Tuan who brought her now a gift, now some money to buy something for him, without ever accepting back the change.

One day, Ho Tuan came in in a funeral mood. He said that his wife was behaving badly with him. He wanted N. to intervene so that he could marry C., a young Party member whom he was trying to "neutralize." N. refused. He used every means to bring pressure to bear on C. who finally was forced to marry him. He then spread the rumour that N. had arranged the match. Like wild fire the gossip spread around that N. was the go-between in this "love affair" between C. and the police chief. All the other hamlets began to look down on the Mai Xa women.

After that marriage, district police chief Thang gave Ho Tuan a 20,000-piastre reward. At a banquet given on this occasion he said to understrappers in his service: "You see! All the obduracy of the Mai Xa people can't match the tricks of a good card-player! To wipe out the Communists at grassroots level, it is not enough to strike at them. The more we use force against them, the more they become obdurate. We must use tricks, like a card-player."

The Temptation of Gain

DURING the resistance war against the French, H.P. was a cadre of a district in the coastal plain of Quang Tri province. After the signing of the Geneva Agreement (1954) he went back to his teaching work and was arrested in 1959. At that time his fellow-prisoners in Quang Tri jail frequently saw him pacing the yard, clad in white pyjamas. Released four years later he returned to his hamlet, but gave up teaching. What could he teach the youth when he was unable to find his own way in this chaotic society?

Men of his age who, like him, had worked for the revolution had been either killed, jailed, or were serving a "life sentence" at Poulo Condore. His former pupils were now divided into two opposite fronts: some served in the liberation army or administration, the others were being trained in the [US-Saigon] cadets' schools at Thu Duc and Dalat. To serve the revolution was something he dreaded as he could not bear the refined torture he had suffered in jail. To follow the enemy was also impossible for him as he could not kill people

to get rich. He made an effort to teach himself English with a view to getting a technical education later: at that time there were plenty of agricultural machines in the hamlet and very few technicians. Owners of machines frequently asked him about their use, as a primary school teacher was regarded as a man of broad knowledge. So that he could solve the problems of those who were using machines he applied to the rural authorities for authorization to attend a free course on the handling of machines opened by the district Buddhists Association. Agreement was immediately given. After the training, he was made mechanic of the hamlet. A few months later he managed to buy a pump, and when he had saved enough money, he bought a small motor-vehicle with which he transported sea fish and shrimps from the sea coast to the district market and brought vegetables, bread-fruit, pepper and thread back to the seaside. At harvest time, he would use his machine to transport rice and at transplanting time, to work his pump. By the year's end, he had bought a tractor.

"You look very young, Mr H.P.!" the women told him. In fact, his eyes had brightened now he had found the means to build his fortune. At the end of the year he married a young woman, widow of a lieutenant [of the Saigon Army] killed in battle. He now had separate establishments, one managed by his legitimate wife, and comprising a husking mill, two small motor vehicles, two 20 HP tractors and a pump. His concubine ran the other one with a shop, a power generator, a filling-station and a television set.

Every afternoon H.P. would rest on a soft couch to enjoy the wind blowing from the river and listen quietly to the light music and songs broadcast by his transistor. "The revolution will triumph in the end, but this day

is still far away. I am only keeping aloof from it for a time and I am not forsaking it." This is the way he reasoned, and so he winked at the crimes committed by the rural puppet authorities against the inhabitants.

He was just the type of man required by the US "Vietnamization" policy.

In his hamlet, the "to hop" (labour teams) had replaced the "lien gia" (family groupings) in supplying information to the rural police. The new organization received, free of charge, from the "Rural Construction" Ministry the "*Huong Que*," a beautifully printed review which dealt only with such themes as how to get rich and enjoy a quiet life; sometimes it carried illustrated stories such as "How Nam Wipes out the Communists," or editorials extolling the peaceful life at An Giang (Nam Bo)

With his stock of machines, new rice strains, and capital loaned by Agricultural Bank, H.P. had become a country capitalist, having at his disposal means of production, capital and technique. He was sole agent for various agricultural engineering firms. The new mode of working bred a new mode of living which changed his thinking. In 1970 he was appointed chairman of the Peasants' Association. Position gave him privileges and obligations to the "government." In his capacity as sole agent for the oil companies and motor-car spare part manufacturers, he was able to sell more to this one and less or nothing to that one. His duty was to report the situation of the "to hop" to the rural

police. He had become, at the same time, an investigation cadre of the "pacification" brigade, and, in this job, he gave some very effective assistance to the administrative machine in their efforts to lull the people with fortune-making projects. He called the guerillas captured by the enemy "adventurers" and considered the acts of the revolutionary stalwarts as "wishful thinking and untimely." He dreaded to think of the eventual loss of his fortune. His economic interests, his mode of living as a master, and his "capitalistic" views tied him, an "upstart" rural teacher, to the neo-colonialist apparatus.

In March 1972, the strategic offensive hit him like a bolt from the blue. In April 1972, the hostilities spread to his native place. On National Road N^o1, the puppet troops, throwing away their weapons, ran for dear life southwards. The rural authorities deserted their posts. H.P. made the decision to stay put. In the first days, he looked shyly at the young Liberation soldiers passing through his hamlet and the NFL tanks with NFL flags rumbling across the fields in hot pursuit of the Saigon puppet soldiers. H.P. opened his eyes as after a dream. He could not believe that in these few years, while he was engrossed in building his fortune, the revolution had grown up so swiftly.

Only now, after the liberation of his native land, did he realize that the affluence of a few people in his hamlet had been only a decoy put out to tempt the people to accept US domination.

Two Consciences

PHAN QUYET and Phan Thang were the sons of Phan Nay, a member of the regional armed forces in the first war of resistance. He died in March 1954 when Quyét was 18 months old, and Thang was born only 2

months later. After the restoration of peace, Nay's wife, who was then 22 years old, carrying her children and a ball of rice, padded from Trieu Phong to Cam Lo to visit her husband's tomb. The local inhabitants

greeted her like a member of their families returning from a distant place.

They told her of the heroism of her husband when he was fighting as a guerilla to defend the Cua region. They regretted that Nay was no longer alive to meet his wife and children, and thinking of him, they shed bitter tears.

Before the tombstone of her husband, the widow prayed: "Bless me so that I may have a good health to bring up our children and make good men of them"

The Cam Lo inhabitants wanted to keep her with them but she could not accept. "Thank you for your affection," she said, but I still have Nay's mother to look after. She is very weak."

What she did not tell them was that she was a secret guerilla at V.H. hamlet.

"Anyhow if you are in difficulties there, come here with your children," they said. "Nay was a son of this village."

Some time later, the "outlawing of Communists" by the Saigon regime caused great unrest in the countryside. V.H. hamlet was rated by the Quang Tri police as 100% Communist. Nay and her children were classified in "Category C4" (most dangerous Viet Cong). She had to leave her house where she had lived a short time with her husband, and go to the Cua Viet concentration camp.

"To make men of the children" was the aim of her life. She stoically endured the tortures meted out to her during the purge and the "denounce Communists" meetings. She swallowed the insults and tried to listen calmly to the impudent and foolish speeches of the ruffians. The inhabitants secretly helped her and her children, so that they might stand that hard trial. Her son Quyet walked his first steps while

she was attending "denounce Communists" sessions. His brother Thang was born in a torture chamber; his umbilical cord had not been cut when his mother was put into Quang Tri prison. During the two years and four months in jail, she met many of her husband's friends and relatives, who had guided her husband and herself to the right path. It was in prison that she came to know more about the revolution, and she was now more confident than ever that she could brave the storm and continue to bring up her children.

"Whose sons are you, Quyet and Thang?" she taught her children during her long spell in jail.

"Nay!"

"Who was he?"

"An armyman."

"Where is he?"

"In his grave, he was killed by the French."

"What will you do when grown up?"

"We'll till our land to provide for you, mum!"

After her release, Nay returned to V.H. village now regarded as "pacified" and lived in her former house. But in fact she and her co-villagers had left one concentration camp only to live in another — camouflaged as a village.

Quyet was an intelligent boy; he was fond of study and quick of understanding. While the other kids still regarded the "Viet Cong" as men with a tail and long canine teeth, he already knew who they were. The two boys were living a quiet life with their loving mother when the hamlet was "brought under organization."

The police chief gave the following explanation: "The countryside is the mainstay of the nation. The people are duty bound to observe the

law which stipulates that every citizen from 7 upwards, be he boy or girl, should join the popular organization of voluntary children."

Nay was most anxious, not knowing whether she could resist that police order, whether her children would continue to remember who their father was and whether they still had some recollection of the Quang Tri prison. She followed Quyet's movements very closely.

But that active 7-year-old boy little by little slipped out of his mother's hands. One day Quyet returned from school with a Salem cigarette dangling from his lips. Nay snatched the cigarette from his mouth. He did not cry but took another cigarette from his pocket and grinned, while she burst into sobs.

The following year, when she went to Cam Lo to visit her husband's grave, she committed Thang to the custody of a woman in the locality who had a son in the guerilla unit. As his elder brother was lost, this boy must be saved, she thought.

Quyet kept company with the children of well-to-do families in the village. At 13, he liked to see nudes. At 14, he gave up schooling and worked as masseur for the GIs at Ai Tu. With the money earned he bought a transistor and a Seiko wrist-watch. A few years later, he joined the paratroops to revenge himself on a friend, a policeman's son, who had seduced his sweetheart, a whore. Seeing her son in a spotted fatigue, sister Nay simply wept and wept.

In the popular offensive in Spring 1972, Quyet was grievously wounded and could not run away with his unit. One month later, in a grimy uniform, with tousled hair as thin as a lath, he returned to his village. Nay urged him to report to the village committee. He was given a liaison

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US Economic Aid: Whom Does It Benefit?

Full text of testimony of Diane M. Jones on behalf of the Friends Committee on National Legislation before the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations on South Viet Nam economic aid -- March 28, 1974

MY name is Diane M. Jones. I am testifying today on behalf of the Friends Committee on National Legislation, whose policies are made by Friends appointed from twenty-two Friends' Yearly Meetings and ten other Friends' organizations, but which does not purport to speak for all Friends.

I wish to thank the Subcommittee for this opportunity to share my experiences and views as you consider the Administration's request for supplemental funds of 54 million dollars for economic aid to South Viet Nam for fiscal year 1974.

Along with my husband, Michael Jones, I have spent two and a half years in South Viet Nam, serving as Saigon representative for the American Friends Service Committee, associated with the Quaker rehabilitation project in Quang Ngai, in central Viet Nam. We have lived in Viet Nam for two periods: first, from August 1970 through October 1972 and more recently from October 1973 until early February 1974. While in Viet Nam I learned to speak Vietnamese, which I believe helped me immensely in understanding the people and the extremely complex situation there.

As a result of my experiences in Viet Nam, in particular my most recent post-"ceasefire" experience, I wish to testify to this committee against an increase or even a continued high level of American economic aid to the Saigon government.

The principle of substantial economic aid for South Viet Nam is supported by many well-intentioned Americans as a way of helping to repair a society which has suffered the ravages of twenty-five years of bloody warfare. However, my own observations and my conversations with Vietnamese people during my recent visit have led me to conclude that, for the most part, Ameri-

can aid is not humanitarian, that it does not reach the people, and furthermore that no economic aid administered solely through the government in Saigon can have the effect of healing the wounds of war in Viet Nam.

Today I will limit my remarks solely to the largest portion of aid that USAID labels as strictly "humanitarian," namely, aid to refugees. I will attempt to relate to the subcommittee only my direct personal experiences in this regard.

The American-supported program for refugees in South Viet Nam now has basically two major components, both aimed at removing refugees from refugee camps (1): moving them back to their home areas, under the "Return to Village" program, and (2) moving them to new areas under the "Resettlement" program. Last December and January I was able to visit a number of both "Return to Village" and "Resettlement" sites in a number of provinces.

"Return to Village"

The conditions I found in the Return to Village camps I visited were appalling. In the first place, despite the name, these camps looked nothing like villages, but like concentration camps, some of them totally surrounded by barbed wire or bamboo stake fences, with tall military watchtowers on the perimeters. In camps in Quang Tri, Quang Nam, and Quang Ngai provinces, I learned that people were not allowed beyond the camp boundaries, except during certain hours of the day, for example, between 7 a.m. and 5 p.m. The inhabitants of these camps had to register with camp officials when they left and when they returned.

In Nuyen Phuoc camp in Quang Nam province, I talked extensively with a government official, who told me his job was politi-

cal control of the population. This official was a member of the "Rural Development" Corps, which is also an American-funded and-advised program. He showed me stacks of pictures, one picture of each family in the camp, posing in front of an anti-communist slogan and a portrait of President Thien. He said that he had to check *daily* each family against their family portrait to see if anyone had entered or left the camp without registering with the camp officials. He told me that any resident who desired to move away from the camp must have written permission from the camp authorities and must report again to the local police upon reaching his or her destination. If anyone disappeared without asking permission, he said, the person's family could be arrested.

The political control in the Return to Village camps I visited has a strong impact on living standards. Because inhabitants were allowed outside the camp only between fixed hours of the day, because in some cases they had to walk a long way to reach their farm land, or in other cases had no farm land available to them, they could not support themselves adequately. For example, at Cam Thanh Return to Village camp in Quang Nam province, villagers told me that they could not grow anything because all of their farm land was on the other side of the "ceasefire" line, and that the Saigon government troops guarding the camp would not allow them to go back and farm their land, even during the daytime. At the time I visited, people in that camp were eating chopped banana tree stalk and were fearful of starvation in the coming weeks. We interviewed the village chief of that camp and he acknowledged that the camp residents all wished to go back to their original farm land, but "They cannot," he told us, "because the communists are out there." We asked him why the villagers were brought to such a miserable camp in the first place. His straightforward answer surprised me: "The reasons for setting up this camp were more strategic than humanitarian," he said.

"Strategic" seemed to me a very apt description for the "Return to Village" campsites I saw. A close friend of mine described, to me a "Return to Village" camp on the Batangan peninsula in Quang Ngai province where his elderly parents now

live. When the Paris Peace Agreement was signed, his parents were living in their home village area, which was at the time under the control of the Provisional Revolutionary Government. Two months later Saigon government troops shelled the area, moved in, rounded up the people into a barbed-wire enclosure, and called it a "Return to Village" camp. A Saigon government outpost was established concurrently with the camp.

The Resettlement Program

The second thrust of the U.S.-aided Saigon government program to deal with refugees is the "Resettlement" program. Refugees from areas which are contested or controlled by the Provisional Revolutionary Government are being encouraged by the Saigon government to resettle in new areas, in camps or new villages which are controlled by Saigon. Under this program large numbers of refugees are now being moved from central Vietnam to provinces in the South, including Binh Tuy and Long Khanh. Governmental promises to the new settlers are many but they often fall short of fulfillment. We met settlers in Binh Tuy province who had been waiting seven months for the government to dig the wells it had promised to dig and clear the farmland it had promised to clear. We met women settlers in Dong Den camp, also in Binh Tuy, who, despite government promises, had had to clear by hand the plots of land for their own houses. Like the government's representative at the camp, they had no idea when their future farm land would be cleared out of the thick jungle.

Stories of large-scale corruption in the system are widespread and believable when one sees the conditions in those camps and talks with the inhabitants. The American adviser in Binh Tuy, whose main duty was to advise the resettlement program, told me, for example, that corruption was one reason why land was not being cleared for the settlers. He said the Saigon Resettlement office was paying out 110 thousand piastres per hectare to VECCO Corporation, a U.S.A.I.D.-supported organization, for clearing. They were then subcontracting the job to someone else, who was in turn subcontracting the job again. When the contract got down to the actual people who were clearing the land, there was

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THE NEW WOMEN ...

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So far, a number of us have not paid enough attention to the study of the problem of the family. That's why they do not clearly realize the nature of the relations between the family and society, the position and function of the family under the socialist regime. Some comrades think that a revolutionary should not speak of the family, because to speak of the family is to speak of individual interests, of personal affairs which are not in agreement with collective morality.

This is not so. A revolutionary does not underestimate the family. He is not a "no family" man as the anti-Communists used to allege. On the contrary, a patriot, a person who cherishes the high ideology of socialism, a fighter who fervently struggles for the happiness of the people cannot but pay great attention to the family. With regard to this question, our basic point of view is: the interests and happiness of the family is bound up with the interests and happiness of society. And the happiness of a society is manifested through the happiness of each of its members, of each family.

In fact, there can be no family happiness, if there is still class exploitation if the people are still suffering and the whole society is not enjoying happiness. For this reason, in their resolute struggle to liberate the nation, liberate the class, the revolutionary and the patriotic citizen know how to put the common interests before and above all; for the common interest, they are ready to sacrifice all private interests. And what is the whole significance of this struggle full of sacrifices? It aims at realizing a free and happy society free from want and care. Once the society is happy, naturally the family is happy, too.

The socialist revolution brings happiness to all families. With the successful building of socialism, the material and moral life of the family is secured and improved with every passing day. On the other hand, a well-organized, cheerful and happy family life is a very important condition for the working people so that they may devote themselves with enthusiasm to the service of soci-

ety. To have a good organization of family life in conformity with the norms of the new life is an important condition of the building of a new society, to secure the progress of society in the fields of economy, culture and morality. President Ho Chi Minh once said: "It is right to pay great attention to the family, because many families added together make up a society; a good society ensures good families, and good families ensure a good society."

Through unceasing development of production to satisfy the ever growing material and cultural needs of the people, that is the requirement of the basic economic law of socialism. In many cases, these needs are met on the basis of the family unit. That is why the Party, Government, and mass organizations must care for the life of each family in all aspects: clothing, food, housing, the bringing up and education of the children. When we solve the problems relating to the people's life, we must pay attention to the family unit with its diversified needs. We must strive to serve family life well to create the best conditions for family activities. What is to be done for a family, for the needs of a family's life? This question cannot be avoided when studying questions of economy, production and living conditions. It must be brought up in co-operatives, at district and provincial levels, and in the State plan in general. Only when we have a deep sense of serving the people and know very well each family's living conditions, its food and lodging, etc., can we correctly answer the questions "What should be done for a family?" "What should be done to serve the people better?" The whole society takes care of each family and builds it into a happy, well-off family so that it can contribute more to building a new society. Everyone must care for the life and happiness of the family, not in a selfish, narrow-minded way, but with a sense of being collective master of society. Not only we must take care of our own family but we must also pay concern to all other families in society. Efforts should be exerted to organize family life rationally and in accordance with the general situation of the country so as to create conditions

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for each family member to fulfil to the utmost his duty to society.

Under the socialist regime, the conjugal relationship is based on real love. The wife and husband do not depend on each other economically, their marriage is based on love. This love is not an ephemeral one, but a lasting sentiment constantly consolidated by mutual respect and ideological affinity. Mutual respect between husband and wife means that they show consideration for each other's character and opinions and show constant concern and care for each other. Their true mutual love and respect will make them live in harmony. Together they will settle family affairs, take good care of their children, help each other make progress in all fields and encourage each other to fulfil their social obligations. A Vietnamese proverb says: "A husband and wife who live in harmony can scoop dry the Eastern Sea." Such a family is a happy one and when all the families are happy, the whole society will have an abundance of happiness.

I would like to talk especially about the *great social significance of the role of the mother* in the family. The mother gives birth to children, brings them up, perpetuates the race and ensures society's existence and development. Of course the father's role cannot be neglected. However "the father's giving life to a child cannot compare with the fostering of a mother." That is a Vietnamese saying, a particular feature of Vietnamese culture. In contrast to the feudal culture which humiliates women who are regarded as "difficult to educate" and requires that the "wife obey the husband's orders," the people's culture upholds the spirit to "A husband and wife who live in harmony can scoop dry the Eastern Sea" and raises the mother to a respectable position, "the father's giving life to a child cannot compare with the fostering of a mother," "fostering" here means to take care for and educate. Our new culture, the socialist culture, has inherited and developed this noble tradition of humanitarianism of the nation and people's culture.

The mother gives birth to the child in pain. She fosters her child with her milk, her blood and her soul and all her strength. Besides the great obligation to

the Fatherland and the revolution, is there anything more sacred than the love of a mother for her child? Are there any sacrifice and devotion which can match those of the mother for her child?

"Educate our children from infancy" — the child's acquaintance with human culture is first of all through the mother. Every second, every minute the mother hands down to her child her own feelings, her own thoughts and her own experiences in life. Each word, each smile, each expression on her face, sad or joyful, leaves a deep imprint on the child's mind which he keeps throughout his life. To teach him how to talk, how to smile, to lullaby him with songs full of meaning, to give him good advice, etc., it is precisely in this way that the mother contributes to safeguarding and handing down the national culture from generation to generation

There is no assessment of the mother's contribution more correct and comprehensive than the following one by President Ho Chi Minh: "Our people are very grateful to the mothers in both zones, South and North, who have given birth to and fostered many generations of heroes in our country." The Viet Nam Fatherland owes its heroic sons and daughters to the contributions of heroic, undaunted, faithful and responsible mothers. For many centuries, it is the Vietnamese mothers who have transmitted to us the mettle of the Trung Sisters and Lady Trieu, industrious labour and love of country and of home. We should be proud of our Vietnamese mothers.

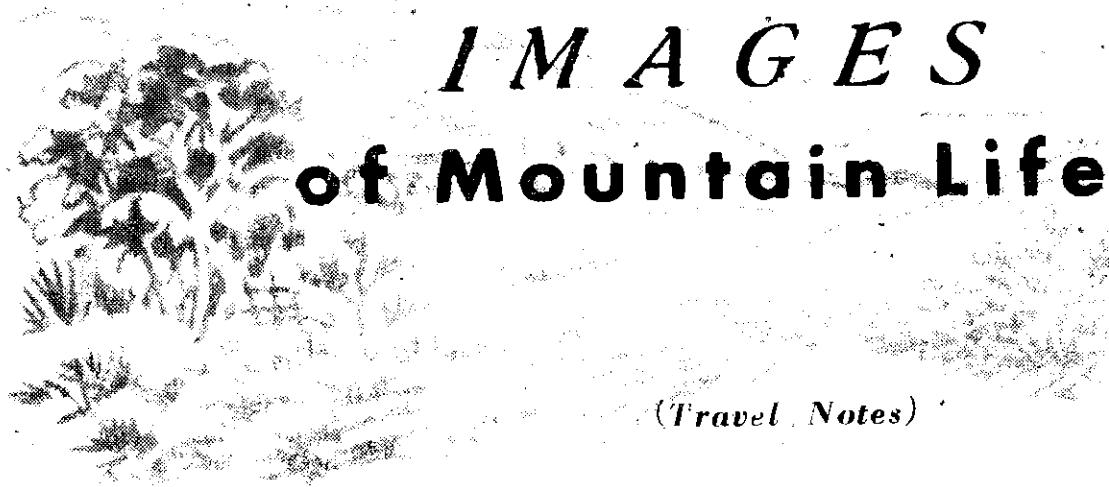
We understand the mother's role with all its noble social significance. The child in the socialist regime is the offspring of his mother and father and at the same time of the society as a whole. To give birth to a child to foster him and educate him is a special function of the mother. However, it is also the responsibility and obligation of the whole of society, because in our society, no ones lives isolated from the community of working people and broad social co-operation. On the contrary, in the old society, giving birth to a child and bringing him up was regarded as a duty of the mother alone, of each family. That is why mothers in the oppressed and exploited classes who endured untold sufferings as hired labour-

ers, felt yet greater humiliation in delivering and bringing up their children.

It is not so with the mothers under our regime. Women now enjoy a new life, they have become the collective masters of society and are treated with respect. The whole society cares for the problems of childbirth and the bringing up of children. This is a responsibility which society must assume for the sake of its own existence and the common happiness, in the interests of social progress and the future of mankind.

The mother who brings up healthy and good children is, in fact, fulfilling a noble function for the happiness of society and for her own happiness. The father and mother make a glorious contribution to society when they give it worthy sons who make good citizens, good, strong, virtuous and resourceful workers. In the interests of society and for the happiness of each family, for the present life and the happiness of future generations, all necessary measures should be taken by the State to care for the material and spiritual life of mothers and children.

One of the targets of prime importance for the socialist revolution is the formation of the new man. This new man is the product of the entire socialist revolution and socialist construction. However, he must be trained right from now on, from the first drops of milk, from the first care by society and the family, from the affection and advice of the mother and father ever since his childhood. Many traits of the mind and character of a man were formed very early, in embryo, right in his childhood, under the direct influence of the family. Social influences act on the child through the family environment. Only virtuous parents can bring up their children into virtuous men. The example of the parents alone has very great educational strength. Thus both mother and father play an important role and assume great responsibility in the formation of the new man. The family should be an expression of all that is new, beautiful, progressive emerging in our society. It should fulfil all that the new society demands from each individual.



IMAGES of Mountain Life

(Travel Notes)

RADIO Hanoi announces the first waves of the winter monsoon: this very night a grey, chilly wind will sweep down on the plain, but now the morning is dazzling with the remains of autumn: azure and honey, verdure and mist, the luminous emerald of the lakes, the twittering of swallows flying past...

We left the capital by a road running along the Red River toward the blue mountains on the horizon. Toward the exotic. For even to the Vietnamese living in the delta so many mysteries remain unveiled in this ancient "country of malignant spirits and poisoning water," inhabited by men of the jungle, "a country reached only by going far upstream," where there were no tracks, so that our forebears had to go there by palanquin, on horseback or simply on foot.

The war, and the big flood of 1971 have left their marks on the road which, partly stripped of its asphalt, runs past ruined townships and devastated banana and longane groves. After so many ordeals, the North Vietnamese land is beginning to rise again from the ashes. There are newly-built huts, their thatch or palm roofs shining in the sunlight. Along the straight embankments which divide the paddy fields, making them look like the squares of a chessboard, the terms of the young women peasants seem to fly as they carry baskets of golden rice on their yokes: the autumn crop is being brought in.

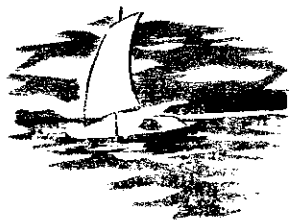
Having passed by Bach Hac, the junction of the Red, Black and Clear Rivers, we find ourselves in the heart of the Midlands with their tireless succession of industrial crops, cassava, pine-apples, tea, abrasin, lacquer trees... On the hills, palm trees stretch as far as the eye can see, their shiny leaves reflecting light like so many immense green suns. Not far from the ruins of the Viet Tri industrial centre, near the Lam Thao Superphosphate Plant, a hill rises above the rolling country like a breaker, carrying skyward a white temple hidden under age-old trees: that is the temple dedicated to the 18 "Hung" Kings who started to reign 4,000 years ago and founded what is now Viet Nam.

The site, majestic but by no means solemn or austere, overhangs a silt-laden section of the Red River. From the other side, it receives homage from 99 'elephant hills' quitting the mountainous hinterland to kneel amidst the innumerable little hills. The hundredth elephant lies far away, all alone, its body severed from its head. Its neck

bears a gaping wound—a strip of red earth, the sacred animal has been punished for having strayed from the herd and for having turned his eyes away from the "ancestral sanctuary." The picturesque and the marvellous are interwoven on this land where legend locates the origins of the Vietnamese nation. Each village here has its legend, each commune its temple, dedicated to a hero of the time of the nation's birth. The recent discovery of the brilliant neo-lithic Phung Nguyen civilization has confirmed many of the data gathered from folklore. The legendary cradle of Viet Nam has been confirmed by history.

The terrain became more rugged as we rolled northward. For kilometres, lateritized hills under afforestation — scarlet earth, tender green foliage — filed past like a Harlequin Ballet. And then, creeping up on us, came the jungle opposing a defensive front, austere, intertwined, in some places impenetrable, against the work of man.

At Doan Hung, celebrated for its grapefruit, we reached the threshold of the Highlands. During the Autumn-Winter 1947 offensive against the Viet Bac this district capital had witnessed brilliant feats of arms which had cost the French colonialists a whole flotilla on the Clear River. It is to the Viet Bac that the National Highway No 2, on which we drove leads, that impregnable bastion of the anti-French resistance, formerly a springboard of



the Vietnamese revolution and the cradle of the Democratic Republic, now an autonomous zone peopled by over twenty ethnic groupings.

We did not, however, go as far as the Viet Bac, but turned to the left toward the North-West, upstream the along Chay River which flows into the Clear River, toward Hoang Lien Son, the highest mountain range of Viet Nam and also of Indochina, with its famous culminating point, Mount Fan Si Pan.

Yen Bai. Bitter smell of Lao herbs, yellowish elephant grass, "mo" trees with their straight and slender trunks, standing like lines of white exclamation marks on the dark green of the heights...

The region was not unknown to me and I remembered well the dank obsession of its forest — leaves streaming with water in summer and dripping in winter, phosphorescent humus, the night, with the tropical haunting of its microworld: leeches, insects with a thousand names and other unpleasant guests. Screaming of monkeys in the daytime. Roar of tigers disturbing the night. And also the clear, prolonged murmur of the "tuti-tuti" bird, somewhere toward midnight, sounding both quite close and distant, as if it were rising from the bosom of the earth.

I had lived in this province, sharing the life of the highlanders. Our countrymen from the minorities lodged the resistance cadres in their dark houses on stilts which also sheltered buffaloes, pigs and poultry. The animals lived on the ground, separated from the men by a thin bamboo floor through which came a nauseating smell and clouds of little insects. The revolution had only just triumphed and the mountain people were still living in inexpressible misery, feeding partly on tubers and

wild vegetables, covering themselves with patched clothes or fibrous barks of "xui" trees ("tapas" in the local dialect) and sleeping on the floor without mat or blanket near a wood fire. Their hamlets, often located deep in the jungle, were accessible only by muddy paths, crossed by dead branches which caught your legs and tripped you up. Malaria gave them a swollen face, a yellow skin and an inflated belly — in traditional belief the result of water poisoning — and many of them had the lumps of goitres on their necks. Sterility would strike the women, while many among the few newborn babies died of pernicious malaria in summer and bronchopneumonia in winter (people blamed them on the evil spirits). This primitive life, though more or less improved during the resistance, lasted practically till the restoration of peace in mid-1954.

Nowadays, one can no longer recognize Yen Bai. At the Dong Ly crossroads, where there used to be thick forests of bamboo and liana, a group of buildings has sprung up with a bus station and a State-run cafe-restaurant which, besides rice and the usual dishes, serves a tasty noodle soup, the "pho," sweet bean soups and tea which you prepare yourself in a tiny tea service, as the scholars of ancient times used to do. Less than one kilometre to the northeast is the Thac Ba lake. A big dam of the same name was built a few years ago on the Chay River with a 120,000-kw hydro-power station which was later seriously damaged by US bombs and is now under reconstruction. High tension lines stretch from widely-spaced pylons across the region. On this artificial lake many diesel boats are to be seen and three flotillas will soon be active — one for fishing, another for transport and the third for tourism. Gulls are coming to settle in this region. There are

also plans for building workers' rest centres there.

After Dong Ly we came to the new road network opened in the middle of the US war escalation and covering the whole border region. An endless line of crackling trucks and tractors of the State forestry service, breaks the wild monotony of the undergrowth. The mountains are waking up to industrial life.

At sunset, we chose to stop half-way at the first mountain hamlet we came to. A local road took us to Cam An commune. We went round many newly reclaimed hills before meeting a flock of children, red-scarved Young Pioneer boys and girls, satchels in hand, merrily greeting us on their way back from a nearby school. Near the supply-and-marketing co-operative was a young girl looking elegant in a padded-cotton coat tailored townsfolk fashion, who told us that we were among the "Tay" ethnic minority, next of kin to the "Thai." We parked our car in the courtyard of the local medico-sanitary station, then crossed the threshing floor covered with the golden paddy of an agricultural co-operative before reaching a small hillside hamlet.

The "Tay" peasant in whose home we were staying, a suntanned, alert 60-year-old man, checked our papers with the rapidity of someone used to reading. He showed us a wash room near a well and some lavatories, near the stable, at the bottom of his garden. The host then invited us to come up into a spacious house on stilts. A wood fire was sparkling in the central fireplace and the whole family was ready for dinner. He served us hot green tea from a thermos flask and gave us his bamboo water pipe into which he had stuffed some of his own tobacco, a sign of highland hospitality. And while

we shared his frugal meal he switched on his transistor to "cheer up" his guests, raising his voice so that we could hear him. He was happy to be still in good health in the autumn of his life and to have a big family — nine children, all of them educated — one of his daughters will attend the secondary teachers' school of the province and all skilled in farm work.

The evening was spent in a familiar atmosphere in the light of a hurricane-lamp, rendered more agreeable by a "dessert" of cassava roasted in the ashes. Late in the night, the host took leave, went to a wooden bed and slipped under his cotton blanket, beside his little son. We wriggled into our sleeping bags without putting up the mosquito nets, as malaria had for many years now been eliminated from the mountain regions. I no longer saw the swollen faces, women in rags, skeleton-like children clad in "tapas"... I fell asleep, lulled by the metallic ticking of an alarm-clock and the long sigh, both close and distant, of the "tuti-tuti" bird.

In a mountain area, the market-place is its mirror. It is a display of images and colours.

The early winter sun rose late over Muong Khuong's market-place. But as the mist began to thin you might fancy you were watching the curtain rise on a puppet show. On a height against a background of chalky peaks and terraced paddy fields a crowd in picturesque clothes elbowed one another, selling or buying things in the open air or in stalls covered with elephant grass, milling around rows of rattan baskets full of forest products and household goods. Hundreds of horses tied up on the opposite hill slope evoked the image of a bivouacking cavalry corps: most of them belong-

ed to the "Meo" coming from high peaks, often dozens of kilometres away.

In these areas bordering on Yunnan province, men are clad in the Chinese style, in an almost uniform fashion, with their broad trousers and their floating coats with straight collars buttoned high up. More fond of diversity, the women's clothes preserve a marked ethnic character. The costume of "Dao



Tuyen" women — tight-fitting tunics and scarves folded as kerchiefs on their heads — is sober, an indigo variant of the brownish dress of the Buddhist nuns in the delta. Their "Red Dao" sisters also wear indigo costumes but in darker colours and are noticeable in the distance by their scarlet trimmings and their enormous headcloths. The beautiful "Meo" women, covered with neck-laces and bracelets have Amazon figures shown off by short skirts with innumerable pleats and richly embroidered blouses, their narrow sleeves braided up to the upper arms with pieces of colourful cloth.

The Pa Di seemed to have come down from some mythical kingdom; they impressed us so much by the ritual splendour of their long dresses with pale green

borders and their monumental hats like immobile sloping roofs on their heads as they walked.

A more or less experienced eye can distinguish, without much difficulty, almost all the ethnic types of this Muong Khuong district — 16 in all for a population of 30,000. The people, less dynamic than those in the delta, seem to be sparing of words although they are mostly multi-lingual. A *Tay* or a *Nung*, for instance, speaks *Pa di* which is more or less akin to his mother tongue, and also the *Dao* or *Meo* languages, and necessarily *Viet*, the common national language, and *Quan Hoa* (the Chinese dialect of Yunnan), widespread in the northwestern borderland. *Quan Hoa*, in particular, serves as a medium for the *Phu La* and the *Tu Di*, the least numerous of the minorities, who were victims of the policy of assimilation under the former regimes.

The market, held once every six days, witnessed some prosperity under the colonial rule. One cannot deny the role it played in the economic field by giving some practical help to the local people to escape, even if only partially, from their age-old autarky. But it was rather to the big traders that it brought profits and naturally to the authorities who collected taxes and bribes from them. As in all mountain markets the local people came here to sell at very low prices their products: mushrooms, honey, bear galls, antlers, monkey and tiger bones, not to speak of buffalo, cow, and hog hides — the Muong Khuong piglets are still highly valued by stock-breeders — and chickens. They brought home shoddy goods, needles, coloured thread, looking-glasses, glassware and especially salt, every grain of which was worth its weight in gold. The colonial regime pursued a "salt policy" of restricting the distribution of this ingredient indispensable to daily



*The Muong Khuong market'
(Lao Cai)*

Sketch by Minh Kinh

life, and using it as a means to put pressure upon the mountain people. It encouraged the opening of bars, opium dens and gambling houses, and stirred up rivalry between the various ethnic groups. Market days were often marked by scenes of violence sometimes degenerating into murderous fights.

The inhabitants of Muong Khuong commune have seen their market taking on a new face now that every one of its 24 hamlets has an agricultural co-operative, a primary school and a medico-sanitary station. The horde of traffickers who lived at their expense has been swept away. A whole series of goods is missing from the displays, but this is to their own advantage: in the remotest hamlets the State trading services have organized the sale of salt, kero-

sene, textiles, farm implements and other essential goods at State-fixed prices while buying, at encouraging prices, a lot of forest and agricultural products. The disappearance of opium dens and gambling houses shows the efforts of the people's power to root out the social evils such as alcoholism, opium-addiction; gambling, murder, looting, etc. left behind by feudal and colonial rule - evils which were common in this border area. Market day, too, has changed; now it falls on Sunday so as not to interfere with production activities.

It was Sunday, and we elbowed our way through the crowd quite familiar to us: peasants, men and women in traditional costumes, school-children with Young Pioneer red scarves, civil servants, most of them of local origin, in urban clothes. The

cinema-house in particular drew a big audience; it was a dark canvas tent in which spectators of all ages watched, standing up a continuous projection of news-reels, many of them dealing with rural life. Young girls were waiting impatiently for their turn in the photo studio run by the Cultural Service, while young men crowded the carbine shooting competition. We met many students of the district third-level school. They would find it difficult to imagine that during the democratic reforms of 1960 there were as many as 2,000 individual and collective opium dens, and only six persons who could read and write!

The new is vividly taking the place of the old in these borderlands, but not everything has been overturned. In a roadside inn we were offered a real mountain feast with boiled pork and buffalo meat, famous "thang co" soup and maize alcohol which flames up under a lighted match and we attended an improvised "khen" dance performed with fire by a Meo lad before an enthusiastic audience. These were the traditions which remain in the mountain regions: people go to market not only to sell and buy goods but also to amuse themselves, to feast, perhaps - and why not? - to try to conquer some belles.

(To be continued)

VU CAN

Psywar Tricks

(Continued from page 21)

job. But too much accustomed to living in "dens," he longed to smoke narcotics and drink strong brandy. He could not live a healthy life like boys of his age. He scorned everything. Many times he quarrelled with Thang — now a guerilla fighter—over nothing.

Their mother intervened: "Your brother is not normal," she said to Thang. "Be kind to him, have pity on me!"

Thang was quite alive to his mother's suffering. He gave in to his brother on many occasions.

On his father's death anniversary, Thang helped his mother to

unearth the plates and bowls buried long ago. At noon, Quyét came home with a bottle of whisky and complained that there was no good titbits for the drink.

"You know that American bombs have been sowing destruction for over one year, and we are destitute, brother!" Thang gently explained.

"I know, but don't give me a lesson!" Quyét fumed. "Thang is right!" their mother intervened.

"Do you want to take up the cudgels on his behalf?" Quyét said, banging the bottle of brandy on the table.

Thang lost his self-control:

"Don't be impolite to mother," he said. "Away with that paratroop manner!"

Quyét slapped his brother's face and like a furious animal he hurled the tray of food out into the courtyard.

"Are you mad, Quyét?" the woman shouted. "Run away, Thang!"

Thang darted to the courtyard but tumbled on an obstacle. His blood up, Quyét snatched Thang's pistol shouting: "I'll kill you!"

The neighbours rushed in and grasped hold of Quyét's hand. Quyét resisted. He inadvertently touched off the fire-arm and a bullet was released hitting him in the breast. "Oh, my son!" The mother uttered a cry of anguish and fainted.

DO THAN

BOOK NOTES

Nguyen Trai danh giac cuu nuoc (*Nguyen Trai in His Struggle for National Salvation*) by Nguyen Luong Bich, *People's Army Publishing House, Hanoi, 1973, 13x19cm, 698 pages.*

Nguyen Trai (1380-1442) is a national hero, a many-sided man and an important figure in Vietnamese history.

The book deals with his ideas on the methods of combat against foreign aggressions: the need to wage a people's war to struggle in all fields—military, political and diplomatic—and to carry out agitation work among enemy ranks.

Ke chuyen bon nghin nam giu nuoc (*Narratives of the Four Thousand Years' Defence of the Fatherland*) by Nguyen Nha, Viet Dung, Do Chi, *People's Army Publishing House, Hanoi, 1973, 13x19cm, 172 pages.*

These short accounts of famous episodes in our country's history eulogize our people's traditions against the foreign aggressions.

Kho tang chuyen co tich Viet Nam (*Treasury of Vietnamese Legends*) by Nguyen Dong Chi, Vol. III, *Social Sciences Publishing House, Hanoi, 1973, 13x19cm, 328 pages.*

This volume is composed of 39 Vietnamese tales chosen from the best-known collections of legends (Vols. I and II came out in 1972).

Truyen co Tay-Nung (*Legends of the Tay and Nung*) by Hoang Thuyet, *Culture Publishing House, Hanoi, 1974, 13x18.8cm, 268 pages.*

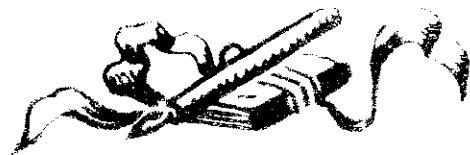
The 36 legends in this book will make the reader better understand the environment, society, ideology and sentiments of the ancient people of these two minority nationalities (the two biggest ethnic groups in North Viet Nam).

Tieng hat que hương (*Songs of Our Native Land*) by numerous authors, *Culture Publishing House, Hanoi, 1973, 13x18.8cm, 212 pages.*

Cheo classical popular operas are specific creations of the Vietnamese people. This collection contains 8 selected pieces of *Cheo* dealing with such modern themes as a militia woman in combat and a virtuous wife in the rear area who sets a good example in the struggles to improve her co-operative and create a new way of life, etc.

Luu Lac (*An Itinerant Life*) by Dao Vu, *Women's Publishing House, Hanoi, 1973, 13x19cm, 208 pages.*

The first part of a trilogy on the roving life of a Vietnamese woman living in the Viet Nam—China borderland before the August 1945 Revolution.



US Economic Aid: Whom Does It Benefit?

(Continued from page 23)

only 45,000 piastres per hectare left, and the bulldozer operators did not feel it was worth their while. The same American adviser reported finding corruption in rice distribution. The Saigon headquarters was paying top market prices for good rice, but the people were receiving the lowest quality—that which is usually used as animal feed. A Catholic priest who has worked with new settlers told me that in a well-digging operation with which he was familiar, fully 90% of the funds from Saigon were raked off the top before they reached the diggers. One of the women we spoke with in Dong Den camp, sitting sadly on the dirt floor of her half-finished bamboo house, said, "You foreigners send a lot of money to Vietnam for programs like this one, but we people get only what trickles through the fingers of the government officials."

In the Resettlement plan, as in the Return to Village program, questions of military strategy often seem to take priority over consideration for the welfare of the refugees. The American adviser in Binh Tuy told me in January, 1974, that the area for the Dong Den resettlement camp was taken over from the "V.C." after the Peace Agreement was signed. Saigon government troops newly encamped near the resettlement site confirmed his statement. He added that he hoped for the settlers' sake there wouldn't be any fighting but he wouldn't be surprised if the "V.C." tried to retake the area, which they considered theirs.

I would like to bring to the attention of the Committee a report dated January 27, 1974, to the Senate Subcommittee on Refugee Affairs. On page 16 is reprinted a letter by a US embassy

officer describing the "Resettlement" program in the area which I have just been referring to. He writes: "The people will move into areas that were previously considered marginal, thus secure the area, improve movement and security along major routes of communication, develop the agriculture and economic situation in the province and bring economic viability to the country as a whole." This letter clearly indicates the importance which strategic considerations are given in the administering of our "humanitarian" aid programs for refugees.

In summary, I would like to emphasize to this subcommittee the overwhelming weight of opinion among Vietnamese people, including religious and political leaders with whom we spoke, that American economic aid is doing very little to help the common people, but is doing much towards maintaining a politically intransigent and domestically unresponsive government in Saigon. I would like to share with you what was to me an extremely impressive conversation I had with a Buddhist monk in January. I had just been on a visit with two American friends to two of the Return to Village campsites I mentioned above, places where people were living in conditions of near starvation. Returning that evening to the pagoda, which was a center for gathering emergency food supplies for the camps, I said to the head monk: "If these two friends of mine were members of the US Congress and saw the conditions in those camps they would probably go back to Washington and recommend an increase in US economic aid." The monk became visibly agitated when I said this. He glared at me and asked: "Are

you planning to go back to America and ask for *more* American aid for Vietnam?" I threw the question back to him and asked what he would recommend. "I am a Buddhist monk," he said, "and my first concern must be for the welfare of my followers—the people who live in those camps. If American aid is continued, they will continue to live in those camps. If it is stopped, eventually the government will be forced to allow them to go back to their homes. They will be hungry for a few months until their first rice crop comes in, then they will be all right. The only truly *humanitarian* thing the US Congress can do is to stop the support that keeps these camps in operation."

I acknowledge, and I am sure that most members of this subcommittee share the concern, that the United States has a responsibility to offer help to millions of Vietnamese civilians who have suffered so much through the endless years of war. However, I believe that most Vietnamese would agree with me that our highest priority at this point should be in committing ourselves to making a working peace in Vietnam, that is, committing ourselves to use the only tool for peace at our disposal, the Paris Peace Agreement. As long as we continue pouring vast amounts of economic and military into the South (up to 86% of total Saigon costs), thereby maintaining one of the two South Vietnamese parties to the complete exclusion of the other, we are, by any reasonable interpretation, violating Article 4 of the Peace Agreement, which prohibits US intervention in the internal affairs of South Vietnam. We are also making it much harder for the two South Vietnamese parties to come to any understanding with each other.

I urge this committee to consider all aid requests—this supplemental request as well as the 474 million dollars increased ceiling for South Vietnam military aid and the upcoming and very large Fiscal Year 1975 military and economic aid requests—in the light of what should be our principal objective in South Vietnam, namely, implementing the Paris Peace Agreement.

CHRONOLOGY

(Continued from page 32)

attended by 300 delegates from 54 countries. The Conference demanded that the USA stop its aggression and intervention in Viet Nam and that the Saigon administration respect the cease-fire, set free political prisoners and ensure democratic liberties.

APRIL

1 — End of the friendship visit to the DRVN of the NUFK and RGNUC delegation led by Khieu Samphan and Ieng Sary, begun on March 28. A joint communiqué was signed.

— Thieu held an enlarged session of his "Security Council" to examine the pacification and economic and financial development program.

— Demonstrators of the third force led by Mme Ngo Ba Thanh marched on the Saigon "National Assembly" to demand the release of those political prisoners who do not belong to either of the two South Vietnamese parties.

3 — A PRG delegation led by Health Minister, Mme Duong Quynh Hoa, visited Sweden from April 1 to 4.

— Thieu seized 9 newspaper issues in a single day.

— Prince Souphanouvong enthusiastically welcomed by a large rally at Vientiane airport.

— The American press made public a letter from Ambassador Graham Martin to Kissinger, advising the latter not to make a frank and detailed reply to questions by Senator Edward Kennedy.

4 — Message of condolence sent by President Ton Duc Thang and Premier Pham Van Dong to the French government on the occasion of the decease of President Pompidou.

— US House of Representatives rejected the Pentagon's request to raise military aid to Nguyen Van Thieu from 1,126 million to 1,600 million dollars.

5 — End of the official friendship visit of the DRVN Government delegation led by Premier Pham Van Dong to the Algerian Democratic People's Republic begun on April 2. Signing of a joint communiqué and economic-scientific and technical co-operation agreements between the two countries.

— The King of Laos invested the Provisional Government of National Union headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma and the National Political Council of Coalition presided over by Prince Souphanouvong.

6 — *Dien Tin* (Saigon paper): Prostitutes in the Saigon-held areas total half a million.

— The Lao Patriotic Front CC declared: the patriotic struggle of the Lao people should be continued as the US has not given up its neo-colonialist designs.

8 — End of the official friendship visit to Yugoslavia of the DRVN Government delegation headed by Premier Pham Van Dong, begun on April 5. A joint communiqué and agreements on economic, scientific, technical and cultural co-operation and assistance between the two countries were signed.

— Signing in Hanoi of the agreement on assistance by the Republic of Czechoslovakia to the DRVN for the training of skilled workers from 1974 to 1976 and the agreement between the GDR and the DRVN on co-operation in the field of higher education and middle-level technical education.

9 — *Song Than* (Saigon paper): Jobless workers in the Saigon-controlled areas number nearly 3.5 million.

— *AFP*: Since early 1974, the US has given aid amounting to 600 million dollars including 250 million in military aid to Lon Nol.

— From February 28 to April 8, 1974, the Cambodian patriotic forces at Kampot put off of action 3,130 enemy soldiers, flattened 21 posts, captured 900 fire-arms and downed 4 planes.

10 — End of the friendship visit to the DRVN of the President of the Swedish Left Communist Party, C.N. Hermansson.

— *Reuters*: 1,200 US marines of the 7th Fleet were seen off Cambodia's seacoast: this is the latest evidence of US involvement in that country.

11 — US Defense Secretary Schlesinger said the US would be flinching from its moral responsibility should it stop giving Thieu adequate military aid.

— *Dan Luan* (Saigon paper): Thieu set up a "Direction of Administrative Security" to tighten control over his government officials.

— The judiciary committee of the US House of Representatives sent a warrant to Nixon demanding him to hand over tape recordings concerned with the Watergate affair.

— End of Premier Pham Van Dong's visit to Sweden begun on April 8.

12 — Saigon troops evacuated Tong Le Chan post.

13 — The Saigon press revealed that W. Colby, CIA director, and D. Parkers, USAID director, went surreptitiously to Saigon to make on-the-spot investigations of the situation.

14 — Allegedly as a reprisal against the PLAF after the Saigon troops were forced to evacuate Tong Le Chan, the Thieu administration sent bombers to raid Loc Ninh and other liberated areas over several consecutive days, cut off telephone, air transport and other facilities for the PRG military delegation at Tan Son Nhat, violated the immunity and privileges of the PRG delegation, sabotaged the meetings of the Two-Party joint Military Commission and postponed *sine die* the La Celle Saint Cloud meetings.

CHRONOLOGY

(March 16—April 15, 1974)

MARCH

16 — A delegation of the Japanese Communist Party left Hanoi after a week's visit to the DRVN.

— Nguyen Van Thieu decided to invite 33 foreign oil companies to participate in the second auction for the exploitation of oil in South Viet Nam.

17 — Senator Edward Kennedy made public a letter to Henry Kissinger demanding details on the continuation of US aid to the pro-American regimes in South Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia. He also criticized the letter sent on March 6 by Graham Martin, US Ambassador in Saigon, to the State Department in which the US Ambassador hinted that North Viet Nam had been trying to persuade the US Congress to reduce American military and economic aid to the Saigon regime.

18 — Oudong, former Khmer royal capital, liberated by the patriotic forces. According to *UPI*, this is the greatest military defeat suffered by Lon Nol since 1970.

19 — According to the Saigon journal *Dien Tin*, 2,000 former puppet army officers are unemployed after having been demobilized.

20 — *UPI*: the US military attaché in Phnom Penh commanded Lon Nol troops in their attempt to recapture Oudong.

21 — A Gallup poll revealed that only 25 per cent of the persons interviewed support Nixon, whereas 64 per cent are against him. Even in the Republican Party Nixon has the support of only half of its members.

22 — PRG important initiative at the Conference in La Celle Saint Cloud: A new six-point proposal for realizing peace and national concord was set forth.

— End of the session of the Secretariat of the organization of non-aligned countries (started on March 19). A communiqué was issued condemning US violations of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and intervention in Cambodian affairs.

— The Geneva Diplomatic Conference on International Humanitarian Law decided by a large majority to classify as just wars those waged against colonialism and racial discrimination.

23 — A protocol on scientific and technical co-operation for 1973-74 between the DRVN and the People's Republic of China was signed in Peking.

24 — The "Vietnamese Community" organization headed by Rev. Father Nguyen Dinh

This sent to the countries participating in the Geneva Diplomatic Conference a document containing a detailed list of places in South Viet Nam where 201,200 political prisoners are now being kept. The Thieu regime detains half of the total number of political prisoners in the world, says the document.

25 — Fourth devaluation of the Saigon piastre since the beginning of 1974. The present rate of exchange: 605 piastres to the dollar. The previous rate was 590 piastres.

— Signing in Hanoi of protocols on economic scientific and technical co-operation between the DRVN and the Polish People's Republic.

26 — *UPI*: General Kris Sivara was appointed head of the Command for the Repression of Communism by the Bangkok government, in replacement of Praphas Charusathien.

28 — End of the official friendship visit to Cuba (started on March 22) by the delegation of the VNWP and DRVN Government headed by Prime Minister Pham Van Dong. A joint communiqué and agreements on the establishment of commissions for economic, scientific and technical co-operation between the two countries and on Cuban contribution to the reconstruction of the DRVN were signed.

29 — *UPI*: According to a US-Thailand joint communiqué, the USA will withdraw one-fourth of its troops and a number of its aircraft (including B-52s) stationed in Thailand before the end of the year. 27,000 GIs will remain in Thailand.

30 — The ICCS made an inquiry on the Cai Lay incident. The ICCS members assigned for the task were attacked by hooligans manipulated by Thieu and had to abandon their mission.

— Under pressure from the US Ambassador in Phnom Penh, Lon Nol degraded five generals held responsible for the fall of Oudong.

31 — Senator Edward Kennedy made public a letter of Henry Kissinger dated March 25, according to which the US government is bound to the Nguyen Van Thieu administration by engagements based on the Paris Agreement and must supply it with military and economic aid as long as the situation requires.

— Lon Nol dissolved the Supreme Political Council and formed a Supreme Executive Council of four members including Lon Nol, Sirik Matak, Long Boret and Sosthène Fernandez. Cheng Heng and In Tam were eliminated.

— End of the International Conference on Viet Nam (started on March 29 in Stockholm)

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