

VIETNAM COURIER

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Comment

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THE widespread popular demonstrations in South Viet Nam against Nguyen Van Thieu have continued with increasing vigour this month.

The Buddhists, Catholics, journalists, intellectuals and students have been joined by businessmen, war invalids, "deputies" and "representatives of the people," even by members of the puppet administration and army.

New organizations have participated in the struggle, notably the Committee for the Freedom of the Press and Publication, the Committee for the Defence of the Market Stall Keepers' Interests, the Committee for the Defence of the Workers (Manual and Intellectual). At least two of the largest organizations — the Front against Famine and the Forces for National Reconciliation — have seen a tremendous growth in almost all provincial capitals where popular demonstrations are now rapidly following each other.

The strength of the current mass movement against Thieu stems from the solidarity that united its various components.

Thus the Hue Catholics' offensive against corruption immediately received the support from the Buddhists of Saigon who, for their part, launched a struggle for national reconciliation and concord. The Popular Front Against Famine came into being on the basis of a union between various political, religious, student and women's forces.

This solidarity of the militants is understandable: their common target is Nguyen Van Thieu, the principal agent of US imperialism, whose maintenance at the head of the Saigon administration means continued war and the violation of the principles of the Paris Agreement regarding the restoration of peace, the realization of national concord, the guarantee of democratic freedoms and the advance of South Viet Nam towards a future free from corruption, famine, and other social scourges.

The actions taken by the urban masses of South Viet Nam have not only increased in scope; there is also a new forcefulness in the air. As an example we may consider the journalists. On October 13, all

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the Saigon newspapers, except two or three of Thieu's rags, suspended publication for one day. On October 21, the same papers decided not to reproduce the news given by the administration and not to send correspondents to "governmental" press conferences. On October 23, three journalists' associations issued a joint statement demanding the dismissal of Hoang Duc Nha, Thieu's nephew and Minister for Information, a man well known for his corruptness and the "hang-man" of the press (and he has at last had to resign).

Everything adds to the impression that the movement against Thieu is irreversible and will stop only when an administration standing for peace, national concord, and the serious implementation of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam has been set up in Saigon.

Naturally, feeling his political survival in danger, Nguyen Van Thieu has taken measures to ward off the assaults of the people. In a damagocic move he jettisoned a number of his most exposed henchmen. He made vague promises about "government reshuffles," changes in the press regulations, a solution to the problem of corruption within three months... In order to divert public attention he ordered his underlings to organize a movement against "social vices" (sic). He also mobilized his thugs to eventually stage a big "counter-demonstration" in front of his palace shouting "Support to the President" and demanding "sanctions" against the opposition. Thieu has forbidden his "soldiers, policemen, civil servants and cadres" to take part in demonstrations. Radio Saigon reminded the population that demonstrations were, in principle, prohibited. Then, on October 19, the region of Saigon was put on the alert

and the military were confined to barracks.

In his October 1 televised speech, Thieu intentionally accused the movements expressing the popular will of being "communist-inspired." If, for political reasons, his police has failed to make any open intervention against the people's meetings and marches, terrorism was nonetheless evident in the discreet liquidation of student leaders and the stealthy moves of well-camouflaged secret agents against those social strata and personalities who, in the eyes of Thieu and his Yankee masters, were considered to be most dangerous... In the meantime, Thieu confidentially sent a plan called "Comet," dated September 22, to the leaders of the army, the police and the administration. His purpose is to clamp down on the popular movement through the application of martial law and the "total liquidation" of those opposing him, provoking the disintegration of the opposition forces and so manoeuvring that the facts of the situation are twisted and hidden from public opinion at home and abroad.

According to well-informed sources, this plan had met with the approval of many responsible officials of the US Embassy in Saigon. This is because, while preparing for an eventual change, the US authorities are continuing for the time being to support the Nguyen Van Thieu administration. The statements made on October 8 by Clements, US Under Secretary of Defense, and on October 20 by the US Embassy in Saigon still insisted on the necessity of giving substantial aid to Thieu. US officials used this as an opportunity to make new threats of sending US air and naval forces back to South Viet Nam, taking care to repeat their over-used slanders against the DRVN as a justification for their belligerency.

The Ford administration obstinately refuses to take into account the clearly expressed feelings of the South Vietnamese urban population, which are echoed by the American people, desires well-reflected in the attitude of the US Congress. Washington's efforts to rescue Thieu were recently expressed in the convening of a conference in Paris under the aegis of the US-dominated World Bank, with a view to granting a so-called "multilateral aid" to Thieu. Quite a few governments of the Western world justly refused to participate in such an action, which was obviously contrary to the principles of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam.

The Vietnamese people's position regarding the current situation in South Viet Nam is clear. It was publicly stated by the PRG in its October 8, 1974 Statement:

— The US Government must put a complete and definitive end to all military involvement and all interference in the internal affairs of South Viet Nam and withdraw from South Viet Nam all US military personnel disguised as civilians, in conformity with the provisions of the Paris Agreement.

Nguyen Van Thieu and his clique, the main obstacle to the settlement of the present political problems of South Viet Nam, must be overthrown. An administration standing for peace, national concord, and the strict implementation of the Paris Agreement must be set up in Saigon.

Only such an administration can hold real negotiations with the PRG and meet the South Vietnamese people's aspirations for peace, independence, democracy, better living conditions and national concord, in accordance with the Paris Agreement.

October 25, 1974

VIET NAM COURIER

Still an American War

WHEN US President Gerald Ford gave assurance to the Saigon Foreign Minister on October 3 that Saigon would receive maximum military and economic aid, he was unwittingly giving a reply to anyone who still has doubts about the origin, nature and significance of the serious events now taking place in South Viet Nam.

However, his statement contained nothing new. His predecessors, from Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson to Nixon, have said the same thing again and again. Ford's statement just shows how stubborn Washington remains, despite the changes in its methods. US imperialism is still pursuing the same end while modifying only the means.

Washington's new orientation reflects the deep changes taking place in the balance of forces on a world scale. The United States, conscious of having lost its supremacy -- economically and militarily as well, of course, as politically and psychologically -- has to adapt itself to a new situation. Neo-colonialism is trying to be more unobtrusive. The spectacular deployment of US forces abroad is over; now it is only a "sharing of responsibilities" between the US and its "allies." The US is to give maximum aid in many ways to its friends so that they will be able to suppress any internal "subversion." The US is only playing the role of mentor and financial backer, the guardian of "civilization" and "universal values."

This policy is apparently all the more feasible in South Viet Nam where Washington has, for the last 10 years, made great efforts to rig up one of the most solid neo-colonialist machines.

Officered, trained, equipped, maintained and commanded by the Americans, the Saigon army and police after 20 years have come to be among the most numerous in the world, with over one million regular troops and 400,000 members of the various paramilitary organizations. The Saigon air force with its 2,000 aircraft is the third largest in the world. A large repressive apparatus has been built up, with a 120,000-strong police force and a thousand prisons in which 200,000 political prisoners are kept. Democratic freedoms are reduced to the minimum.

With the apparatus having been already set up, a few billion dollars are sufficient to maintain it and make it work: seeking to check the PRG, suppressing all signs of opposition and shelving *sine die* the implementation of the Paris Agreement.

Nguyen Van Thieu has repeatedly said that his regime cannot survive without US aid. Within its aid program, the US has been supplying Saigon with everything it needs to stay alive, financing over 86% of Saigon's total revenue. The participation of over half a million US troops in the war was but an extreme measure to save the puppet regime on the verge of collapse. Now the situation has been normalized, the main role again rests with the Saigon army -- the GIs have left, but US policy remains unchanged.

The US officials have taken pains to explain their actions. During a visit to Australia early in 1970, Agnew, the then Vice-President, reassured his allies: "First let me make clear that, despite a great deal of speculation and rumour, we are not withdrawing from Asia and the Pacific. We have said before, and I say it again today, that the US will keep its treaty commitment..." (Our emphasis-Ed.)

Nixon reaffirmed this commitment when he chose the eve of the initialing of the Paris Agreement, Jan. 24, 1973, to state that the US recognized Thieu's Government as the "sole legitimate government of South Viet Nam." The signing of the Agreement was postponed for three months to allow the massive shipments of US war materials to South Viet Nam, coupled with an unprecedented air attack on North Viet Nam, the blitzkrieg of December 1972.

After the signing of the Agreement, the military and economic aid given to Saigon in 1973 increased to over 2.2 billion. Testifying before the US Senate Subcommittee on May 1, 1974, Fred Branfman, Director of the Indochina Resource Center, said that 93% of US aid was destined for the war. In spite of the restrictions imposed by Congress, the White House and the Pentagon have resorted to all sorts of wiles in order to channel financial aid to Thieu. Thus, just at the moment when Saigon was on the point of finishing all the money allotted to it by the US for the current fiscal year, the discovery of an "error" in the Pentagon's accounts enabled it to provide Saigon with an additional 266 million dollars. According to Senator Abourezk, a law on "Alimentation and fodder", dating from 1861, had been exploited by the Pentagon to get -- without Congress' authorization -- nearly 5 billion dollars between 1960 and 1972, 2 billions of which were spent on the war in Southeast Asia.

The *Washington Post* reported that Gerald Ford's first meeting with the Security Council was devoted to discussing ways to restore the 300 million dollars cut down from the military aid to South Viet Nam.

Thus keeping Viet Nam within the neo-colonialist orbit, by war if necessary, remains one of the main preoccupations of the White House. Here Ford has lined up behind his predecessors.

In his televised speech on October 1, 1974, Nguyen Van Thieu himself declared with a typically American candour: "We must shed our blood, and the US will supply us with arms and ammunition. In this way, the US can help us for a long time without needing to keep over half a million GIs here."

Thieu -- or anyone who may replace him -- is but a puppet; the mastermind is in Washington. Ford-Kissinger are pursuing the same war policy as the Nixon-Kissinger tandem. We know where that policy may lead to.

N.H.

The Question of Political Prisoners in South Viet Nam Remains Unsolved

It is universally known that, at the time the Paris Agreement was signed, the Nguyen Van Thieu administration was holding more than 200,000 political prisoners. Twenty months have passed since then. Now, in Viet Nam and the whole world over, a new wave of struggle against Thieu is surging to demand the release of all political prisoners. Everywhere hundreds of organizations are being formed to fight for their freedom.

Our American friends held a Week of Concern for South Vietnamese Political Prisoners (from September 29 to October 6, 1974), and issued the "Call to Conscience" demanding the release of all political prisoners and, pending their release, a full investigation of Thieu's prisons by international organizations. They are requesting foreign countries to stop aid to the Thieu regime, for in their opinion, aid means more brutal suppression and so long as foreign governments finance 85% of Thieu's budget, prisoners will continue to be detained and the war will go on.

Support for that Week has come in various forms from many countries, such as the Soviet Union, the GDR, Sweden, Canada, New Zealand, France, etc. Various committees for the release of South Vietnamese political prisoners set up in Western European countries have met to co-ordinate their activities. The Stockholm Conference on Indochina held a two-day session on October 13 and 14, 1974 to consider the question of the prisoners and the war crimes committed by the Thieu clique.

It is stipulated by the Paris Agreement that the return of all civilian detainees should be completed within 90 days after the cease-fire comes into effect. But

what is the policy of the Saigon government on this issue?

1. *Forging dossiers to present political prisoners as common criminals and so not to be released*

Circular No. 758/BNV/AN of the Saigon Ministry of the Interior, Telegram No. 7167/N2 dated April 5, 1973 signed by Col. Nguyen Van Giai on behalf of the National Police Commander and Thieu's secret messages to the provinces have revealed this dark scheme of theirs.

Carrying out Thieu's orders, the prison superintendents have resorted to deception, persuasion, pressure and even sheer force in order to make the prisoners sign forged dossiers presenting themselves as common criminals.

In this connection, three cases can be mentioned:

— In July 1973, 200 political prisoners at Bac Lieu jail were compelled to sign dossiers classifying themselves as common criminals.

— On January 29 and 30, 1973, 50,000 political prisoners were re-classified as common criminals.

— Between April 30 and May 15, 1973, 4,074 political prisoners in Poulo Condor were likewise re-classified as common criminals.

2. *Presenting political prisoners as "rallied" to the Saigon side*

Truncheons, rods, sticks and tear-gas grenades are common methods of torture in order to compel political prisoners to agree that they have "rallied" to the Saigon side.

Two cases in point are the savage treatment of 700 women prisoners at Jail No. 4, Poulo Condor Prison camp, and 103 political prisoners at Ward No. 6, Quang Ngai Prison as a means of extracting a declaration that they were

"rallying" to Saigon. In the latter case, many among the 103 prisoners were afterwards taken away to an unknown destination.

3. *Announcing the "release" and "liberation" of prisoners without actually returning them, followed by their secret liquidation*

— It was announced on February 15, 1973 that 400 prisoners of Nha Trang jail would be set free. However they were actually taken the following day to Poulo Condor and 182 political prisoners there were brought back to various prisons on the mainland, where finally, on March 15, 1974, a number of them were liquidated.

— On April 15, 1973, in Tay Ninh province the release of 25 political prisoners was announced. They were actually murdered on the bank of the Ban Keo river at Long Thanh village and their bodies thrown into the river.

— On July 22, 1973, 43 political prisoners from Quang Ngai prison were released without being given any papers. On their way home, they were re-arrested by the police on charges of "criminal offenses".

4. *Deceiving the prisoners into thinking they were going to be released and secretly murdering them.*

— On May 21 and 22, 1973, 100 political prisoners in Poulo Condor were taken to Tan Hiep and told they would be released. They were, in fact, murdered afterwards.

— At the beginning of July 1973, 50 more political prisoners detained in Poulo Condor were told that they would be returned. In fact, they were secretly transferred to jails in Kontum and Pleiku.

— On the night of July 24, 1973, 700 political prisoners were gathered from various prisons in the

Saigon region and told they were on the way to the return site. Instead they were taken to Poulo Condor.

5. *Moving prisoners about from one prison to another thus making it difficult for the public to learn of their whereabouts but easy for Thieu to arrange for their eventual liquidation*

This measure has been vigorously applied in almost all prisons.

— On January 28, 1973, 300 political prisoners in Phu Quoc jail were taken to Soc Trang; among them 50 were sorted out to be thrown into the sea from helicopters.

— On February 9, 1973, 143 political prisoners were carried in seven lorries from Kien Phong jail to an unknown destination.

— On June 20, 1973, 100 political prisoners held at Tra Vinh jail were murdered; the jail was then refilled with 200 prisoners from Can Tho.

— Only one month and a half after the signing of the Paris Agreement, from Tan Hiep prison alone, 2,400 inmates were taken away to an undisclosed destination.

6. *Mass murdering of political prisoners and throwing their bodies into rivers*

The Thieu clique have not only carried out secret small-scale liquidation of political prisoners, but also committed wholesale massacres.

— In September 1973, they killed 200 political prisoners held in Duc Ton jail (Vinh Long province) then threw their bodies into a river; beheaded corpses or dismembered bodies of political prisoners were seen daily in the Cai Cam canal at Tan Hanh and Tan Ngai villages, many of them nailed onto wooden planks.

— In Can Tho province, 4,500 political prisoners were herded from various jails into a narrow enclosure at Vam O Mon where they were placed at the mercy of the elements and subjected to most savage tortures. As a result, not a single day passed without a political prisoner dying. Prisoners were slaughtered and thrown into Hau River (Bassac River). Every day about 20 naked corpses of beheaded or dismembered men and women prisoners were seen floating on the river in Oct. 1973.

The mass murder of political prisoners — a most brutal and barbarous crime committed by

the Thieu clique — has been going on in many provinces in the Mekong Delta such as An Giang, Sa Dec, Tra Vinh, Ben Tre, etc.

7. *Terrorizing, repressing and shooting political prisoners inside the prisons*

— On May 30, 1973, Thieu's army and police forces carried out savage repression against 1,200 prisoners held in Nha Trang jail. Many of them were shot on the spot and a number were then taken away.

— At the beginning of March 1973, a man named Hoang Van Be shot 17 prisoners at Bien Hoa jail on one single occasion.

— Between April 28 and May 5, 1973, prisoners at Poulo Condor were subjected to savage repression carried out under the command of Nguyen Van Ve, a superintendent notorious for his brutality. At Jail No.6, Section B, in particular, more than 300 grenades containing C.S. gas were thrown into Wards 1, 2, 3 and 4; the inmates there were left unconscious and were later savagely beaten; as a result 14 were killed and 480 injured.

— On June 3, 1974, explosives were used against the inmates of Tan Hiep prison; scores were killed and hundreds more injured.

8. *Illegally setting up tribunals and passing summary death sentences*

Under the Protocol on the return of political prisoners, the Saigon administration has no right to refuse or delay the return of prisoners on whatever account including the reason that detainees may have been tried or sentenced. Yet, the Thieu clique have illegally set up tribunals to try detainees and pass death sentences on them.

On August 17, 1973 they sentenced Mrs Pham Thi Ut and Mr Tran Van Cui to death and Mr Nguyen Van Se, Mr Cao Thien My and Mr Nguyen Van Be to 10-20 years' imprisonment.

50,000 new prisoners

The Thieu administration has admitted holding only 5,081 PRG personnel. It has sought every possible means to evade the return even of those prisoners named in its own list. After three phases for prisoner exchanges, from April 26 to May

12, 1973, from July 23 to July 24, 1973 and from February 8 to March 7, 1974, the PRG has received only 5,024 prisoners, among whom nearly 300 were not in Saigon's original list. Thus even the figure of 5,081 prisoners in Saigon's original list exceeds by 329 the number actually returned during the 20 months since signing of the Paris Agreement.

Of those who have been returned to the PRG, 53 are intellectuals and students belonging to the third political force in South Viet Nam. They should have been returned to their families in Saigon and other cities in the South as they had demanded.

What is extremely serious is that 65 persons belonging to the PRG and the third political force were again thrown into Bien Hoa prison even though the representatives of the two South Viet Nam sides in the Joint Military Commission had agreed that they should be allowed to return to their families in the Saigon-controlled zone. One of these 65 returnees Mr Huynh Tan Mam, ex-President of the General Association of Saigon Students, was savagely beaten, imprisoned again and taken to an unknown place. Up to now despite many months of intense search, his grieved mother does not know the whereabouts of her son.

In recent months, the Thieu clique have made numerous arrests in their intensified mop-up, "pacification" and police operations. Carrying out a plan code-named F.6, they have jailed numerous people. With a series of new "decrees" on regional security, abolition of elections at village level, regulation of political parties, the setting up of 9 more tribunals, the law gagging the press and "Decree" No.090, etc., they have outlawed 26 political parties leaving only Thieu's Democratic Party and other organizations of his clique, closed down several Saigon newspapers, made indiscriminate arrests and suppressed all those considered to be "dangerous" or in favour of peace, national reconciliation and concord. According to still incomplete statistics available in August 1974, since the signing of the Paris Agreement they have arrested some 50,000 more people, that is ten times the number of those who have been returned.

In Thieu's Grips

Doan Khac Nuyeu is a young Catholic, a former Franciscan seminarian and a member of the Central Committee of the Catholic Labour Youth Movement. Arrested by the Thieu administration on the night of April 30, 1972, he was first jailed in Tan Hiep prison then deported to Poulo Condor. Although acquitted by the Military Court of the Third Military Region on August 8, 1973, he continued to be kept in prison illegally until October 29, 1973, the day when he was ordered to join up. Refusing to join the army, he was jailed at Chi Hoa prison and on April 29, 1974, was sentenced to five years' imprisonment on a charge of "insubordination."

In his notes published in the Saigon review Doi Dien (No. 60 of August 19, 1974) he tells of his experiences in prison over these two years.

We have already published in Viet Nam Courier No. 27, p. 12, August 1974, an extract from a dialogue between Doan Khac Nuyeu (not Duo Khac Nuyeu as was misprinted) and the judge.

POLITICAL prisoners used jokingly to refer to newcomers as "those who only eat half their burnt rice." As for me, also a newcomer, I am not qualified to write about the prison system. That honour should be reserved for the veterans who have spent 18 to 20 years of their lives in prison. In addition to that, I think it is difficult to describe this reality with words which at best can describe only part of what one has seen, heard and felt.

In 1970, when I was told by students who had been released from Poulo Condor of the horrible life they had led there, I could only imagine their sufferings vaguely and felt some short-lived emotions. It was not until I was myself deported to Poulo Condor, when I lived through all kinds of tortures, that I could really know how terrible it was.

I have written this article because my friends asked me to do so and because our enemy keep denying the existence of political prisoners and in this shameful deception, they enjoy the sympathy and support of official representatives of the Catholic Church. With only two years in prison, naturally, I am unable to describe this hell on earth in the dark period (Political prisoners in Poulo Condor called the period prior to their own "concerted uprisings" in 1970 the "dark period"), although the period after 1970 is no brighter. However, I have seen much and heard much. My heart was filled with emotions of anger and hatred. I shall try to tell as much as I

can but this is not a detailed description of prison life, but only some personal reminiscences.

The night I was arrested

It was on the night of April 30, 1972. On the Quang Tri and An Loc fronts, the fighting was fiercer than ever before. In Saigon, the arrests of students had been intensified. It was the eve of May Day. On that evening, the Central Committee of the Catholic Labour Youth Movement met to check up on the preparations for May Day. We found that preparations had been perfunctorily, and there were many shortcomings. I warned my friends of the administration's intensification of repression against the population, especially against students and labouring people.

But I did not expect that this repression would be directed against us so rapidly. After the meeting we returned to our bedrooms. Hardly had we turned off the lights when policemen rushed in like a herd of hungry tigers. They began searching everywhere and everything, our clothes, books and all our personal belongings. They took our books and the rubber stamp of our organization, made a report and forced me to sign. As I refused they threatened: "Damn you, if you don't sign now, you'll have to do it at the police station." I was forced to stand behind a heap of books and documents to be photographed. As I protested, two policemen grasped my arms and kept me standing there while

they took pictures from every angle. Then I was taken down to the car. My friends, who lived in the next rooms, suffered the same fate. In the street, I saw a dozen police cars surrounding our quarters. Overhearing the policemen's conversation I knew that the round-up had been made jointly by policemen of the Second and the Third Districts. Superintendent Thu, and the chief of the district police Do Van Liem who had harassed us in the past, were also present there. Our neighbours were asleep or pretended to be so. It was past midnight, and the streets were empty.

Th. was drawn by several policemen to a dark corner behind a refreshment stand. He was asked something that I could not hear. Only the noise of the policemen's swearing and blows and Th.'s cries were heard. After a while, Th. was taken back to our quarters, perhaps to show them something. When he was taken out again I saw his mouth covered with blood.

We all were driven to the police station in the Second District. It is only now that it comes to my mind that we never asked for the search-warrant. But anyway, there would have been no use in it. For, with us, they have applied only one law, that of violence, bludgeons and blows.

On the night of the First of May

Since the night before, Th. and I had been jailed in a dark room. Although I was given a small bowl of rice and a piece of soya bean about the size of a little finger for a whole day's food I did not feel hungry. We were thinking about the coming interrogations. Th. recited for me a poem on human dignity. It was getting dark. I suddenly heard the ringing of a church bell somewhere. I remembered then that St. Anthony's chapel of the Franciscan Seminary was just behind the walls of this post. This reminded me of the French-style mansion where I had lived for a period, and of my old friends. Perhaps at that time they were closing their eyes, ceremoniously clasping their hands and meditating on how to

elevate their souls from this villainous earthly world so as to draw nearer to God. After that they would go to the dining room, talking merrily about their studies or other subjects. At that time, probably, many pious gentlemen and ladies were bathing in God's love under the flickering candle lights on the altar of the chapel, praying to God to help them in making a fortune. And the Father Superior would be silently communing with God about whether he should drive away the women-peddlars on the pavement of Phan Van Truong Street who were soiling the house of God by obstructing the entrance to the chapel.

I kept thinking about these things. During that whole day the torturers' swearing and the victims' screams coming from the interrogation room put a constant strain on my nerves. But my thoughts were soon interrupted by the creaking of the cell lock. Yes, they were opening the door of my cell again. They had been beaten black and blue. I, too, had been blindfolded and led to the interrogation room. One torturer asked me whether the leaflets were mine. As I said I did not know anything about them the fellow threatened me and had me led back to the ward. I wondered who would be called next. My throat dried up. I felt extremely thirsty. I wondered whether God in the nearby chapel knew this. At that moment, the Father Superior and my friends were probably taking dinner.

The door opened. Someone called me. While I was hurriedly putting on my sandals, a man rushed in, raising his leg and yelled: "Dama you! Knock him down. This is no time to wear sandal."

I was blindfolded and taken to the interrogation room again. Hardly had I arrived there when blows and kicks with nailed boots rained on my body. I staggered and fell against the wall. They pulled me up, stripped me naked and took of the bandage from my eyes. Being short-sighted, I could see only dimly the cruel faces of men around me who looked as if they were going to swallow me up. I had no clothes on except short pants. They asked what was my occupation. When I said I was a student, one of them rushed at me, struck repeatedly on my face and yelled: "Do you think that you students are

superior men? Do you dare to beat time with your feet even at this moment? Don't you know we are policemen?"

Blood from my nose kept running down my cheeks and onto the floor. They ordered me to use my shirt which had been taken out some minutes ago to clean the floor, then led me back to the ward.

That was the only beating I ever suffered. Later on, after meeting and talking to political prisoners I learnt about the barbarous tortures and atrocities they had suffered. In comparison with their sufferings, mine was nothing. One can be certain that no political prisoners escaped from torture or beating.

May 4

I was transferred to the Police Detention Centre in Saigon. Some said that the policemen here were more cruel than those in the district stations, others disagreed. I did not know who was right, but later on, when I had talked with other prisoners I learnt that policemen are everywhere the same but that at a higher level the tortures become more refined.

All my papers were confiscated (later on I was to be falsely accused of having no identity card). I was given black clothes and was kept in a dark cell. We always felt hungry. In the morning, we were given soup with very little brown rice in it, at noon and in the evening, a small ball of brown rice. Now and then, a prisoner who was serving as kitchen help would come and give us a little salt and pepper or some precious cigarettes.

The students who were our old friends or were known by name to us were arrested one after another and sent to our prison. There were 20 dark cells in two rows, nearly half of them reserved for students. There, we suffered all things — tortures, beating, hunger and thirst. But we still engaged in artistic activities, singing songs and reciting poems. I remembered Q, a girl, who had a very beautiful and strong voice. Each time she sang, her voice rang out as if it was going to burst the thick walls and iron gates of the prison.

"Nobody can check our singing for we sing the love of our fellow-countrymen. Nobody can check our songs which praise our

national heroes and heroines who gave their lives to defend our mountains and rivers." The warden threatened many times to beat her but her voice kept ringing out. Finally he pulled her out and beat her. I also remember one evening when two young girls, arrested from a locality in the countryside, were brought in. Because of shortage of space they had to sleep on the passage between the two rows of cells. The older one was silent, but the younger, about 12 or 13 years of age, was crying. I heard a voice coming through a small hole of a dark cell asking her for what reason she was arrested and raising a hand to rub her eyes, she replied that she did not know. Another day, I saw an old woman about 60, who after being tortured, had to crawl back from the interrogation room. Her shoulders and arms were swollen and at midnight she fainted. The warden came and stood indifferently with his hands on his hips in front of her and said: "It serves you right. Why don't you confess?"

During nearly two months in the prison, I always felt hungry. The daily ball of rice was becoming smaller and smaller. The prison authorities forbade all family visits without any explanation. A hunger-strike for more food was staged. Guards, clubs in hands, came and beat us. Rations were not increased. It was during this strike that our friends who were arrested together with us and had been locked up in a large room (called collective room) were beaten for the first time because they dared to say that they were hungry. Yet, in a speech an archbishop has said: "I am very glad to learn that while serving their sentences in prison, leaders of the Catholic Labour Youth Movement have never been ill-treated." Even if those leaders had not been ill-treated, should the archbishop be glad, did that give him the right to feel at ease? For there were still countless other people in the prisons, such as the woman of 60, the girl of 12...

June 24, 1972

I was shackled and transferred to Tan Hiep Prison (Bien Hoa). Together with me there were about 30 persons, aged from 18 or 19 to 50-60, who had been arrested the night before at their

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To Build a Large-Scale Socialist Agriculture

LE DUAN



Over the last twenty years, the North Vietnamese countryside has gone through two stages of basic transformation: the first was the land reform which turned exploited peasants into free peasants, the second brought about the essential abolition of the age-old system of private ownership, changing individual peasants into collective peasants by organizing them into co-operatives.

Thanks to the combination of co-operativization with water control work, the collective peasantry are gradually limiting the losses caused by natural calamities and changing single-crop ricefields into doublecrop ones. The material and technical base is being increasingly consolidated. The new short-growth varieties—a new achievement of world science—have rapidly multiplied on the ricefields of Viet Nam. The high yields obtained will also contribute to the development of animal husbandry.

Throughout the trials of war the new production relations have proved their powerful vitality. However in North Viet Nam there is as yet no advanced industry, agriculture is still backward and production work is chiefly done by hand. To take agriculture forward to large-scale socialist production in such conditions is a new and extremely difficult problem. Only by strenuous researches and experiments, can we find an appropriate solution. On August 12, 1972 the Secretariat of the Viet Nam Workers' Party Central Committee decided to conduct a pilot project and sent delegations of Party cadres to a number of districts while the war was still raging. On August 5, 1974 a Conference on Agriculture in the Plain and Midlands was held in Thai Binh, the first province to obtain 5 tons of paddy per hectare a year, in order to study, in the light of experience, the problems of re-organizing labour

and further improving agricultural management in the direction of large-scale socialist production. Over 500 participants consisting of senior cadres from towns and cities and from 138 districts in the plain and midlands, chairmen of co-operatives, representatives of various branches of the economy and cadres of agricultural science, technology and economic management, etc., met for a week together with Comrade Le Duan, First Secretary of the Viet Nam Workers' Party Central Committee, Prime Minister Pham Van Dong and Secretaries of the Party Central Committee To Huu and Hoang Anh.

At the closing session, Comrade Le Duan delivered a speech on the problem of "Striving to Build a Large-Scale Socialist Agriculture."

Below are excerpts from this important speech. Titles and subtitles are ours.

As you know, since 1965 we have had to fight an arduous war which created very great difficulties in our lives. In spite of the war, our Party decided to give a great impulse to agriculture and regional industry so as to meet the requirements of the front and improve the people's life. One of the most important problems in wartime is that of labour. However, although since 1965 a great number of the able-bodied young men in the countryside have gone to the front, the agricultural labour force has not been lacking or reduced, but has rather increased. Yet, it is to be noted that the cultivated acreage has diminished by some hundreds of thousands of hectares as a result of capital construction and the building of roads and water-control works. Therefore, despite a considerable growth in yield, the total production of food still fluctuates at around the same level with no considerable increase. Meanwhile, the population has grown by more than four million, i.e., a yearly increase of half a million. Every year agriculture sells an important quantity of food to the State, but the State has to return part of it to a number of peasants during the pre-harvest period. As regards clothing, we still have to import raw cotton and textiles from foreign countries. Moreover, in the movement for co-operativization and the organization of agricultural production and labour, irrational aspects and negative factors still remain. At this Conference, you have said that the price problem is one of the causes for the co-operatives' lack of enthusiasm in production. It is true that some State purchasing prices of agricultural products are irrational. The State must resolutely readjust them. But we should note that the State sells industrial goods to the peasants at fairly cheap prices. Normally, if the State purchasing prices of agricultural products are raised, the prices of a number of industrial goods must also be increased. And in fact, the amount of commodities sold by the peasants to the State is smaller than that sold by the State to the peasants. In the relationship between the State and the peasants, it should be noted first of all that the State has shown the greatest concern about providing food, clothing, educational facilities and medical care for the peasants and their families. While a fierce war was being waged in which the American imperialists dropped millions of tons of bombs on our country, despite many difficulties and hardships, the children could go to school and everyone was provided with adequate food and clothing even in areas severely affected by flood and typhoons. In the history of war this is a rare occurrence, the result of immense efforts; it will stand as a tremendous achievement of our people, our Party and our State. Generally in wars, besides the sacrifices in lives, the people suffer from hunger and cold. At certain places and times it has happened that the majority of the death toll was made up of people dying from starvation. Thanks to the efforts made by our people and the assistance by our brothers and friends in the world we have avoided any such situation.

Are we not all feeling great pride, now more than ever before, because we have won this victory? Just recently, Nixon had to resign his position as President of the USA. What was the reason for this? The deep cause of Nixon's downfall lies in the US defeat in the Vietnam war. Our victory

has not only safeguarded our own independence and freedom, but also contributed to foiling the US strategy of world hegemony and bringing about a new world situation favourable to the forces of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. Having achieved such a great, extraordinary exploit, we have the right to be proud! Moreover, in the struggle for national salvation, our people have become more revolutionary. There is a seething revolutionary movement, a firm determination to win, in our entire people from old folk to small children. With this, we can defeat the US imperialists, bring about a technical revolution in agriculture and cope with the aftermath of so many natural calamities. Over the past few years, the weather has not been favourable; floods and typhoons have been particularly severe. In 1971 and 1973 alone, natural calamities caused the loss of more than one and a half million tons of rice and a great quantity of other goods. However we have been able to overcome all those difficulties.

Agriculture has been beset with difficulties and complications, which are due not only to objective causes, but also to shortcomings and weaknesses committed from top to bottom, from the Party's leadership to the organs of State direction and management. For this reason, notwithstanding the good results obtained in increasing yields and creating model co-operatives, we must make severe criticisms and self-criticisms of our shortcomings if we want to make greater progress.

The reports presented at this conference by co-operatives, regional administrations and scientific and technical workers mention new and stable aspects which may serve as a basis for important conclusions on the possibilities of agricultural development in the years ahead.

First, after a long period of study and experimentation, concrete conclusions have been reached on a number of scientific and technical problems of cultivation and animal husbandry. The practical value of these lies in the fact that they are the results of an application of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, the "green revolution" in the ricefields of Viet Nam, in a way suitable to the climatic, meteorological, geological and hydraulic conditions of Viet Nam, and our country's existing potentials in manpower and materials. With our labour force, mainly manual, but *organized well and on a great scale*, we can satisfactorily carry out hydraulic work, soil improvement and intensive farming, and complete the field work in time to ensure a good crop. With nothing but manure, lime, phosphate and azolla pinnata we can already obtain high yields. If we reserve a reasonable acreage for the development of animal husbandry, production will not be reduced but on the contrary increased, for a sufficiently large-sized pig herd which can supply us with not only meat but also manure is doing the work of a nitrogenous fertilizer plant. Cross-breeding and improvement of animal feed have yielded good results. The seed revolution has brought not only new high-yield rice varieties adapted to our climate and resistant to disease and insects, but also short-term varieties which allow the planting of three crops in a year and a scientific crop rotation. This makes possible a balance between cultivation and animal husbandry on a new basis suited to the

natural conditions of our country, such as its large population and small territory.

Besides having drawn many important scientific conclusions, we have trained a fairly large contingent of technical agricultural workers. The question now is how to assign them the right tasks in the right places. In my opinion, while consolidating the organs of scientific research and of scientific and technical management at the central level, we should send an important part of these cadres to the countryside. For example, we can send some scores of technical cadres to create a capable technical staff to help the local Party and administrative organs in their work of guiding the application of science and technology to production, and to find quick solutions to scientific and technical problems arising in the co-operatives' practical production work. This is a necessary measure to introduce science and technology into agricultural production and to acquaint scientific and technical workers with the realities of the situation. In this way they will rapidly come to maturity, and have the opportunity of contributing to the noble revolutionary task of modernizing our countryside from its traditional backwardness.

Second, the model co-operatives which exist in different regions constitute good schools for our agriculture in its initial stage of development. The immediate practical question is the problem of developing agriculture along the line of large-scale socialist production. These model co-operatives no longer remain in the domain of research, they are now the deeds of the masses in the fields.

They are not only the experience of one specific region, but have become the reality in many regions which are quite different from one another. The co-operatives which have done well enjoy no particular advantages in matters of land, labour force or State investments. On the contrary, some of them are even in unfavourable conditions. Here it is the question of leadership and guidance by the Party and administrative organs at all levels

and the organization and management ability of cadres. Here lies the persuasive power of these model co-operatives. As the comrades of Quynh Luu (a commune in Nghe An province) have rightly said: "When Quang Nap with its acid and salty soil, Minh Sinh with its difficult situation and Tri Chi with its swampy, waterlogged fields can get a yield of 6-7 tons of paddy per hectare, grow winter rice in most of their fields, and bring in 6,000 to 7,000 *dong's* worth of products from one hectare, it is certain that most co-operatives in the plains and the midlands can do the same." The organization of production and improvement of management by Minh Sinh and Dong Hai co-operatives is not something extraordinary which cannot be imitated by other co-operatives. In a short period of time, Tong Vu, formerly a backward co-operative, has become a good co-operative successful in doing away with such negative aspects as encroachment on the collective land and the habit of working more actively for oneself than for the co-operative. So there is no reason why other backward co-operatives should not become pretty good.

Third, after more than a decade of construction, our agriculture now has the basic foundations of its material and technical base: water-control networks, drying yards, warehouses, stables, breeding farms, machinery, equipment, processing workshops, research institutes, experimental stations and farms, etc. Industry which is being restored and expanded will constitute an important force for pushing ahead the development of agriculture. On the one hand, it is necessary to make full use of the existing installations by examining carefully the working of each establishment or installation, each type of machine, and taking adequate measures to ensure the best results. On the other hand, we must intensify new construction work to complete the water-control network in order to bring water to the fields and ensure rational irrigation and drainage. We must rapidly build a national system of seed production and animal breeding from the central to the local level aimed at ensuring sufficient supplies and resolutely eliminate low-quality varieties and



Bringing in the autumn-rice harvest at Tan Hoa farming co-operative (Thai Binh province)

breeds; we must also step up the construction of phosphate and nitrogenous fertilizer works and lime kilns as well as the work for producing building materials and processing agricultural products; and we should attach particular attention to equipping agriculture with farming tools and machines, etc. Good construction work must necessarily be coupled with good management and utilization. We must take into account the economic and technical peculiarities of each category of installation or establishment to apply an appropriate system of management and ensure its most economic use and maintenance.

I think that the founding of the material and technical base of agriculture should be the common effort of the central, regional and base-level administrations. The economic branches managed by the central administration should exert their utmost efforts and show the initiative in serving agriculture, satisfy the new requirements of agricultural production in good time, modify irrational rules and regulations, severely criticize wrongdoings, and so create the most favourable conditions for agriculture to develop. The regional and base-level administrations should, for their part, show a spirit of revolutionary offensive and self-reliance and achieve prosperity by their own efforts without waiting for the help of the State. As masters of their fields, all regions and co-operatives should show boldness and creativeness, devoting all their energies and overcoming difficulties and hardships to build up their localities and their co-operatives with a spirit capable of removing mountains and filling up the sea. Those who have machines will use their machines, those who have no machines will work with their hands. But no one will stand back! Everyone should work not 5-6 but 10-12 hours a day in a dynamic and active manner, wage a tenacious struggle against nature and make full use of every plot of land. To go to the midlands and highlands with "a ball of rice, some salted aubergines and a communist heart" so as to open up virgin land—this is what has been done by the people of Quynh Luu who have been working for decades to improve acid and salty soils, by the Quang Nap co-operative which has turned clayey soil into arable land for the cultivation of the winter crop, by Minh Sinh which has delimited its land to cope with waterloggings and by the Tri Chi co-operative, etc. These are bright examples of hard work which should be followed by all of us.

Fourth, we have essentially completed the task of organizing the peasants into co-operatives and have repeatedly consolidated the new relations of production. The co-operatives have brought into full play their positive aspects in production, combat, and satisfying the people's needs. However, in the

movement of co-operativization and agricultural production there now appear such negative manifestations as illegal encroachment and wasteful use of land, failure to put into practice the principles and system of socialist management, and to carry out distribution in a just and rational way, according to the work done. This has, in some measure, prevented the superiority of the new system from being brought into full play. Thus we may say that due attention must be given to consolidating and perfecting the new production relations in three respects: consolidating collective ownership, closely combining collective ownership with ownership by the entire people and organizing rational management and a rational system of distribution. Otherwise we shall find that we lack the necessary prerequisites for the development of production and the stepping up of the technical revolution. On the other hand the new relations of production cannot be steadily consolidated unless we are able to turn their superiority to account so as to re-organize production and the labour force, speed up the building of the material and technical base, help the progressive advance of agriculture toward large-scale socialist production and raise the co-op members' living standards.

Fifth, the building of a large-scale socialist agriculture is a process of revolutionary struggle in many respects. It requires correct leadership by the Party, strict management by the State and a revolutionary movement of the peasant masses. For this reason, the base-level Party committees must thoroughly grasp the Party line and apply it in a creative manner to the conditions of their localities. Cadres and Party members should remain in the vanguard and set examples in all fields. The State must promulgate a just management system and pass the necessary legislation; especially, it should exert a powerful economic influence to mobilize the workers and industrial branches to do their best in the service of agriculture. Peasant co-op members must be fully conscious of their role as collective masters, they must exercise their rights and constantly enhance their capacity to play the role of masters. Only in this way can the co-operatives successfully carry out the three revolutions, develop agriculture powerfully, and become truly socialist economic units. This is a lesson of success learnt from the more advanced co-operatives.

I cite those facts in order to affirm that, though we still have to endure untold hardships and meet with many difficulties, we are sure that with the experience, knowledge and "capital" acquired, with the immense revolutionary capabilities of our collective peasantry, our agriculture in the years ahead will undergo new changes, satisfy the vital needs for agricultural products, and make the initial step toward becoming a large-scale socialist agriculture.

TOWARD A LARGE-SCALE SOCIALIST AGRICULTURE

IN our country, production was on a small scale and based on extremely backward technique. In industry, especially in modern industry, we had nothing worth mentioning, not a kilogram of steel or chemicals, the electricity hardly sufficed to light a few cities and engineering consisted only of small repair workshops. The per-capita area of cultivated land, the lowest in the world, was and remains an extremely acute problem in developing the economy.

Moreover, our country has had to undergo protracted, devastating wars. How, in such a situation, to advance to socialism, the culminating point of our time, which is marked by a modern industry, a modern agriculture and advanced culture and science? How can we bring a backward and scattered agriculture to large-scale socialist production, build a new countryside and a new peasantry? If we speak of the characteristics of our country in

its advance towards socialism, this is the dominant feature. It seems that no country so far in history has been in a situation such as ours. We must lead the peasantry and agriculture immediately to socialism, without waiting for a developed industry, though we knew very well that without the strong impact of industry, agriculture cannot achieve large-scale production and new relations of agricultural production cannot be consolidated. We should ask ourselves whether, in the present conditions of our country, it is in accordance with the laws of social development to take the peasantry and agriculture immediately to socialism (i.e., without waiting for a developed industry)? And if so, is there any particular law on this problem for our country and countries like ours in the future? Every form of progress has its own laws. If we are animated by high determination, but do not act according to the objective laws of development, we can never succeed. Hence, it is extremely important to solve the new problems raised by the realities of our country.

To proceed from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production is a great problem and a new one. For more than a decade we have been seeking a solution at the same time as we have been carrying on our work. In this way, you and all of us and certainly our specialists in economy and science now have a clearer view of the problem. It is necessary to work and engage in researches at the same time. There is no alternative way. One cannot grasp all problems at a single time. And how far have we perceived this problem?

In the first place, we know that to advance toward socialism we must see what is most progressive in our time, because scientific socialism is the necessary achievement of our epoch, the culminating point of its progress. We cannot rely only on our own knowledge, sentiments and will; on the contrary we must, by all means, grasp the scientific acquisitions of our time, study social, economic and technological sciences, put them into practice and turn them into realities of life in the conditions of Viet Nam. On the basis of this scientific knowledge, which we will apply to the specific conditions in our country, we must try to bring into full play the conditions which have already existed, and create those which are still lacking, in order to progress step by step toward large-scale socialist production. So, in the agricultural field, what are the most progressive factors in our time? In my opinion, it is the system of socialist collective ownership, the science of labour organization, economic management, water control, fertilizers, seeds and breeding methods, new implements and so on. Only by endeavouring to progressively master all this and gradually put them into effect can we take our individualistic backward agriculture forward to large-scale socialist agriculture. The realities of our agriculture provide us with precious lessons of experience in this respect. Ever since it was founded, due to the concrete conditions in our country, our Party has been the unique and absolute leading force of the revolution. It has led the workers, peasants and other strata of our people in the victorious struggle against imperialism and feudalism, thus winning back independence for the nation, democracy for the people and land for the peasants, and setting up a people's democratic power, which is actually a worker-peasant power and is now assuming the historic task of proletarian dictatorship. As for the peasantry of our country,



Selection of seed rice

independence and land are most precious things, aspirations which have been cherished for centuries. It is our Party that has realized these aspirations of the peasants. That is why the peasantry, acting on the call of the Party, volunteered, together with the working class, to go forward to socialism and give up individual production, to move eagerly and rapidly along the path of agricultural co-operativization and build a new system, that is, the system of socialist collective ownership. Thus, in our country, the successful conclusion of the national democratic revolution led by the working class created the prerequisites for the socialist revolution. Thus, the above-mentioned social revolutions (proletarian dictatorship and collective ownership), which are normally the products of large-scale industry, in our country are the natural outcome of the process of national democratic revolution and of the initial stage of socialist transformation in the absence of large-scale industry. We therefore cannot sit idly by waiting for the creation of heavy industry before establishing these relations. History enables and obliges us to go forward to these relations immediately. We cannot miss this historic opportunity, we must seize it, carry out agricultural co-operativization without delay, and use the worker-peasant power and the co-operative regime as a motive force to push ahead with other revolutionary transformations in agriculture and quicken the birth of a large-scale production and industry. To start the process of socialist construction by establishing the system of collective ownership — this is a peculiarity of the process of our country's historical development, and an important theoretical point of social sciences in Viet Nam.

With socialist collective ownership, with the re-organization of labour on a large-scale to carry out hydraulic work, soil improvement, and the building of a number of necessary material and technical bases, with the application of the achievements of the "green revolution" and limited help from industry, we are fully capable of taking our country's agriculture another step forward on the path of large-scale socialist production, at a time when industry is still being built up. Moreover, we may use agriculture as a base for industrial development. Or, to put it another way, we must, after the transformation of individual production into collective production, immediately re-organize agricultural production and labour in the direction of centralization, specialization and co-operation on an ever larger scale, thus creating a kind of socialist "manual work-site." On this basis, we must put industry at the service of agriculture and gradually step up the technical revolution, in order to develop the forces of production, strengthen the new relations of production and build a new countryside and a new peasantry. This is the road of gradual advance toward large-scale socialist production in agriculture, and the way to ensure victory for

socialism in our countryside. I think that these are important theoretical concepts regarding the development of our agriculture in its initial stage. Advanced co-operatives are vivid examples to prove the correctness of these concepts.

The superiority of agricultural co-operatives has been demonstrated in many respects, especially during the patriotic war against US aggression and the fight against natural calamities. On the other hand, the superiority of co-operatives must in the final analysis be proved by the fact that they bring the peasantry a happier life. If co-operativization does not bring the peasants a happier life than individual production, then the co-operatives will not remain strong and the ties binding the peasants to their co-operatives will gradually be loosened. For that reason, if we want to ensure superiority over individual production, the only way is to go forward to *large-scale socialist production*, fully ensure to the masses the right of being collective masters, carry out the technical revolution, combat wayward working habits and illegal acts which are contrary to the nature of socialist economy and the line and policies of our Party and State.

ORIENTATION AND TASKS OF AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

WE have affirmed that there are four major tasks for our agriculture: to ensure enough *cereals and other foodstuffs* for the whole society; to supply industry with raw materials, to have more agricultural products for export in order to promote the technical revolution; and to provide manpower for industry and other economic branches, for the cultural field and for national defence. The historic mission of the collective peasantry with the collaboration of the working class is to fulfil these major tasks in their own interest, and in the interest of the life of the entire nation and the future of socialist industrialization. The working class must also work with self-sacrifice and discipline, with technical skill and high productivity in order to produce articles for the people the majority of whom are peasants.

In the years ahead, we must do our best to solve the problem of food in all three regions -- the plains, the midlands and the mountains -- in order to ensure the people's daily meals. We already have experience in this problem and there are many advanced units in food production. A number of provinces in North Viet Nam have obtained five tons of paddy per hectare on double-crop ricefields, the rice yield in many districts has reached five to six tons per hectare, and in many co-operatives the rice yield per hectare ranges between seven and eight tons. We must give a greater impulse to water-control work, so as to make it a revolutionary movement of the masses and link it closely with science and technology. The acreage exposed to flood and drought should be limited to the minimum, this will contribute to the improvement of the soil and the stabilization of production. With better seed selection and a sufficient quantity of lime, phosphate, especially manure and green compost, it should not be too difficult to obtain 6-7 tons of paddy on large areas. Food does not consist of rice only, so great attention must also be paid to subsidiary crops and leguminous plants. The provinces in the midlands and highlands have a great potential and may solve the problem of

food without affecting the development of other strong points. They must make the best use of the land to push ahead with intensive farming of food crops over the existing acreage, and give a boost to the cultivation of subsidiary food crops such as maize, potatoes, manioc and other starchy foods. To bring hundreds of thousands of hectares of land under maize through a combination of manual with mechanized labour is an extremely important objective, an undertaking of great economic value. To achieve this objective, scientific workers must ensure supplies of sufficient high-quality seeds and the central and regional agricultural services must allocate sufficient land and labour.

The superiority of the new rice varieties should be turned to account and soil improvement work should be actively carried out to *extend the winter-crop ricefields* wherever possible. This is an important orientation for agriculture which will have good effects in many spheres, enabling more food to be supplied to the people, developing the breeding of cattle and poultry, increasing land productivity, improving the soil and ensuring a rational use of labour by making it possible for the peasants to work the whole year round. Every co-operative and district should follow this orientation in the allocation of land and the division of labour. Especially, they must equip themselves with enough implements, including a number of necessary machines, such as 12 h.p. tractors.

Drinking is as important as eating, especially in a tropical climate. We should attach great importance to tea planting and rapidly increase its acreage both for home consumption and for export. Sugar-cane is also very precious, giving not only sugar, but also other products of even greater value. We must have great determination and organize ourselves sufficiently to cultivate hundreds of thousands of hectares of industrial crops. The agricultural branches and the food industry from the central to local levels must pay great attention to

allocating sufficient land and labour for the cultivation and processing of sugar-cane, fruit (orange, lemon, pineapple, banana), oleaginous plants (groundnut, camellia, tung, candleberry, etc.) which will be very useful for home consumption and for export. In my opinion, the most difficult question and at the same time our weakest point lies not in the shortage of labour or land, but most of all in our lack of adequate organization and of diligence, dynamism and perseverance.

We must provide the people with not only food but also clothing. We have great difficulty in growing cotton in our country and cannot cultivate it on a large scale. That is why we must pay great attention to the planting of mulberry, jute and timber for the production of synthetic fibres. With some tens of thousands of hectares under jute and a processing industry turning out goods in great demand, we are certain to produce a large amount for export and meet an important part of the people's needs in clothing.

To take our agriculture forward to large-scale socialist production means to create a new balance between cultivation and animal husbandry, and to turn animal husbandry from a sideline occupation into a main branch of production which includes the breeding of cattle (buffaloes, oxen, pigs, goats), poultry (chicken, ducks, geese) and fish. In the years to come, we must use every effort to transform animal husbandry so as to increase the amount of foodstuffs for the population and manure for cultivation, contributing to promoting exports and helping the new division of labour. First of all, we must re-allocate land for the cultivation of different crops and determine the number of crops to be grown in a year so as to make a rational use of land, strive to increase the number of crops in order to create more sources of animal feed, at the same time we must build animal feed processing installations in each district. We must decide on the selection of breeds at an early date, make a good choice of breeds and enlarge the network of veterinary doctors to prevent epidemics and stamp out their pockets. The State (and part of the collective sector) must see to the production and supply of selected breeds of reproducers, and the industrial production of animal feed. As for animal husbandry, it may be carried out by the State, the collective sector or by families. Breeding by individual families, very important at present, should become a component part of animal husbandry in general and put under State organization and management. Thus it will ensure full use of the idle labour

force and food waste in each family. The above measures constitute the first step in the organization of animal husbandry in the direction of large-scale production, in a way suitable to the situation of food, materials and manpower in our countryside at present.

To expand our economic relations with foreign countries, the socialist ones first of all, is an objective requirement and, at the same time, a great advantage to us in our advance from small production to large-scale socialist production. It is the same thing with agriculture. We should take into account not only the possibilities and requirements of our country but also the needs for export and import. In order to carry out rapid modernization and achieve big economic results, the orientation and planning of agricultural development must inevitably be aimed also at meeting export requirements. Each co-operative, each district and the whole nation should think of what must be done for export and strive to use part of the land and manpower to produce goods for export. To speak of the advantages of tropical agriculture is to speak of its export possibilities, these advantages should be seen in the volume of exported agricultural products. With its role as "the basis for the development of industry" in the initial stage, it is imperative for our agriculture to become an export agriculture. Besides exports not only contribute to accumulation for socialist industrialization, but also serve as an important measure for the increase of labour productivity in agriculture and improvement of the peasants' living conditions. Therefore, to strive to have hundreds of thousands of hectares under industrial crops, leguminous plants, fruit trees and a herd of cattle and poultry for export, to ensure that every agricultural worker reserves a considerable number of workdays for export production — these are problems to which much thought must be given day and night by agricultural and foreign trade services, from the central to the base level. Efforts to attain these objectives must become revolutionary acts of the peasant masses under the close guidance of State organs.

In brief, to cultivate four kinds of crops (producing flour, sugar, oil and fibre) on a large scale, to turn animal husbandry into a main branch of production, to raise labour productivity and redistribute the labour force in favour of other trades and to set up new economic areas, first of all in the fertile areas — these are the main responsibilities of agriculture with regard to the people's well-being and socialist industrialization in the present stage.

INITIAL STEPS IN THE RE-ORGANIZATION OF PRODUCTION AND IMPROVEMENT OF AGRICULTURAL MANAGEMENT

WHAT should we do now in order to carry through these tasks? In the spirit of the resolutions taken at the 19th, 20th and 22nd sessions of the Party's Central Committee, the Secretariat has just issued a directive outlining the present task for our agriculture. It is to launch the initial re-organization of production and improvement of agricultural management in order to take our agriculture, which has been collectivized but still suffers to a serious extent from a guild character fragmentation and many negative aspects, to an agriculture in which methods of specialized and

intensive cultivation are practised and which is developing all-sidedly in the direction of large-scale socialist production. Without the re-organization of production and improvement of agricultural management, it will be impossible to consolidate the new relations of production, to do away with the present negative aspects in the movement of co-operativization and agricultural production, to push forward with the technical revolution, to make a rational and efficient use of the land and other means of production, to build a new countryside and a new peasant. The achievement of the advanced



On the construction site of the Yen Quang reservoir (Ninh Binh province)

co-operatives are due to the fact that their production and management are relatively well organized. How should this re-organization be carried out?

First of all, it is necessary to realize that large-scale socialist production is a type of production whose scope and system of division of labour go beyond the limits of a region or locality, its aim is to meet the requirements of the whole country. We should do away with the autarkic character of production. The whole country should become an immense work-site. The whole nation is a single market. Each worker is a cell in the division of social labour, each economic unit is a link in the chain of production. Each family, each person must work for the whole society, the whole nation. Inversely, the whole society the whole nation must see to the welfare of each family and to the happiness of each person. Everybody (except the disabled) must do some work to contribute to the common effort, at the same time no one must find his material and spiritual life uncared for by society: "One for all, all for one." The building of a large-scale socialist production must not be only the work of the peasantry, but it must be the responsibility and the effort of the whole State, the peasantry, the working class and the socialist intelligentsia, it must be the outcome of the triple revolution and of the movements of agricultural co-operation and industrialization. Each co-operative, each district engages in production not only in the interests of its members and of the local population but also in the interests of the whole nation. Each co-operative, each district works for the co-op members and the local population but also for the whole nation and is responsible to the central authorities as well as to the local population. The plan of a co-operative, a district, must be an integral part of the plan of the province and of the whole national economy. A co-operative cannot base production merely on its own requirements and abilities; the direction of production and such factors as water control, seeds, processing, must be based on the division of labour, co-operation and delimitation of cropland for the whole agricultural branch in each province and particularly in each district. At present, our co-operatives are socialist economic units but they still have a strong guild character. They work almost

independently of each other and have little relationship with one another and with the whole national economy. The same thing is seen even in each production brigade of the same co-operative. Though collectivized, our agriculture still suffers seriously from fragmentation and small production. Therefore, the re-organization of production and improvement of agricultural management is an important task for the agricultural branch in general and of each region and each co-operative in particular.

The re-organization of agricultural production means that, having decided and stabilized the direction of production according to the delimitation of planting regions and planning made centrally and at provincial level, firstly the agricultural labour force should be re-organized and redistributed with a view to achieving higher productivity and initially making collective labour a "technical necessity," secondly the present means of production, chiefly land, should be re-arranged and the building of the new material and technical basis in the direction of centralized, intensive and specialized cultivation continued and thirdly a national distribution of equipment and materials and a rational system of scientific and technical research should be arranged so as to serve agriculture in the most rapid and effective manner. So, the re-organization of production and the improvement of agricultural management are aimed both at increasing the productive forces and at consolidating the new relations of production. It is precisely for this reason that we have always affirmed that agricultural co-operativization must be carried out alongside water control, soil improvement, re-organization of the labour force, a new orientation of production on the basis of planning, delimitation of planting regions and the use of improved farm equipment. During the whole process of the development of agricultural production, constant attention must be paid to the consolidation of the new relations of production and to the gradual perfection of the managerial and organizational system.

In the re-organization of production and improvement of managerial work, the first necessity is

(Continued on page 17)

In Nixon's Footsteps

FACED with the struggle of the urban masses of South Viet Nam against his corruption, tyranny and sabotage of peace, national concord and the Paris Agreement, Thieu was forced to come forward on television on the evening of October 1, 1974 to answer these attacks.

"Point out any corrupt action of mine from the time I was a Second-Lieutenant until now as President," said he, making a great show of purity. He deliberately ignored the six well-proved offences detailed in "Indictment No. 1." This fervent Catholic branded the priests who had made out the Indictment as slanderers who had "concocted charges out of nothing" or "made much from little."

He insinuated that the present nationwide movement against him was communist-inspired. Everything was done by "communists." "Communists are launching a campaign of leaflets," "Communists are bribing the press," and so on and so forth. He bluntly announced that he "will not resign," and that he "will leave the presidency only when real peace has been achieved," — a safe promise for one whose whole energies are concentrated on sabotaging any movement towards peace.

He did not forget to implore his American bosses for more weapons and dollars, while the "sacrifices in flesh and blood are what we [Thieu and Co.] must suffer." Then he swore to continue the war until "the last drop of blood, the last round of ammunition and the last grain of rice."

He also put forward a solution to the problem of South Viet Nam: "general elections" at the point of his gun and in the framework of his "Republic," "national concord" following the rules of his "open arms" policy, that is a pure and simple surrender of his adversaries.

Thieu's televised speech has of course excited strong protests from among the South Vietnamese urban population. The People's Movement Against Corruption publicly declared, "Thieu is taking refuge in the same old formulas. These labels he's trying to stick on us are familiar ones. That is just why the movement is doing its best to get rid of corruption, save the country and bring about favourable conditions for peace." The Committee for the Freedom of the Press and Publication made two comments:

— Thieu has resorted and slandered journalists, writers and

popular movements by labelling them as communist-inspired. This is to give him an excuse for crushing them.

— Thieu, far from correcting his mistakes, has made use of demagogy to quieten the opposition and consolidate his position.

In response to Thieu's challenge: "If the entire army and the entire nation no longer has confidence in me, speak it out for me to know," the South Vietnamese answer, in successive demonstrations staged in Saigon, Hue, Da Nang, Quy Nhon, Nha Trang, Bien Hoa, Can Tho, My Tho and other places, is: "Thieu must resign!" "I have no confidence in President Nguyen Van Thieu," read the placards raised by Sergeant Dao Vu Dat of the Saigon Special Area and Aircraftman Ho Vuong Tuan in front of the Saigon National Assembly building.

On October 2 the Saigon paper *Dien Tin* (Telegraph) quoted a deputy as saying that Thieu's speech was similar to that of Nixon when he replied to the American people about the Watergate scandal. Maybe it is an appropriate comparison. Thieu is caught in his own Watergate. And we all know what happened to Nixon.



Demonstration of Saigon journalists on October 10, 1974 for freedom of the press and the abolition of Decree 007

To Build a Large-Scale...

(Continued from page 15)

for the co-operatives to take in hand the means of production, chiefly land and recuperate misappropriated or misused land. On this basis, production should be re-organized following the line of concentration by discarding the organization of production and profit distribution according to each production brigade and by unifying the utilization and management of land on the scale of the whole co-operative. It is necessary to redistribute land to the production brigades in a way appropriate to the requirements of cultivation and domicile and to farm the land on a large scale so as to avoid scattering and fragmentation. The close relations between land, water and crops must be determined by a strict farming system and technical plan. Intensive farming and crop multiplication must be promoted and the cultivated area expanded. The co-operatives must switch from scattered and autarkic production to planned production under unified direction at district level. For the time being the average size of co-operatives can be stabilized at around two hundred hectares of cultivated land, but the crops must be multiplied, so that the acreage under crops will be equal to some five hundred hectares.

Parallel with the re-arrangement of the means of production, it is necessary to re-organize and redistribute the labour force in the direction of specialization. According to the concrete conditions, we must organize basic brigades and form a number of brigades or teams specializing in seeds, irrigation, manuring. There should be a division of labour and close co-operation between these brigades which should be bound by collective contracts under the guidance of the co-operative managing committee. By setting the labour norms, classifying the tasks and fixing the work-point scale, we shall readjust the contractual payment of jobs in the co-operative with regard to each type of plant and animal, each type of work and branch of activities, and highlight the responsibility of each production group and each co-op member toward the fruits of labour and production work.

Hand in hand with the establishment of production brigades, the co-operative managing committee must do its best to build the new peasant. Through the struggle between the two paths, — socialism and capitalism — the work of transformation, the organization and management of the co-operative and ideological remoulding, and the movements of labour and production, we shall gradually train new peasants and advanced co-op members fully capable of becoming masters of the large-scale socialist agriculture.

In the re-organization of production and improvement of agricultural management, a very new, most important problem for us is the organization of production and agricultural management on a district scale. As realities have shown, the re-organization of production within a co-operative is not enough to do away with the scattered and guild character of small production and the conditions it creates are not sufficient for the co-operative to develop production with rapidity, high

labour productivity and great economic results. If all the factors of production and consumption needs are "hermetically confined" within the limits of a co-operative, this will simply be an autarkic economy under another form. It is quite erroneous to take a co-operative or an enterprise as unit when speaking of large-scale socialist production. This must be carried out not just in each economic cell and each economic unit take separately but in a whole branch, in the whole of social production. That is why the reorganization of production in a co-operative along the line of large-scale production and the transformation of the co-operative into a truly socialist economic unit *must necessarily go hand in hand with the organization of production and management on the district scale.* We are all aware that agricultural co-operativization is a process of the socialization of labour and the development of gradually enlarged relations of division and co-operation of the labour force; it is the process of organizing agriculture on a large scale and on the basis of intensive and specialized cultivation, of the formation of specialized production units co-ordinated within a definite structure making each co-operative organically connected, through the process of production itself, with other co-operatives and with the State economic sector. The problem to be solved is, from what stand-point can we re-organize production and proceed with a new division of labour along this line? It is obviously impossible within the framework of a co-operative covering some hundreds of hectares of land and employing a few hundreds of people as is common at present. This can be realized only with a co-operative of a larger size. I think that in the present conditions of mechanization it is possible for a locality handling about ten thousand hectares of agricultural land and employing about forty thousand people, that is the scale of one district, to carry out such a division of labour and organization of production in a better and more rational way.

To carry out agricultural production on a large scale, a balance in the relations of production is necessary, that is a balance in the division of labour, a balance between cultivation and animal husbandry, between the various aspects of cultivation and the various aspects of animal husbandry. It is not possible to establish such a balance within a co-operative. On the contrary, we must first start from the economic and technical plan for a whole district, from the delimitation of its economic sectors, from its own planning and the establishment of balanced relations on a district level which are included in the framework of the province plan and delimitation of economic sectors. From this we may determine the direction of production for each co-operative, and establish balanced relations within each co-operative *on the basis of the division of labour and collaboration in production between various co-operatives and between them and the State.* Only on a district scale is it possible to distribute the land rationally between cultivation and animal husbandry and make animal husbandry a main branch of production, to rationally apply the technique necessary for cultivation and animal husbandry; to organize a rational division of

labour between agricultural work, other economic activities and national defence at grassroots level.

It is the same with the establishment of the material and technical base. There are problems which can be solved within a co-operative, but there are many others which must be settled by a district and even by a larger region. The planning, construction, management and utilization of the irrigation system cannot be confined within the framework of a co-operative. Installations for processing agricultural products and animal feed, mechanical repair workshops, workshops for producing building materials (lime, bricks, tiles), indispensable stations, etc., cannot remain scattered in different co-operatives; they will be more profitable if built on a larger scale, that of a district.

The district has the task not only of organizing production and the division of labour, but also of caring for the life of the population, of building a new countryside. With the assistance and unified management of the central government and the province, with the use of natural resources and labour according to the most economical methods and the best technical method, the district is able to satisfy a large part of the needs of its own population while making an ever greater contribution to the requirements of the whole country. It is able not only to care for the material life of its inhabitants but also to provide cultural activities, education and health, to build a socialist countryside and to closely combine, on a rational basis, economic with cultural activities and with national defence. With the re-organization of production and the labour force on the district scale, each district will become a system for the basic division of labour in a large-scale agriculture embracing many co-operatives with a number of indispensable stations and small industrial plants in the service of agriculture. All these units, which are independent self-supporting enterprises, are however linked together by a strict division of labour, and a close co-ordination in production. This means that the district will no longer be a purely agricultural organization. *It will become a base for carrying out the triple revolution in the countryside and a centre for the combination of agriculture with industry, production with distribution, State with collective ownership and State investments with the people's own efforts.*

In the present structure of the national economy, when agriculture is the basis for the development of industry, as far as agriculture is concerned the balance between it and the other branches on the national scale and the balance within each district are very important. The central administration purchases agricultural products from the district, while the district is the market for the consumption of industrial goods produced at the central and province levels. The central and provincial administrations, according to the needs of each district, supply agriculture with materials and machines which will be distributed to the various production units within the district according to a fixed plan.

Under central leadership, the provincial level, whose economic structure comprises both industry and agriculture, directly steers the district level to ensure the centralized and unified direction of the central level, and to exploit, in the best possible way, the sources of natural wealth and manpower of the locality. Local industry run at the provincial

level must, together with central industry, provide new technical equipment for agriculture in a unified and planned way. The combination of the three levels, central, provincial and district, into a unified socio-economic system, in which *the district directly organizes and manages agriculture at the grassroots*, is a rational form of organization ensuring the steady advance of agriculture to large-scale socialist production.

Though each has a "life" of its own, agriculture and the other economic branches combine with each other to form a unified structure, they influence one another in many fields, production and consumption, organization of management and execution of policies, and are closely related to other social activities. Therefore we must not think that the re-organization of production and improvement of agricultural management are the tasks of agriculture alone and are only concerned with its own internal problems. We must realize that these are common tasks for the whole State, for all branches and levels, from agriculture to industry, from planning organs to trade, finance and banking, from economic branches to cultural activities, from the health service to the administration. In order to cope with the new organization of production and the new managerial system in agriculture, all branches, according to their tasks and functions with regard to agriculture, must re-examine their regulations and policies and even those among their organizations which are linked to agriculture. They must boldly discard what is outdated and rapidly introduce new measures as required by the actual situation. Failure to meet these requirements will impede the agricultural movement and delay the general process of development.

Vietnamese Studies

(Already published in 1974)

- N° 31 : Rural Health Work and Disease Prevention
- N° 35 : Glimpses of US Neo-Colonialism (III) : US Neo-Colonialism in Southeast Asia
- N° 37 : Hue — Past and Present
- N° 39 : INDOCHINA : The 1972-1973 Turning-point

Thang Long — Hanoi

On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the liberation of Hanoi (October 10, 1954 — October 10, 1974), we present to our readers, in this issue and the next, a brief history of Hanoi and some aspects of life in the city.

Establishment of the Capital

ACCORDING to legend, King Ly Thai To, the founder of the Ly dynasty (1009-1225) saw "a dragon soaring skyward" while he was crossing the area which is Hanoi today. From this comes the name Thang Long (The Soaring Dragon) given to the capital of Viet Nam in 1010, the date it was chosen as the site of the new capital, replacing Hoa Lu in Ninh Binh province, 93km south of Hanoi.

"This is a large and level stretch of land, high and sunny, where the people do not have to live in dark and damp places, where everything and everybody breathes prosperity and joy. Compared with the rest of Viet land, this is a beautiful place, an important centre where people from all corners of the country can gather together. It is an excellent city, and deserves being chosen as the eternal site of our country's capital." (*Edict on Transferring the Capital* issued by King Ly Thai To, 1010.)

Although Hoa Lu was situated in a good defensive position, deep in the limestone mountains of Ninh Binh, its distance from highways, big rivers and populous areas made it unsuitable as a capital at a time when Vietnamese society was entering a new stage. The termination of over ten centuries of domination by Chinese feudal dynasties and by Vietnamese feudal lords who had carved out fiefs for themselves under the previous dynasties made it necessary for the newly founded Ly dynasty to build up its own prestige and power as a means of strengthening independence and sovereignty. A new capital city, which would meet the requirements of the new situation, was therefore needed.

Sprawling along the great Red River and close to another important waterway, the Day River, (a dozen kilometres southwest of

Hanoi), Thang Long, in the centre of the North Viet Nam delta, was well-placed for the development of the economy and communications. In defence and administration too, its position was superior to that of Hoa Lu. Lying about halfway between the northern and southern borders of Viet Nam (1), Thang Long would be better able to cope with the frequent foreign invasions of the period. Moreover, as it was not so far from the vast mountain regions of the North Vietnamese hinterland, the central administration would be able to impose a more effective rule over the ethnic minorities of these areas and their uprisings, which often caused difficulties to the monarchy, could be more easily suppressed. Finally a citadel had existed at Thang Long for five or six centuries and the place was already a bustling trading centre with a sizable population.

Thang Long remained the capital of Viet Nam for eight centuries from 1010 until 1802 when the last Vietnamese dynasty, the Nguyens, seized power and transferred the capital to Hue (in Thuan Hoa, now Thua Thien province). It was only in 1831 that a Nguyen dynasty king, Minh Mang, changed its name to Hanoi -- the city lying between two rivers (*Ha*: river, *noi*: in, between). Under the Ho dynasty (1400 — 1407) Thang Long was known as Dong Kinh (Eastern Capital) to distinguish it from Tay Kinh (Western Capital) which had been established at Thanh Hoa (53 km south of Hanoi), and during the 20 years of domination by the Ming emperors (1407-1427) Dong Kinh was also called Thanh Dong Quan (the Eastern Gate Citadel). Dong Kinh

(1) Viet Nam's borders under the Ly and Tran dynasties still remained above the central provinces of present-day Central Viet Nam.





Dragon in the Kinh Thien temple

later became corrupted into Tun-quin by European traders and the name Tonkin was used by the French rulers to designate the

whole area now known as Bao Bo (stretching from the Viet Nam-China border southwards to Thanh Hoa province).

Royal Citadel and Royal Capital

IN the autumn of 1010 following the promulgation of the king's "Edict on Transferring the Capital," the people in Thang Long set about building the royal capital. We are told that great enthusiasm was shown in this task: in their book "Tang Thuong Ngau Luc" Pham Dinh Ho and Nguyen An noted that even students of the National College in Thang Long, which was attended by sons of high-ranking mandarins, joined in "digging and carrying earth to build the city."

The newly constructed Thang Long was made up of two sectors: the royal citadel and the royal capital, a division which was in the main preserved by the following dynasties.

The royal citadel, lying in the heart of the royal capital and surrounded by walls and ramparts, was the sector inhabited by the king and the royal family, and also the site of royal audiences. The royal capital, which girdled the royal citadel, was reserved for the common people, the mandarins, and the soldiers. Inside the royal citadel was another sector: The *Forbidden City*. This was enclosed by strongly fortified walls, with

deep moats, and was always closely guarded by soldiers. It was the private abode of the king and the royal family.

As early as the Ly dynasty, the royal citadel contained a series of palaces. Built by the finest workers obtainable with their symmetrical and harmonious arrangement, they were among the most beautiful architectural works of the times.

The main palace was built in the very centre of the rectangular space enclosed by the royal citadel. The name of this main palace varied from one dynasty to another: Kien Nguyen (Powerful Era), or Thien An (Heavenly Peace), or Kinh Thien (Respected Heaven). It was here that the king gave audiences and discussed state affairs with his mandarins — military and civilian. It was also here that banquets were given now and then on important occasions, that swearing-in ceremonies were held for newly appointed mandarins, and shuttle-cock games or cock-fighting were organized to entertain the king.

The main palace was surrounded on all sides by other palaces, arranged symmetrically and connected with one another.

Apart from the palaces, the royal citadel contained many temples, shrines, pagodas, towers, pavilions, kiosks, pleasure lakes, royal gardens, and miniature mountains, all of which were reserved for the king alone. The book "Dai Viet Su Luoc" (A Short History of Viet Nam), originally written in Chinese characters, the most ancient book of Viet Nam, records: "The Chung Tien pavilion was built in 1161. Its upper roofs were covered with golden tiles, and its lower roofs, with silver ones." In his book "Wen Hsien Shung Kao" (Report on a Civilization), Mo Tuan-lin, a 12th-century Chinese historian, noted that the Ly kings "live in a four-storeyed palace, surrounded by other buildings such as the Thuy Tinh (Water Genie) Palace, the Thien Nguyen (Heavenly Era) Palace, etc. All these palaces are painted red and their pillars are covered with paintings or engravings of dragons, phoenixes, fairies..."

The royal citadel was further enlarged in the following centuries. A map of the time of Hong Duc, drawn in 1490 and still preserved, shows that under the Le dynasty, the royal citadel was twice as large as under the Ly and Tran dynasties. Later still more palaces were built. In 1512 alone, King Le Tuong Duc ordered the building of 100 palaces at a single time, each with tall towers.

A Western missionary named Marini who came to Thang Long to preach Roman Catholicism in the 17th century described the royal citadel which he had seen at that time in his book, "A New, and Curious History of the Kingdoms of Tonkin and Laos." He affirmed that any foreign visitor who came from the royal capital into the royal citadel, must be surprised on seeing not just a few palaces, but a whole city, large and very beautiful. Marini saw many soldiers on guard and many mandarins of various ranks. He saw numerous elephants, horses, and weapons and a large quantity of weird ammunition. All that, he wrote, was "beyond the visitors' imagination." As for the royal palace, Marini noted, it was made of wood, and was beautifully adorned with a number of gold objects, embroideries, and mats and rugs of all colours.

Since 1900, particularly since the liberation of North Viet Nam in 1954, excavations have un-

earthed many types of bricks and tiles, earthenware, porcelain and gold articles and objects of carved ironwood, over a sizable area bordering on the West Lake (r) in the northwest of Hanoi. In addition, numerous ceramic objects covered with jade enamel, which first appeared under the Ly dynasty (11th century), have been found.

The royal citadel was fenced in by the Dai La wall, erected, for the purposes of defence and protection against floods, in 1014 and constantly reinforced in the following centuries.

As the royal capital was ten times larger and much more populous than the royal citadel, the number of its architectural works was in no way negligible. Although majestic palaces were not to be found here as in the imperial citadel, in their place were a host of large mansions reserved for princes and princesses, mandarins and big traders and landowners. The official annals tended to ignore such structures, only mentioning those which belonged to the king.

Among spots of scenic beauty inside the royal capital, the finest was the lake now known as the *Ho Tay* (West Lake), at that time called the *Dam Dam* Lake because it was "covered with mist" several months in the year. This lake was 538 hectares in area and on its shores, built by every dynasty, were rest and recreation places. The kings of the Ly and Tran dynasties built numerous palaces called *hanh cung* (rest pavilions) on the shores of the lake,

and often organized entertainments on its water. There were also kiosks on the islets and the shores where the king often came and watched people catch fish. In the 17th century, the feudal lords of the Trinh dynasty ordered the construction of many big palaces around the West Lake.

We find a description of the West Lake as it was at the end of the 18th century in the book "Thuong Kinh Ky Su" (Reminiscences of a Trip to the Capital) written by Le Huu Trac:

"My boat had passed the rocky mountain the middle of the lake. Looking ahead, I saw the blue sky, and the green water with its rippling waves. Flock after flock of white storks flew in circles, pair after pair of wild geese fluttered about on the other side of the lake, while along the dike, 'Ly Cung' trees with their thick foliage swayed in the breeze, now appearing, now gone. On the sand dune in the middle of the lake, a string of palaces stood out. Grass and flowers vied with each other in colours, while fishermen's songs rose high under the afternoon sky. The bells from pagodas tolled, pressing the sun to set. Sitting in the boat, I felt boundless bliss. I kept looking at the majestic palaces and towers amidst verdant trees. As my boat pulled nearer, I caught sight of Tran Quoc Pagoda." (2)

Two other noteworthy structures in royal capital are the Van Mieu (Temple of Literature) which was linked to the Quoc Tu Giam (National College).

The Van Mien was built in 1070

and dedicated to the cult of Confucius and other ancient Chinese scholars such as Yen Tse, Teng Tse, Meng Tse... The Crown Prince came twice a month to listen to literary commentaries. In 1076, the Quoc Tu Giam was built, as a study-hall for descendants of high mandarins. In the following centuries, with the development of education, the Quoc Tu Giam became a centre of higher learning for the whole country. Many more study-halls were built on the rear side of the Van Mieu, thus further extending its area until it was about 350 metres long and 75 metres wide with a brick wall surrounding it.

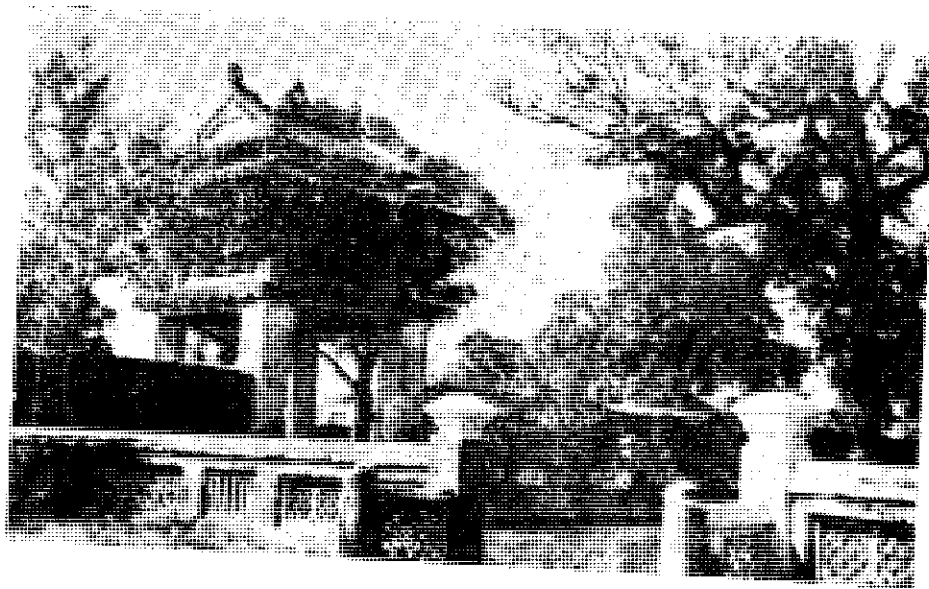
Within was a school compound whose hundred rooms had enough space for 300 boarders. The students who attended the College were selected by examinations held in the provinces and further tested through four other competitions. In the Quoc Tu Giam, examinations were held every few years, and the best students were honoured with a doctor's degree. The Van Mieu still has two rows of halls flanked by 82 marble stelae, each one bearing the names and dates of birth of the doctors who had graduated.

(1) *The excavations and the distribution of the objects found suggest that the royal citadel under the Ly dynasty was rectangular in shape, three kilometres long and two kilometres wide.*

(2) *Le Huu Trac: Thuong Kinh Ky Su, Culture Publishing House, Hanoi 1959, p.28.*



On the Red River



The Khue Van pavilion in the Temple of Literature

Life in Thang Long

FROM its origins as a collection of scattered farming villages, Thang Long was at first divided into *phuong* (trading quarters or guilds made up of all the workers engaged in the same trade). Such *phuong* numbered 61 under the Ly and Tran dynasties (11-14th centuries) and 36 under the Le dynasty (15th century).

It was in these *phuong* that the vivid panorama of life in the ancient capital city of Thang Long unfolded itself.

It should be noted that in the old cities and towns of the East, the *phuong* (quarters) and *pho* (streets) were quite distinctive. A street was both a part and a product of the quarter. In many cases, quarters appeared long before streets, in others, streets and quarters appeared at the same time. But no street ever appeared before the quarter to which it belonged. In the cities and towns of Viet Nam, as well as in many other Eastern countries, the people's dwelling-quarters were usually arranged parallelly in square or rectangular sectors separated from one another by a chess-board of broad, straight streets. Like the hamlets, the *phuong* were usually surrounded by walls and ramparts, with a gate at each end which was locked at night or in case of emergency. Inside, small alleys led to the houses. With the development of a mercantile economy, people from the quarters set up shops to sell goods along the pavements so as to facilitate trade activities. Thus, the streets gradually appeared.

In his book "Du Dia Chi" (Geography) written in 1430, Nguyen Trai recorded the names of many Thang Long quarters. Each quarter was associated with a trade or profession and produced or dealt in a different kind of article.

Trading activities in the royal capital of Thang Long from the 16th century onward made it an important and crowded market, as described in contemporary writings. Trade was thriving along the To Lich River (1) with the merchants coming in junks from the Day and Red Rivers to buy or sell goods. Thang Long became the biggest "market place" in Viet Nam, called by the foreign traders *Ke Cho* (Market).

Abbot Richard, a Western missionary who came to Thang Long in the 18th century, wrote about the ferry-landings of *Ke Cho* as follows:

"The number of boats is so prodigious that it is difficult to approach the shores of the river: our rivers and most of our commercial ports, even Venice, with all its gondolas and boats, can give no idea of the bustle and population of the river at *Ke Cho*..." (2)

With regard to the market sessions, he wrote, they were crowded "to such a degree that it is making great progress to advance a hundred paces in half an hour although the streets are very broad." (3)

According to Marini, each quarter in ancient Thang Long

was as large as a medium-sized town in his country [Italy] at that time. All the quarters were crowded with handicraft workers and merchants. In front of the quarter's gate, signs were put up clearly marking the prices, quality and available quantities of the goods...

The streets of Thang Long at that time were indeed those of a fully-fledged city. As described by Abbot Richard, "The streets of *Ke Cho* are large and beautiful, paved with bricks, except where elephants, horses, king's carriages and cattle pass."

The people's dwelling-quarters, as early as the Trinh epoch (17th century), consisted of tall storeyed houses — a precaution against floods.

The offices of the mandarins were in the royal capital but activities at court centred round the royal citadel where the king gave audiences and received the reports of his mandarins.

The king lived among a crowded royal family. In some periods there were half a dozen or even a dozen queens at a time. While concubines, and women of the harem sometimes ran into the hundreds, and even as much as a thousand. All the members of the

(1) *To Lich* was the river that cross ancient Thang Long. Its bed is now narrower and some of its sections have been filled up.

(2), (3) Abbot Richard, "A Civil and Political Natural History of Tonkin," Paris, 1778, pp. 33 and 28.

royal household lived leisurely, parasitically and in great luxury shut up all the time within the doors and walls of their palaces, completely cut off from life in the city outside. To serve them there were a contingent of eunuchs.

The recruitment of mandarins was made first by nomination and afterwards through various examinations. Under the Ly and Tran dynasties, the sons of common people, particularly those of actors and street singers, were not allowed to sit for examinations, however high their standards. This unjust law was abolished under the Le dynasty in the late 15th century. Also from the 15th century, mandarins' titles and honorary titles began to be bought and sold. A man who wanted an honorary title just had to give the State a certain amount of paddy, whatever his social standing and without having any obligation to serve as a mandarin. There were nine honorary titles, ranging upward in hierarchy from the ninth to the first grade. In 1460, as recorded in the annals, a man had to give 60 *hoc* of paddy to the State in exchange for the 9th grade, 200 *hoc* for the 7th grade, and so on... As for nomination, in 1736, the price was 1,800 *quan* (copper coins) for a post of *tri huyen* (governor of a small or medium-sized district), and 2,800 *quan* for a post of *tri phu* (governor of a bigger district).

In ancient Thang Long, a man's social standing could easily be distinguished by the colour of his dress whose style was carefully regulated by the feudal regime. For instance, in 1396 only three basic colours were accepted: red, blue and white. High-ranking mandarins dressed in purple, crimson or vermilion, those of lower ranks in the various shades of blue, and common people in white.

Tattooing was a common practice under the various dynasties. Under the Tran (13th and 14th centuries), the king and the feudal lords, military men and civilians, all painted dragons on their bellies, backs and thighs. Later, soldiers stationed in the Forbidden City and servants had their foreheads tattooed with letters (Chinese ideographs), pictures or other special marks. For instance, the king's servants were tattooed with the three words *toa thuong no* and those serving mandarins with the words *quan trung no*.

New Year's festivals and other yearly festivities were an important feature of life in Thang Long.

Biggest were the *Tet Nguyen Dan* (Lunar New Year's Festival) and the Mid-Autumn Festival.

In his book "Description of the Kingdom of Tonqueen," Samuel Baron, an English trader, wrote about the *Tet Nguyen Dan* (or simply *Tet*) as follows:

"Their festivals last thirty days, which are passed in rejoicings, visits and continual feasts. They make reciprocal presents: and this time is very lucrative to the mandarins, school-masters, bonzes, and those who receive presents from all parts."

Under the Ly dynasty, the Mid-Autumn Festival lasted up to seven days and nights. At that time it was also called *Hoi Quang Chieu*, meaning that the lamp lights at Mid-Autumn, spread far and wide. In the centre of the town, a seven-tiered tower called "Illuminating Tower" was erected. It was covered with models of dragons and phoenixes carrying blazing lamps. On display here was a pendulum moved by a system of cog-wheels like those of a clock, with a little bonze striking a bell with a wooden rod and bowing his head in salute upon a signal (1).

On the Red River, boat races were often organized with up to a thousand boats taking part in each race. The king ordered copious feasts along the riverside to entertain the mandarins, and sometimes foreign ambassadors attended the races.

The *tuong* (classical opera), *cheo* (popular opera) and dances were common from the 14th through the 17th centuries. The book by Samuel Baron cited above contains drawings of many scenes of dances, singing, musical concerts, variety shows and other art performances, made by a Vietnamese at the author's request.

But wasteful entertainments contrasted with such healthy cultural activities. "Three or four times a month, the King came to Thuy Lieu Palace on the shore



The Ngoc Son Temple on the Hoan Kiem Lake

(1) As recorded on a stele at the Sung Dien Dien Linh Pagoda built at the start of the 12th century in what is now Nam Ha province, South of Hanoi.

of the Dam Dam Lake which was lined up with soldiers and mandarins wearing turbans and women's robes, and large quantities of variety of goods were displayed around the lake. When the royal boat touched some place, the mandarins went ashore to buy the goods they wanted. Meanwhile, on the bell tower of the Tran Quoc Pagoda, or here and there in the shade of trees, or on some lakeside rocks were orchestras playing." (1)

Hanoi's People and Traditions

*Whether you think I'm slender
or not,
I'm an apricot blossom
Whether you think I'm well-
behaved or not,
I'm a man of the royal capital.*

Thang Long people in the past. Hanoi people at present. For a thousand years, Hanoi has been the country's capital city and its people have developed a life style of their own. "Hanoi people" are well-mannered both in dealing with one another and within their families.

There may be many explanations of the origin of that life style, but one thing is certain — the talents and beauty so characteristic of the people of Thang Long.

The *phuong* of Thang Long boasted of the floral silk fabrics of Yen Thai, ceramics of Bat Trang, gold jewels of Dinh Cong, bronze castings of Ngu Xa, to cite only a few. In addition there were all kinds of food: *com* (young glutinous rice) of Vong, *hung* (a kind of purple-coloured mint) of Lang, *gio* (pounded pork pâté) of Chem, *nem* (fermented pounded pork) of Ve, *banh cuon* (light rolled rice pancakes) of Thanh Tri, *banh di* or *banh day* (pounded glutinous rice cakes) of Quan Ganh, wines of Ke Mo, etc.

These goods and special products made by Hanoi people were not only renowned throughout the country, and frequently put before the king, but were also exported to foreign countries.

*A girl of Phung Thien,
I sell vegetables to buy pens and
inkslabs for my husband.*

Thang Long people loved study — as these lines show — but they were also very witty and mischievous, as reflected in the Viet-

In 1802, the Nguyen dynasty moved their capital to Hue, and in 1831 Thang Long was renamed Hanoi. The royal citadel was destroyed little by little. By the time the French colonialists had completely occupied Hanoi, the royal citadel had been almost razed to the ground except for some portions of its walls. However, the "36 quarters and streets" remained and had become even more crowded and thriving.

name popular saying: "First comes the devil, next the ghost, and third the schoolpupil." In mischievousness and especially teasing and jeering at the feudal rulers, Thang Long people were unequalled. *Trang* (Doctor) Quynh (18 century) and later Ba Giai and Tu Xuat (20th century) were "sharp pointed thorns" who often stung the feudal and colonialist rulers.

Trang Quynh teased and played tricks on the Trinh lord so often that he felt humiliated to the point of forcing the scholar to attend a poisoned feast. Back home, knowing that he was going to die, he asked his servants to prepare another banquet, complete with music and songs. The Trinh lord, thinking the poison had not worked, tasted the same dish and fell dead after his celebrated guest:

*The doctor died, but the lord, too,
passed!
(Folk verse)*

The victorious revolution of August 1945, instead of repudiating the old values, sieved them, and retained the cream of the nation's culture and wisdom.

The 36 old quarters dating back to the Le dynasty (15th century) are still preserved as street names.

Ancient structures have been preserved, repaired or renovated. The Ho Hoan Kiem remains the heart of Hanoi, with its Tortoise Tower, and its Jade Mountain Temple built in the 18th century. As we approach the temple, we can see before us a high tower, shaped like a paint brush pointed skyward, and flanked by a basin like a Chinese inkslab. These are

the Thap But (Pen Tower) and Dai Nghien (Inkslab) which symbolize respect for study.

Another relic of Thang Long is the One-Pillar Pagoda, which was dynamited in 1954 by agents of the withdrawing French colonialists. This unique structure, built under the Ly dynasty (11th century), is a pagoda resting on a single, big pillar, the whole symbolizing a lotus flower. The damaged pagoda was repaired by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam shortly after it took over the capital in 1954.

On the eve of every Tet (Lunar New Year's Festival), many Hanoi people, still following an old custom, stroll around the Hoan Kiem Lake to pick young buds which are said to bring them luck all the year round, or stream into Hang Luoc (Comb) Street to buy peach blossoms which adorn their homes for weeks in early spring. Meanwhile, at the Van Mieu (Temple of Literature) readings of prose and poetry recited in the fashion of ancient times written to greet the Tet are still given.

At the Mid-Autumn Festival, Hanoi streets are alive with drum beats accompanying "dragon dances," and illuminated with the traditional "Hoi Quang Chieu" (Far Shining Light Festival) lamp. Hanoians by the thousands stream into Hang Ma Street where votive objects were sold in feudal and colonial times to buy star-shaped lanterns, *den keo quan* (lanterns fitted with silhouettes which are, put in motion by the hot air coming from a candle or lamp) to greet the full Mid-Autumn moon.

Every year, at the Mid-Autumn Festival, the late President Ho Chi Minh would send gifts to the children and often came in person to rejoice with them. This tradition is kept up by President Ton Duc Thang.

Thus, in spite of long years of war which have added to the ruins and slowed down the restoration of historical monuments, Hanoi, in its many faces, offers foreigners the charm of a city where the past is still vivid.

NGUYEN VINH LONG

(1) Vu Trung Tuy But (*Essay Written On a Rainy Night*) by Pham Dinh Ho.

THERE are far fewer women than men in the world who teach mathematics or are mathematicians.

However, ever since my early childhood, I have dreamed of being such a woman. I always got good marks in mathematics at school and at the university. My student's life in France was however harder than that I spent in secondary school, as I had to earn a living while studying. Most of my efforts were devoted to a struggle against cold and hunger. I was not rich enough to buy adequate food and firewood. After getting my "licence," I was sent for by my physics professor, a famous member of the Institute, who asked me about my future projects. Without hesitation, I told him that I intended to prepare for the "agrégation," — the competitive examination for a university fellowship—in mathematics.

"I have paid particular attention to you," he told me, "as you gained excellent results at the exams. I would advise you to start straight away with preparing your thesis for a doctorate of Physics, without bothering to do one for the 3rd degree. I advise you not to sit for the 'agrégation' in mathematics, for it is a very hard exam, especially for a young woman. Stay here and work with me, within four or five years, you will get your doctorate of Physics. If you follow your own idea, you won't get anything better in ten years' time. Benefit from the experience of your seniors."

Well, I knew that many of my fellow students had failed years at the agrégation and finally given it up out of discouragement. But my intention was to stay in France just long enough to get acquainted with research work before returning to Viet Nam. There, with my agrégation I could enter a research centre or a faculty without difficulty. That was why I did not follow my professor's advice.

When I passed my "agrégation," the Toulouse Faculty of Sciences posted my name so that the public was informed: it was considered as a glorious and rare occasion. I was congratulated by Vietnamese and African students who regarded my success as something that enhanced the

The Troubles of a Woman Mathematician

prestige of coloured people. At that time, a single thought possessed me: if I was admitted to a research centre, my salary would help me to prepare my doctor's thesis without any problems.

That was in the summer of 1959. The North of our country had completed transformation of the relations of production and was engaged in socialist construction. In France, the Vietnamese colony had decided to send some of its members back to the homeland to take part in the national reconstruction. Seeing my friends go one after another, I began to think seriously. In France, my scientific future was secure — so I was told by professors and acquaintances. I was rather tempted to follow that easy way. After many nights of reflection and anxiety, I came to this conclusion: I had to go home, the country was in need of teachers. If, because of the lack of material means, my dream of doing scientific research could not come true, I wouldn't mind.

I arrived in Viet Nam in the spring of 1960, I was allowed to choose the school where I would like to teach. I chose the Teacher's Training College for the simple reason that there I could take an active part in training teachers. As the school was in the suburbs, eight kilometres away from my home, I was advised to think twice and to choose one of those schools that were nearer to the centre of the city so that I could go every day without much trouble. I flatly rejected those suggestions: "I have travelled thousands of kilometres for the sole purpose of serving my country here, I certainly won't be put off by those eight kilometres!"

At the beginning, I was confronted with unexpected difficulties in my work. The use of the Vietnamese language, for the

first time in my life, to explain my lessons, or the consultations of Soviet textbooks, when I did not know Russian, such problems were overcome during the first few months, thanks to the devoted assistance of my colleagues. The number of students was quite large, and therefore there was a great difference in their levels. We had to work out such a training programme which would ensure good results for all in their studies. To this were added material difficulties due to the large number of students. The library was unable to provide them with all the necessary books. The lecture hall was just a thatch hut large enough to seat about a hundred people, the lighting was so poor that students sitting too far from the blackboard could not see clearly what was on it, even in the day-time. What was being said in the next classroom could be clearly heard. Thus the best distraction for the students during lectures was to listen to what was being said next door.

I had moments of discouragement. My colleagues and students were not aware of that. All of them had confidence in me and praised me for my efforts and progress in teaching. Seeing them work with great optimism and faith, I began to think hard and finally understood that to make a revolution one should not be diverted from the aim set for oneself and one should find the means to overcome all difficulties.

We had started from scratch in a poor and under-developed country; we had to build up a whole system of higher education with our bare hands. Under normal conditions, no one would have thought of building lecture halls with stamped mud and thatch. Those thatch classrooms were of great significance to the revolution: they helped us to advance by leaps and bounds, to master modern sciences in a short lapse of time, to provide abundance and comfort for our people. I tried first of all to think like my colleagues, that is to acquire

a correct method of thinking. After so many years, I can now admit that it was a long trial for me. My students were full of youthful ardour, and among them there were bright and hard-working ones. The country had confidence in us and had entrusted us with the mission of transmitting scientific knowledge considered as seeds to be disseminated everywhere by my students in the plains and in the mountains, in the countryside and the towns.

Having understood the importance of my task, I made greater efforts in preparing my lessons, delivering lectures and giving tutorial assistance to my students. I would write down my lectures again and again, to consult numerous textbooks and seek advice from my senior colleagues. If my work had some success, it was partly due to the devoted assistance of my colleagues. A well-organized course should be a scientific exposition in which the teacher should pay sufficient attention to both fundamental notions and up-to-date knowledge. I tried to enunciate every new notion with the greatest concision possible, to bring it within reach of my students' comprehension, so that they could realize what reality had led to its conception.

Mathematics, with its present high degree of abstraction, is likely to give my audience the impression of being simply the product of pure imagination, without any connection with daily reality. I have always struggled to avoid this in my lectures. I tried to find a clear, intelligible and concise demonstration for each theorem, so as to bring out the logic of its reasoning. By helping students outside class hours I had the opportunity to mix with them and understand them better. I have always sincerely regarded them as friends and I think they feel the same about me.

Teaching and doing scientific research at the faculty are two aspects of the same problem. You can teach well only if you do scientific research. To neglect it is to lose all contact with modern sciences and you would be unable to guide your students and impart new knowledge to them. But we have met with numerous difficulties in this field. First of all, we had very little time; then there were few experienced people in this work to help us with

their advice. And none or few of necessary documents were to be found.

Reading about the feats of arms of our fighters at the front, I felt ashamed. My work was difficult, but not so difficult as the fight against the enemy. There was no need to look far; I had an opportunity to talk with women peasants during my long stay in the countryside where we were evacuated in the years of war. Almost all of them had their husbands at the front. They lived with their old mothers and young children. Their shoulders carried the burden of the affairs of the family and the country. They bore all that, however, with courage and in silence. As for me, it could hardly be said that I had fulfilled my task. That idea haunted me during many sleepless nights. At times, I had resolved to resume my work, but after some time, in face of accumulating difficulties, I lost heart again. I invoked the difficulties in an attempt to justify myself. I lived in a state of worry. During that time, the attitude of the younger colleagues to whom I should render assistance gave me much food for thought. During the evacuation time, I lived in a peasant's house. One day one of my younger colleagues told me, "I am going to build a house for you. Tell me which side you want your house to face, and I'll build you a high and airy dwelling!"

To live in the midst of that unstudied and sincere affection gave me the courage to continue my work. I also understood that my scientific research work could not be separated from that of my colleagues. Today the sciences are too vast for any single individual, even for a genius. I set about forming a team of researchers.

In the village where I stayed, I had the habit of visiting my friends after the evening meal. My intention was to make use of those casual visits to expound to my colleagues the methods of developing mathematics, as I had come to conceive them through reflection. Those discussions gradually led to visible results; my friends were agreed with me on many points. It was the moment, I thought, to set up a team of scientific researchers. Further meetings were necessary to work out a plan of research for the years to come, with three objectives of increasing degrees of difficulty. First, training in

research. Second, working on theses for the doctor's degree within the country. Third, doing scientific research within the country. To allow everyone to see the prospects of success, to avoid pessimism and discouragement, we took care to work out a particular plan for each year to come. We carefully noted down everything that was to be done in the year: what to read, what subjects to work on, etc.

I was charged with providing them with the necessary reading materials. As most of them knew only Russian, it was necessary to translate for them works written in other languages. Two years later, they were able to read English and French. In our weekly meetings, we discussed problems we had come across in our reading or listened to one of us making an *exposé* of what had been studied. Those meetings were held regularly, rain or shine; those absent should have good reasons.

As they were inexperienced, I had to make detailed working plans for each of them every week. It took me a lot of time, but it was necessary to train them in this sort of work discipline. Thus my team soon began to work regularly and methodically, overcoming its early difficulties. Every passing year saw the progress of each in his field, which resulted in better teaching by them all.

Those studies were of great help for my personal work. While my colleagues worked out a common research program, I had decided on the subject of my own research. Now my doctor's thesis has been completed and submitted to the appreciation of international scientific circles. It may be accepted but I expect numerous critical remarks and I am waiting for the replies. I will simply tell you now how I was able to complete my work.

My thesis was written during the years my school was evacuated to the countryside. Lack of comfort, shortage of materials, and over our heads the threat of US aircraft which were trying to bomb us back to the Stone Age! I was almost without documents. There were too few publications in our library. Sometimes, the first or second volume of a set was lacking. I was badly in need of the assistance of experienced scientists, as I was not fully confident in my own capacities. Only

I told myself that whatever might happen, I would not give up the aim I had set for myself. What would my colleagues say if they saw that I urged them to do scientific research while I was only reading for enjoyment? I arranged my work so that I could be free on Saturday and Sunday for my own researches. I also arranged for one or two hours of research every weekday. In the country, I gave my lectures at a place 4 kilometres away from where I lived. I used to go there on foot and on the way I reflected on what I was going to say, on a theorem to solve, or on a chapter I had read. My meals were taken at the canteen; if I wanted to have some extra food, I just bought some bananas or eggs so that no time was lost on the cooking. At times I failed to give my child proper care.

By arranging my time in this way, I could concentrate on the demonstration of my theorems. A demonstrated theorem is a wonder while one for which you don't see a ray of hope after much time spent on it becomes a torment. I had a theorem which required over one hundred pages for its demonstration. To expound it in my thesis, I cut it up into dozens smaller theorems, for fear that my readers would lose patience. It was a nightmare following me for days and nights on end. Sometimes during the night, while my brain was working subcon-

sciously, I believed I had the solution: I woke up suddenly and settled down at my desk by the light of a kerosene lamp. But after a few moments, I had painfully to recognize my error.

So I worked during long years. Naturally I did not dare to tell anyone that I was working on a doctor's thesis. Under our working conditions, wouldn't it be foolhardy to hope to complete such a thesis? Sometimes, going past my room, my colleagues could see pages covered with writings and diagrams on my desk. When they asked what I was doing, I just told them that there was nothing interesting in it.

During the summer of 1969, seeing that I would have to spend too much time on household work if I went home for my holidays, I stayed at the school, volunteering to look after the poultry so that my colleagues could go home. Thus I had all the time necessary for solving my puzzles. I didn't go home either during the *Tet* of 1970, for I was in danger of falling behind in my schedule. On the third day of *Tet*, as people asked me why I didn't go home, I began to regret having left my father alone at home on those festive days. So when I came home, I kept silent, unable to explain to my father that I had stayed away simply because I could demonstrate a theorem!

the past. I have achieved some results. The day when I announced to my colleagues, with some hesitation, that I proposed to work out my doctor's thesis on the basis of those results, everyone congratulated me sincerely. If elsewhere people are jealous of women out of some sort of atavism, such prejudice was absent in our group. My colleagues helped me when it was question of carrying my bike over a muddy path, or of finding some decent lodgings in the village for me. Theirs was a correct attitude, different from Western gallantry for it proceeds from a just and revolutionary conception of women. Here, I can say after the poet Giang Nam that if once I loved my country because I played truant and learned to make toy balloons with banyan sap, now I love it because of hard working days spent courageously with a group of colleagues who share a common goal with me.

I have not grown up alone. Around me, all our women have grown up, each having fulfilled her particular task. This is the result of the emancipation of women promoted by the Revolution. With gratefulness, I think of the regime that has educated me to become a woman worker of the present, fully conscious of her rights and responsibilities.

All this is happily a thing of

HOANG XUAN SINH



Mrs Hoang Xuan Sinh (right) at the 4th National Congress of Vietnamese Women held in Hanoi in March 1974

U.S. Aid

to the Saigon Administration

POLITICAL AIMS

IN 1954, unable to prevent France from signing the Geneva Agreement which was to restore peace in Indochina, the White House set itself the task of shouldering the "fight against communism" in this region. At its August 3, 1954 meeting, the US National Security Council described the Geneva Agreement as a "disaster" (1) for the US and decided that it was the US government's duty to "maintain a friendly non-communist South Viet Nam" and "prevent a communist victory through all-Viet Nam elections" (2). The Council also "ordered an urgent program of economic and military aid — substituting American advisors for French advisors" (3).

From 1950 until May 1954, the end of the battle of Dien Bien Phu, the US had given the French Expeditionary Corps 2,600 million dollars' worth of armaments and goods, the latter destined to be sold to cover the expenditure of the war. Thus, 80 per cent of the total cost of the First Indochina War was paid by the US. After the Geneva Agreement, the US government rigged up the Ngo Dinh Diem administration to "contain communism at the 17th parallel" and brought the pro-US "Republic of Viet Nam" into being to perpetuate the partition of Viet Nam and repress the South Vietnamese people's struggle for independence, freedom, and national unity, according to the spirit of the Agreement. With this political aim in mind, the US started giving direct aid to the first Saigon administration, that of Ngo Dinh Diem. In his letter dated October 23, 1954 to Ngo Dinh Diem President Eisenhower wrote:

"We have been exploring ways

and means to permit our aid to Viet Nam to be more effective and to make a greater contribution to the welfare and stability of the government of Viet Nam.

"The purpose of this offer is to assist the government of Viet Nam in developing and maintaining a strong, viable state, capable of resisting attempted subversion or aggression through military means."

Frederic Bunting, chief of the Cambodia-Laos-Viet Nam Service Asian Department, International Co-operation Agency (ICA), writing at the time, stressed that US aid to the Saigon administration must be aimed at solving five main problems:

1. The restoration and maintenance of internal peace;
2. Assistance for North Vietnamese to regroup and finally settle in the South;
3. The strengthening of the South Vietnamese government's administrative capacity;
4. The maintenance of economic stability;
5. The renovation of the system of large-scale landownership.

US aid to the successive Saigon administrations has never departed from those aims. It was increased whenever the Saigon administration was threatened by the offensive of the South Vietnamese revolutionary forces—falsely labelled by the US as North Vietnamese forces committing aggression against South Viet Nam.

The amount of US aid to the Saigon administration since 1955 has been approximatively as follows (4):

Period	Amount of aid (million dollars)
Unilateral war	
1955	20.00
1956	167.00
1957	110.00
1958	53.00
1959	41.00
1960	70.00
Total 461.00	
Special war	
1961	101.00
1962	176.00
1963	200.00
1964	200.00
Total 737.00	
Limited war	
1965	350.00
1966	600.00
1967	600.00
1968	600.00
Total 2,150.00	
Vietnamization	
1969	1,250.00
1970	1,250.00
1971	1,800.00
1972 (actual figure)	3,790.128
1973 (estimate)	3,061.173
1974 (expected)	2,311.626 (5)
Total 13,462.927	
Grand total 16,811.227	

If this sum was divided among the 18 million inhabitants of South Viet Nam, each of them would receive more than 900 dollars of "US aid." In fact the average annual income of each South Vietnamese is less than 100 dollars and in 1973 Saigon's annual Gross National Product was only 250 million dollars (6).

It is evident, therefore, that without this huge amount of aid, the Saigon administration could not survive. This has been recently admitted even by many members of the US establishment.

MILITARY AID

THE primary task of US military aid to the Saigon administration was defined by Robertson, former Under Secretary of State of the Eisenhower Administration, in his speech at the June 1, 1956 meeting of the American Friends of Viet Nam Association.

"Our efforts are directed first of all toward helping to sustain the [Saigon Administration's] internal security forces consisting of a regular army of about 150,000 men, a mobile civil guard of some 45,000 and local defense units which are being formed to give protection against subversion on the village level.

"We are providing these forces with funds and equipment and our task is to train the Vietnamese army [the Saigon army]. We are also aiding to organize, train and equip the Vietnamese police force" (7).

1960: permanent troops	175,000 men
militia	60,000
civil guard	100,000
	<hr/>
	Total 335,000
1965: permanent troops	237,000
militia, civil guard,	
special forces and other	
armed forces	560,000
	<hr/>
	Total 797,000

By January 1973, after the substantial completion of the "Vietnamization" program and before the signing of the Paris Agreement, the Saigon army was about 1.1 million-strong, out of whom 39,000 belonged to the navy, 41,000 to the air force, and 350,000 to the militia and civil guard.

In 1954, the Saigon police was a small force composed mostly of ordinary policemen occupied in traffic duties. The US has built it up into a well-equipped force of 125,000 men, including 30,000 men of the National Police Field Forces (NFFF) who have their own tanks and helicopters for the purpose of "pacification" operations (8).

Besides, the US has endowed the Saigon administration with a civil guard of over one million men, 500,000 of them armed (9).

All this has been carried out by means of US military aid, which includes the supply of weapons,

The indigenous army left by the French after their withdrawal from Viet Nam under the 1954 Geneva Agreement was only 170,000 strong with some infantry battalions and a number of *groupements mobiles* without any very sophisticated arms. It was an army having neither any command nor general staff of its own whose fighting spirit had deteriorated after the French, defeated at Dien Bien Phu, had been compelled to sign the Geneva Agreement and pull out of Viet Nam. The US felt it necessary to reorganize this army from top to bottom and turn it into a modern army, capable of meeting the requirements of modern war (*Times of Viet Nam*, March 1st, 1958).

The US has thus built up for the Saigon administration the fourth biggest army in the world. The following figures show the stages in its development:

war means, and other military materials ordinarily called direct military aid for the equipment of the Saigon army, advisory assistance, the training of officers, etc (10). The Johnson-Ngo Dinh Diem Joint Declaration of May 13, 1961 clearly said that:

"Second, it was agreed that regular armed forces of the Republic of Viet Nam should be increased, and that the United States would extend its military assistance programs to include support for an additional number of regular Vietnamese armed forces.

"Third, it was agreed that the United States would provide military assistance program support for the entire Vietnamese civil guard force.

"Fourth, it was agreed that the two governments should collaborate in the use of military specialists to assist and work with Vietnamese armed forces in health, welfare and public works

activities in the villages of free Viet Nam." (11)

From 1965 to 1972, the US granted 9 billion dollars of direct military aid to the Saigon administration (12). This figure may be incomplete, because the US government usually gives more than the amount of aid appropriations granted by Congress. In its issue of May 15, 1972, *Newsweek* revealed that the direct military aid granted by the US to the Saigon Administration during the above-mentioned period amounted to 10 billion dollars. According to the statistics of the Indochina Resource Center (No. 4, March 1, 1974) US direct military aid to the Saigon Administration in the 10 successive years from 1964 to 1974 amounted to 14.433 billion dollars.

According to Senator M. Mansfield, it was 14.6 billion dollars for the period 1953-1973 (13). If we also count the 5-billion dollars' worth of armaments and war means handed over to Saigon by the US Expeditionary Corps before their withdrawal from South Viet Nam under the Paris Agreement, the direct military aid given by the US to the Saigon administration over 20 years is greater than that given in 24 years (1946-1970) to all Asian, African and Latin American countries added together (18.724 billion dollars) (14).

The extraordinary military aid, furnished by the US under the signboard of "economic aid," also represents a considerable amount of money. For instance, there is the advisory assistance. In 1954, there were only 200 US advisers in South Viet Nam working for the MAAG. This number had increased to 30,000 by 1965, and at present is over 24,000, 20 times greater than that of US military advisers in all Latin American countries put together. The salaries paid to the 178 US advisers and 45 advisers from US satellite countries who are specially charged with direction and training of Saigon prison officers in torturing technique constitutes part of the US aid and amounts to 6,761,000 dollars a year (15).

We should also mention the money spent for such military purposes as security support, defence support, logistics, military assistance service funding (MASF), national police support, technical support, "rural development," refugee assistance, etc., which the US classifies as economic aid. These funds are mostly

supplied by USAID; a smaller part comes from the Department of Defense and is used for the construction of the system of strategic highways, military bases, and for the implementation of the "pacification" program, etc. Up to 1971, the expenditures for "defence support" alone had accounted for nearly 6 billion dollars (16).

Mention should also be made of the extra-aid or emergency assistance granted out of the special funds of the US government. For instance, in 1969, shortly after his election Nixon gave a "special" aid of 258 million dollars to the Saigon administration to "modernize" its army (*Reuter*, March 19, 1969). Before the signing of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, an emergency assistance of 6 billion dollars' worth of armaments, ammunition and war material was given to the Thieu administration (*UPI*, March 6, 1973). After the conclusion of the Paris Agreement, in order to continue to increase its military aid to the Saigon Administration — an increase prohibited by the Paris Agreement and condemned by the US Congress — the US government resorted to the subterfuge of transferring to Saigon the surplus armament stocked in US arsenals abroad at the dirt cheap price of 0.9% of their real value. According to Senator Les Aspin, in 1973 the Nixon administration gave Thieu 300 million dollars' worth of "surplus" armaments, but it charged only 35 million dollars,

Thus the Pentagon can get round whatever reduction of aid the US Congress may decide by simply filling up US stores in Southeast Asia with weapons and ammunition, labelling them as "surplus" and then sending them in huge quantities to Saigon as additional military aid. Congress reduction of aid will not in any way affect the reactionary aid policy of the US government.

The US also brashly invokes the Paris Agreement allowing piece-for-piece replacement of damaged weapons and war materials (Article 7 of the Agreement) to introduce more modern armament, for instance by bringing in F.5E jet-fighters to replace F.5As. Public opinion in the US has viewed this action as a brazen violation of Article 7 of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam.

(To be continued)

(1) The Pentagon Papers, *New York Times* edition, Bantam Press, p.3.

(2) The Pentagon Papers, *Beacon Press*, p. 177.

(3) The Pentagon Papers, *New York Times* edition, Bantam Press, p.1.

(4) *Figures given by the Institute of Economics, Committee of Social Sciences, Viet Nam. Data from 1972 to 1974 taken from Foreign Assistance Act of 1973.*

Report of the Committee on Foreign Relations, US Senate, US Printing Office, Washington, 1973, p. 38.

(5) *Not counting the Military Assistance Program.*

(6) *Source: US Aid 1973.*

(7) *In Department of State Bulletin, June 11, 1956, p.972.*

(8) *See VNC No.27, The Saigon Police, p.23.*

(9) *US Assistance Programs in Viet Nam, 22nd Report by the Committee on Government Operations, US Government Printing Office, Washington 1972, p.35.*

(10) *The advisory assistance, the training of officers, the assistance to the civil guard and the police were later to be camouflaged as "economic aid."*

(11) *Chronology of the Viet Nam war published by the Franco-Vietnamese Friendship Association, Paris 1968, p. 118. The so-called assistance in "health, welfare and public works activities in the villages" is essentially aid for the pacification of the rural areas (See below, Economic Aid).*

(12) *US Assistance Programs in Viet Nam, p.4.*

(13) *Congression Record — US Senate, June 21, 1974.*

(14) *Tap chi Quan doi (Viet Nam People's Army Review), issue of Sept., 1973, p.75.*

(15) *Ib.*

(16) *Ib.*

In Thieu's Grips

(Continued from page 7)

houses or on the way to report at the police station as required under the martial law.

Tan Hiep is a "model prison." It has a very peaceful appearance with clean paths, a courtyard bordered with rows of pine and mango trees, with vegetable beds between the wards and flower pots along the paths. Those who have visited it and seen this view never imagine that it is here that so much bloody repression has been carried out, that thousands of detainees have been living a miserable life and are dying a slow death here. The Vietnamese residents in Thailand who were

arrested there and transferred to South Viet Nam told me that during their detention in this prison (1968-1972) they had seen four detainees beaten to death during the first two years (1968-1969). They told me the names of the victims, but I can remember only one, Phan Van Nguy, a native of Hau Nghia, who was beaten to death in the "re-education" ward. It was in this model prison that a 14-day hunger-strike, staged by the political prisoners in Camp 2, was cruelly repressed in 1971.

However, my impression was favourable when I was first sent here. After being locked up for nearly two months within the

four walls of a dark cell of the Saigon Police Detention Centre, I felt strengthened at my first breaths of fresh air here. At noon, cramped up in a hot, narrow room with other detainees lying on both sides of me, above my head and under my feet, I could not shut my eyes. I saw, through iron bars, the greenness of the graceful willows, and the swaying of their boughs. I kept contemplating them; for a better look, I sat up, but a prisoner wearing an arm-band signed me to lie down. First annoyance. I took a book and was going to read it, but another prisoner signed me to stop. I noticed that all those who wanted to go to the WC had to raise their hands and wait for a nod from the prisoner assigned to keep order. It was like that. A "model prison" in a place where the surveillance apparatus has been brought to perfection.

CHRONOLOGY

(Continued from page 32)

—The An Quang Buddhist Sect in Saigon issued a statement demanding peace, freedom of the press, democracy and the resignation of Thieu.

28. At its Second Congress the Saigon Press Association issued a "Declaration No. 1" demanding freedom of the press.

— Lon Nol's defence system west and north of Svay Rieng came under heavy attack by Liberation forces on the night of September 27 and all day September 28.

29. Demonstration at Ben Thanh market in Saigon: opposition deputies and several Catholic priests demanded that Thieu implement the Paris Agreement and respect the freedom of the press.

— 5,000 people in Nha Trang took to the streets to demonstrate against Thieu corruption.

30. US Under Secretary of Defense Clements arrived in Saigon.

OCTOBER

1. In a televised speech, Thieu passed all his opponents off as Communists or Communist sympathizers. Following his speech, many mass organizations in Saigon unanimously issued statements demanding his resignation. Over the following days several demonstrations by hundreds of thousands of people were staged in all South Vietnamese cities.

2. The American women's delegation ended its friendship visit to the DRVN begun in mid-September 1974. It had also visited the liberated area of South Viet Nam.

3. The Liberation forces overran the fortified positions at Mang Den military sub-sector and district capital in Chuong Nghia province.

4. President Nguyen Huu Tho ended his friendship visit to Mongolia begun on September 9, 1974. An agreement on non-repayable economic aid from Mongolia to the RSVN in 1975 and 1976 was signed. President Nguyen Huu Tho was decorated with the highest Order of Mongolia.

— Statements were issued on October 4 and 7 by the RSVN Foreign Ministry and the DRVN Foreign Ministry demanding that the Saigon administration return all detained civilian and military personnel.

5. *Trang Den* (a Saigon paper) revealed that Thieu had spent 500 million piastres hiring thugs to mount "anti-demonstrations" to break up popular demonstrations.

6. 4,000 Catholics held a meeting at Loc Hung church in Gia Dinh province to express "non-confidence" in Thieu.

8. The economic delegation of the Albanian Government left Hanoi for home after a week's friendship visit to the DRVN. Agreements on non-repayable economic aid from Albania to the DRVN and goods exchange and payment facilities between the two countries in 1975 were signed.

9. The DRVN Foreign Ministry spokesman condemned Clements, US Under Secretary of Defense, for his slanderous statement against the DRVN on October 8, 1974, in which he had urged the US Congress to increase aid to Thieu, threatened to send naval and air units to Saigon and pressed for multilateral aid to Thieu from a number of Southeast Asian countries.

— A big meeting was held in Hanoi to mark the 20th anniversary of the liberation of the capital (October 10, 1954 — 1974).

10. President Nguyen Huu Tho ended his official visit to the Syrian Arab Republic begun on October 7, 1974.

— Hundreds of thousands of people in Saigon took to the streets to protest against Thieu, shouting such slogans as "Thieu must resign," "Freedom of the Press," "Abolish Law 007," etc. Heading the demonstration were 400 journalists dressed like beggars to show the fate of the strangled press. Police attacked the demonstrators, wounding many, including three American journalists.

11. On October 8 and 11, 1974, the RSVN Foreign Ministry and the DRVN Foreign Ministry issued statements on the present situation in South Viet Nam. The statements demanded that the US end its military involvement, and its interference in the internal affairs of South Viet Nam. They also called for the replacement of Nguyen Van Thieu and the setting up of an administration which would seriously implement the Paris Agreement.

12. Setting up in Saigon of the Committee for Sergeant Dao Vu Dat's Safety with the participation of many representatives and deputies. Dao Vu Dat was arrested after carrying a "no-confidence in Thieu" placard outside the Saigon "National Assembly" on October 9.

13. All Saigon papers, except for three controlled by Thieu, suspended publication for one day in protest against Thieu's suppression of the press.

14. President Nguyen Huu Tho ended his official visit to the Republic of Iraq begun on October 10, 1974.

15. The delegation of the Provisional Government of National Union of Laos led by Khamphay Bupha, Minister of Post and Telecommunications, ended its visit to the DRVN. An agreement on post and telecommunications between the two countries was signed.

— The Central Committee of the Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces issued a statement calling on people of all walks of life in South Viet Nam to rise up to overthrow Thieu.

— From October 13, 1974, hundreds of thousands of people in Bangkok turned out in the streets to mark the first anniversary of the overthrow of the militarist clique of Thanom-Prapas (October 14, 1973).

CHRONOLOGY

(September 16 — October 15, 1974)

SEPTEMBER

16. Following the Conference on Agriculture for the provinces in the plain and midlands held in August 1974 in Thai Binh province, the Secretariat of the VNWP Central Committee issued instructions on the re-organization of agriculture and the improvement of management at the grassroots level as a step toward large-scale socialist production.

— President Nguyen Huu Tho ended his friendship visit to the Federal Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia begun on September 11, 1974. An agreement on non-repayable economic aid from Czechoslovakia to the Republic of South Viet Nam in 1975 was signed.

17. At a press conference, Ford defended his unconditional pardon to Nixon. On September 16, Ford signed an order for a conditional amnesty to draft dodgers and deserters who had refused to fight in Viet Nam. According to *UPI*, hardly any of the American war resisters now living abroad would return to the country to accept Ford's amnesty.

— Under the pretext of combating "corruption," Thieu dismissed several provincial chiefs and mayors who had not been hand in glove with him, and replaced them with his own men.

— Additional US aid to Lon Nol: 22 million dollars.

18. An economic delegation of the Provisional Government of National Union of Laos led by Soth Phetrasi, Minister of Economics and Planning, ended its friendship visit to the DRVN begun on September 15. Documents on economic and cultural co-operation between the two countries were signed.

— The South Viet Nam Liberation fighters attacked the enemy logistical base at Cam Ranh, setting on fire 6 million litres of gasoline, and completely wiped out the enemy signal centre on the Son Tra isthmus north of Da Nang.

— The Popular Organization for the Implementation of the Paris Agreement in Saigon issued a statement supporting the movements in opposition to Thieu and demanding the implementation of the Paris Agreement.

— The Popular Movement against Corruption held a press conference in Saigon, demanding the total abolition of Thieu's corrupt administrative organs.

— The Lao Patriotic side released an American pilot named Emmet Kay.

— Lon Nol devalued the *riel* for the second time this year. Immediately after that, the price of rice increased fourfold.

19. The Committee for the Freedom of the Press and Publication held a meeting and

sent a letter protesting against Thieu's confiscation of the *Song Than* (a Saigon paper). The journalists burned all the papers published on the same day in protest against Thieu's act.

— In Hue, over the two days, September 17 and 18, tens of thousands of people took part in meetings, demonstrations and marches to express opposition to Thieu.

— Exchange of prisoners of war and detained personnel between the Vientiane and the Lao Patriotic sides in Phon Savane (Laos).

— An agreement on a US loan of 18.5 million dollars to Lon Nol was signed in Phnom Penh, thus raising the total US economic aid to Cambodia to 58 million as from July 1, 1974.

20. President Nguyen Huu Tho ended his official visit to the People's Republic of Albania begun on September 16. An agreement on non-repayable economic aid from Albania to the Republic of South Viet Nam in 1975 was signed.

— Annihilation of Saigon's fortified positions at Gia Vut, Ba To district, Quang Ngai province by Liberation fighters.

23. The *Dai Dan Toc* (a Saigon paper): "Cabot Lodge has been on a secret visit to Saigon for one week now."

24. President Nguyen Huu Tho ended his friendship visit to the People's Republic of Bulgaria begun on September 20. An agreement on non-repayable economic aid from Bulgaria to the RSVN in 1975 was signed.

— Saigon police manoeuvres on an unprecedentedly large scale are held in preparation for the repression of the popular movement against Thieu.

— Cambodia: On behalf of 30,000 of their colleagues, two teachers condemned Lon Nol's militarist and dictatorial regime. 400 armed soldiers staged a demonstration to oppose the raising of commodity prices.

25. The Popular Movement against Corruption held a press conference in Saigon to denounce Thieu's "Comet" plan aimed at suppressing the population, and to urge a wide diffusion of the "Indictment No. 1".

26. Thieu devalued the Saigon piastre for the 9th time since the beginning of this year. The present rate of exchange: 670 piastres to the dollar.

— *Cong Luan* (a Saigon paper): Colby, Director of the CIA, has been visiting Saigon, Vientiane and Bangkok.

27. American SR-71 reconnaissance planes made several flights over North Viet Nam, including Hanoi and Haiphong.

(Continued on page 31)