

Editorial

After
The Sixth
Congress....

The Absolute Dependency Of The Viet Cong On The Soviet Union

After much laborious preparations, underscored by silent power struggles among the ranks and files, up to the highest rulers, finally the viet cong regime was able to hold the Sixth Party Congress, from Dec 15 to Dec 18, 1986. All of the publicized data, especially about the personnel reshuffle inside the CPV, have given an impression that the regime is starting a new change in their policy. A Vietnamese edition of Lenin's "New Economic Policy"?

The world opinion has paid special attention to Nguyen Van Linh, the new General Secretary, who was relatively unknown except for the skillfull touted personal data provided by the regime describing Linh as "young" and a "reformist". Relying on this misinformation, some foreign observers have taken both "the bait and the hook" by jumping to the conclusion that the regime has the good intention to reform. However,

the Vietnamese people has come to a completely different conclusion, based on their own sufferings.

After going over the list of both the Politburo and the Central Committee Secretariat, one can see practically no change in the distribution of power among the several factions that have disputed the "correct line" (and power) for years now; from the Armed forces, there are Le Duc Anh, commander of the Kampuchean invasion, Dong Sy Nguyen and Doan Khue; from the security field are Pham Hung, the former supervisor of Nguyen Van Linh in the South, and Mai Chi Tho (Le Duc Tho's younger brother) and most noticeably are those of the faction that called for the rapid Sovietization of the country's economy, like Do Muoi and Vo Chi Cong. Also advanced were Nguyen Duc Tam, who emerged under Le Duc Tho as Party organizer, and Dam Quang Trung, Commander and Political Commissar of the 1st Military Region (the Sino-Vietnamese border provinces) but better known in the South as the "Butcher": he ordered the massacres of thousands of civilians in Hue during the "Tet Offensive" in 1968. And the most important figure, Nguyen Van Linh, however much of a "reformist" he might seem to appear, was just the person in charge of the war organization in the South, and he personally directed the process of "reddening" South Viet Nam from 1945 to 1975...

Since their approach is to rule by consensus, the new consensus, if any, is only based on a very unstable coalition between these shaky factions. Besides, if these new rulers can be regarded as "reformist" to overcome their most critical crisis in their history, we must understand that they only intend to survive, and to reform their bureaucracy to make the repression more effective. But, the disturbing fact is that in all of the speeches by Nguyen Van Linh and his comrades, the Resolution of the 27 th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union appears to be "the necessary trend of the time" (Nguyen Van Linh dixit), which is taken as the guiding concepts for the viet cong Congress. The so called "economic reform" only means a Sovietization of the economic system in a more intelligent way, which pauses to temporarily tolerate "non-communist components" to lift the production and to offset the deficiency of the communist production system. On military matters, the regime tries to maintain the status-quo, namely the colonization of Kampuchea and Laos, which they call "international obligation". Therefore, we can expect no major change in their policy toward Indochina.

However, for the Vietnamese people, one noticeable fact related to this Congress is the disappearance of the most important figures in the Maoist faction, who are now replaced by other USSR-trained members. Does that signal another "necessary trend of the time"?

In any way, after its Congress, the viet cong regime has now become more willingly and diligently to be a USSR satellite, and this means to the Vietnamese people that the worst of the repression, drowned out by the reformist brouhaha, is yet to come. And to the world, it means that "peaceful coexistence" in the Southeast Asia is more than ever a simple illusion, no matter how the viet cong want to portray their "international obligation".

To Commemorate The Viet Nam National Day :

The NRC Establishes The Art and Literature Award

In 1986, for the first time after eleven years under the viet cong repression, the Vietnamese people living inside the country and overseas, united to celebrate the Vietnamese National Day. The just choice of the National Resistance Council, establishing that the Viet Nam National Day be the Commemorating Day of King HUNG VUONG, the founding father of the Nation of Viet Nam (the tenth day of the third month of our lunar calendar), has such a bonding effect for all

Vietnamese people. This was a direct blow to the viet cong regime who realized how fiercely our people reject their choice of "National Day", the day when the communist repression began to be imposed on the country.

The Viet Nam National Day of 1987 shall be marked by a special event: by a Decree on September 22nd, 1986, the NRC had announced the establishing of the ARTS & LITERATURE AWARD.

The Award is organized to

preserve and promote the Vietnamese Arts and Literature during the liberation struggle. This should also be regarded as an important struggle device that bears several meanings: To protect the cultural flow of the nation from being obstructed or deviated by the deceitful "cultural revolution" of the viet cong; to promote the all time humanistic characteristic of Vietnamese culture.

Following is a copy of the Decree, and its English translation :

The National United Front For The Liberation Of Vietnam The National Resistance Council

Decree No. 012 HDKCTQ QD

This 22nd day of September, 1986, in the Vietnam Resistance base :

In view of the :

- recommendation by the Association of the Vietnamese Resistance Writers and Artists,
- and a decision reached by the National Resistance Council, in the meeting on September 21, 1986,

The National Resistance Council hereby decided :

Article I.

In order that the promotion of the Vietnamese arts and literature not to be disrupted during the liberation struggle, a Vietnamese Arts and Literature Award shall be presented each year on the National Day.

Article II.

The annual Vietnamese Arts and Literature Award shall commence in 1987.

Article III.

As allowed by the situation of each year, the aforementioned Award may be organized to include all fields considered as appropriate, and selected through organizations of contests or from a selection of the works published.

Article IV.

This decree shall be revised by the appropriate agency or agencies of the Government after Viet Nam is liberated.

Article V.

The General Directorate of In-Land Affairs and the General Directorate of Overseas Affairs are responsible for announcing and interpreting this decree to all people in Viet Nam and abroad.

President of NUFRONLIV,
HOANG CO MINH
(Signed)

MẬT TRẦN
QUỐC GIA THỐNG NHẤT
GIẢI PHÓNG VIỆT NAM

CHIẾN KHU NGÀY 22 THÁNG 9 NĂM 1986

HỘI ĐỒNG
KHÁNG CHIẾN TOÀN QUỐC
SỐ: 012/HDKCTQ/QĐ

- Chiều đề nghị của Hội Văn Nghệ Sĩ Kháng Chiến Việt Nam.
- Chiều kết quả phiên họp ngày 21 tháng 9 năm 1986 của Hội Đồng Kháng Chiến Toàn Quốc.

U Y E T ; H H

Thứ nhất : Để việc phát huy văn học nghệ thuật Việt Nam không bị gián đoạn trong giai đoạn đấu tranh giải phóng, nay thiết lập giải thưởng "VAN HOC NGHỆ THUẬT QUỐC KHÁNH VIỆT NAM".

Thứ Hai : Giải thưởng VAN HOC NGHỆ THUẬT QUỐC KHÁNH VIỆT NAM được tổ chức hằng năm và bắt đầu từ năm 1987.

Thứ ba : Tùy tình hình hằng năm, giải thưởng VAN HOC NGHỆ THUẬT QUỐC KHÁNH VIỆT NAM có thể tổ chức cho tất cả các bộ môn hoặc chỉ giới hạn trong một số bộ môn thiên nghi và được tuyển lựa bằng cách tổ chức các cuộc thi hay lựa chọn trong số các tác phẩm đã được xuất bản.

Thứ tư : Quyết định này sẽ được cơ quan thẩm quyền duyệt xét lại và chung quyết sau khi Việt Nam đã được giải phóng.

Thứ năm : Tổng Vụ Quốc Nội và Tổng Vụ Hải Ngoại có nhiệm vụ phổ biến và giải thích quyết định này với toàn thể đồng bào trong và ngoài nước.

Chủ tịch
Mật Trần Quốc Gia Thống Nhất
Việt Nam

Hoàng Cơ Minh

Noi nhận: TVQN - TVHN (để thi hành)
Bản sao kính gửi: UBTV/HUTMT
Hồ sơ - lưu trữ

Resistance Activities Reported By VRR :

Khang Chien Quan Attacked Tay Ninh Garrison, Organized History Class For Children.

Last September, the ARU of Tay Ninh province infiltrated several districts in the province to distribute to the residents materials about the resistance movement. Among these materials, the NUFRONLIV's Political Program was overwhelmingly received by the local residents. The Khang Chien Quan also explained to Tay Ninh residences several methods to oppose exploitation schemes of the VC.

Acting on request by the people of Tay Ninh province, the ARU attacked a VC garrison in Trang Bang district to punish the VC security agents here for their crimes against the population. This operation was also intended to lay the ground for the development of a local Resistance and Administration Committee. Two VC agents were killed, and one was wounded in this attack. The Khang Chien Quan completely destroyed the garrison, and took some weapons before safely pulling out.

The Tay Ninh province ARU during this time period also held a Vietnamese history class for the children in the province. The purpose was to provide the youngsters with lessons about the heroes in the history of Viet Nam and to undue the effects of disinformation and propaganda by the VC on the children. The Unit also handed out to the students and other people a new NUFRONLIV's publication, "Heroes of My Country", printed by the Reseach and

Training Commission, GD/ILA, to give the youngsters a better understanding about Vietnamese national heroes.

Women and Youth Resistance Groups Formed In Nghia Binh.

Since the inception of VRR over three years ago, the problem of desertion among VC soldiers and draftees has become more and more aggravated. VRR has urged families not to let their young members be drafted by the regime to fulfill mercenary duty in foreign countries. This long run campaign of information and explanation throughout the country has caused enormous difficulty to the regime in such a way that its draft quotas have never been met; and to the viet cong soldiers, already disgusted with a gloomy future under a regime that the main concern is to serve the Soviet Union interest, the said campaign also gave an option : to fight back !

In addition, the ARU of Nghia Binh (formerly Quang Ngai and Binh Dinh provinces) in the second quarter of last year started a campaign to guide local people to escape viet cong draft. Many parents of youth in the draft age contacted the Khang Chien Quan for help and later had their young sons sneaked out of the city before the VC came to catch them. Desertion has increased considerably at the regime's training camp at An Son. It was reported that up to 60% of the draftees have deserted inspite of tight control by the VC security at the camp.

Once massively covered by international press media, Viet Nam of post 1975 has vanished from the world; the public hardly knows what happened inside the country except for what can be guessed or deduced from the viet cong's deceptive propaganda.

To overcome the viet cong's blackout of information and their suppression of communication, the establishment of the **Vietnamese Resistance Radio** was then regarded as a task of first priority.

Broadcasting 8 hours daily, on the 30m and 40m wavebands (10.3 MHz and 7.4 MHz), the VRR has since 1983 effectively informed and mobilized the populace into concerted resistance activities against the viet cong regime.

Due to limited space, we can only excerpt part of one VRR daily news program.

In the same quarter, with the support of local population, the ARU formed two Women-Resistance and four Youth-Resistance Groups. Under the Unit direction, a number of Khang Chien Quan have graduated from three basic military and mass mobilization training programs organized in Nghia Binh. ■

Twenty-six Persons Joined The Resistance In Minh Hai.

Local RAC in Minh Hai (formerly Ca Mau) reported last July the VC apparatus in the province started a campaign called "Fighting Against The Multi-Faceted Subversion" to tighten up even more the control on local population. Several innocent people were subsequently imprisoned by VC security agents, obviously for extortion purpose ! Therefore, on August 7 and 8, the ARU of Minh Hai executed 4 VC security agents at 4 different districts in the province. These executions were carried out as requested by local people for the crimes committed by these agents. On the same days, Minh Hai RAC received 26 young men joining the resistance. The Committee transferred to the Armed Resistance Unit these new Khang Chien Quan (Freedom Fighters) along with over one and a half ton of supplies, including ten Kilos of medicines, given by the people of Minh Hai to support the resistance activities. ■

Following are abbreviations being used in this news brief :

ARF	The Armed Resistance Forces.
ARU	The Armed Resistance Units.
ARVN	The Armed Forces of the Republic of Viet Nam.
CPV	Communist Party of Viet Nam.
GD/ILA	The General Directorate of In-Land Affairs.
GD/OA	The General Directorate of Overseas Affairs.
NRC	The National Resistance Council.
NUFRONLIV	The National United Front for the Liberation of Viet Nam.
RAC	The Resistance and Administration Committees.
RVN	The Republic of Viet Nam (formerly South Viet Nam).
VC	Viet cong (Vietnamese communist).
VRR	Vietnamese Resistance Radio.

Who Is Nguyễn Văn Linh ?

...Regarding concepts and methods, Linh is representative of the worst sort of dictator : he is a true-believer...

During the Sixth Congress, changes inside the CPV were made. Three elderly rulers, Trường Chinh, Phạm Văn Đồng and Lê Đức Thọ, have officially agreed to step down for reason of health and age. One must give them credit for being honest, at least once in their lives. During the Congress, Phạm Văn Đồng was rumored to be almost blind, making several mistakes while emceeing the ceremony. Trường Chinh was not in much better shape, making unscheduled pauses and appeared to be lost while delivering his "summary" of the Political Report. And Lê Đức Thọ, once powerful and ambitious, was noticed for his long absence due to illness.

The fact that Nguyễn Văn Linh was acknowledged during the Congress as "Permanent Secretary of the Party's Central Committee" (a position never existed before in the organization of the CPV) clearly shows that Linh was already in charge of the Party long before the Congress, even before the official demise of Lê Duẩn in July 1986, after a long illness. But, who is Nguyễn Văn Linh ?

Born in 1914 in Hưng Yên, North Viet Nam, from a bourgeois family Nguyễn Văn Linh's real name is Nguyễn Đức Cúc a.k.a. Mười Cúc. His background, according to the official viet cong biography, published the first time in 1976, is that of... a student. Actually, Linh has dropped out of school and joined the anti-French resistance movement during his teen years. He was arrested in 1930 after the Yên Bái uprising (started by the Viet Nam Nationalist Party) and sentenced for life imprisonment in Côn Đảo (Poulo Condé island) where he was contacted by viet cong agents and indoctrinated in Marxist ideology. In 1936, he was released, with other viet cong agents, by the French "Front Populaire" government, and became an active viet cong agent. After being imprisoned several times, Linh was sent to the South in the early 1940's. In 1959, he was already selected an alternate member of the Politburo and in charge of the Central Office of the CPV in South Viet Nam (Trung Ương Cục "R"). His position was Secretary of the Central Office of South Viet Nam, the highest party member

permanently residing in the South. As the Secretary of the CPV/COSVN, Linh was consecutively under the direction of Lê Duẩn, then Lê Đức Thọ and Phạm Hùng (representatives of CPV to supervise the invasion of South Viet Nam). Linh was responsible for organizing and commanding the invasion of South Viet Nam behind the smoke screen of the FNL. Only after 1975 did he begin to be known by the population as Secretary of the CPV in Saigon, meaning the most powerful party member in the South. Võ Chí Công, another relatively unknown figure was uncovered at that time as Secretary in the Central provinces.

Linh is, more or less, a self-made communist agent, and a survivor. His idealistic-looking, soft-spoken approach and simple manners has many times confounded his allies and foes. Due to his long experience in the South, many observers think of him as a Southerner, therefore, not a hardliner like other viet cong agents of northern or central origin. Actually, he has been involved in all the bloody tragedies the southern population have suffered. He wore many hats, and had some quite diversified experiences while directing the "Proselytizing and Front Department" of the Central Committee, the "Confederation of Trade Unions", the "Committee to Reform (to collectivise) Commerce and Industry in the South".... But, Linh is infamous among the southern population as an organizer, a clever propagandist, within the intellectual circles and the armed forces, and his wife, a Southerner, is known to be a high ranking member in the organization branch of the Party, under the direction of Lê Đức Thọ...

His many talents, extensive connections and influence among the conflicting factions and his achievement in "reddening" South Viet Nam have made him a very powerful member in the Central Committee of the CPV. He also is the last hope for the VC to reform the stagnant bureaucracy. Regarding concepts and methods, Linh is representative of the worst sort of dictator : he is a true-believer. If he is ever pragmatic at all, Linh is only pragmatic in warfare and in pursuing communist goals. His pragmatism will be used to reform the system, to make it more effective, more repressive. And more inhuman. As long as the VC machine is improved based on that kind of "reform", life is not any better for the Vietnamese people...

For a few months before the CPV Congress, the Vietnamese people have been circulating jokes about the grand comedy "Party Congress, Act VI" which was about to be performed. However, after just few hours, the "settings" and the "actors" have sent a chilling thought to the viewers : this is, after all, not a comedy, but a real horror show.

The "Congress" opened without a proper introduction. Phạm Văn Đồng, 79, who supposed to be emcee, is too old, senile and almost blind. When it's time for him to take the podium he could not coherently ask Nguyễn Văn Linh and Trường Chinh to read their speeches. Trường Chinh was not much better. Interrupted in the middle of speech by the applause he lost his tracks, took a long pause, then... repeated the same paragraph. Meanwhile, Lê Đức Thọ sat idly and silently in his seat. These three top rulers have resigned to become "advisers", clearly because their minds are no longer functioning (not because they lost their ambitions!). Then the question is : Who has been running the show ? At the opening of this Congress, Nguyễn Văn Linh was acknowledged as "Permanent Secretary" of the party's Central Committee, a position never existed before the organization of the CPV. Then one must assume that while Lê Duẩn was lingering on his deathbed, Trường Chinh, Phạm Văn Đồng and Lê Đức Thọ are too old and senile to take any responsibilities, Nguyễn Văn Linh was directly running the whole system. The fact that Linh was portrayed very recently as discarded

Commentary

Viet Cong's Economic Fa

Before Trường Chinh acknowledged during the Sixth Congress that the Central Committee is "guilty of a number of shortcomings and mistakes and is now confronted by many serious difficulties", before Nguyễn Văn Linh and his followers took over power, the phenomenon of compromising with communist orthodoxy in order to save the national economy was nothing new to the VC. On November 30, 1986, about two weeks before the Sixth Congress, the state-controlled radio colorfully introduced to the listeners an editorial article to be printed the next day on the Nhân Dân daily (the official propaganda instrument of the regime). Titled "Let's encourage the development of family economy", the article aimed at preparing public opinion for the regime's latest scheme "take a step backward to advance two steps forward". It also, in an indirect

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On The Sideline Of The Congress: "How A Comedy Turned Into An Horror Show"

from the power circle because of his "liberal tendencies" is just a ruse to give false hope to the people who are against the regime as well as to mislead foreign observers.

On the Presidium, there was Nguyễn Thị Định, member of the Central Committee, Vice-chairwoman of the Council of State, Vice Minister of War Invalids and Social Welfare and President of Women's Federation. The presence of Nguyễn Thị Định was significant because of the absence of Nguyễn Thị Bình. Bình still appears in many occasions to greet foreign dignitaries but she has lost her ministership and is not a member of the Central Committee. She is just a puppet created by the CPV as a showcase for the foreign media during the invasion of South Viet Nam.

The second figure on the Presidium who got special attention was Đàm Quang Trung. Considered to be the "adopted son" of Hồ Chí Minh, Trung is also a Vice Chairman of the Council of State, Commander and Commissar of the Military Region I (including Sino-Vietnamese border provinces). He has just been elevated from the Central Committee to the Secretariat by-passing the alternate member status and now becomes one of the most powerful general in the VC army. Đàm Quang Trung is known among the Southern Vietnamese as

the "Butcher" who ordered the massacres of thousands of civilians in Hue during the Tet Offensive in 1968.

Some other members who have been dropped from the Central Committee this time are Hoàng Tùng (who replaced Tố Hữu as the Director of Propaganda and Training Department, Central Committee) and Vũ Quang (former First Secretary of Hồ Chí Minh Communist Youth Union, successor of Xuân Thủy as Director of Foreign Relations Department, Central Committee). They are abruptly dismissed from the Central Committee without any explanation. Having the same fate is Lê Văn Lương, former Secretary of Hanoi Party Committee, who had, with Hồ Viết Thắng and Trương Chinh, directed the bloody "Land Reform" in 1956. Along with Văn Tiến Dũng, Tố Hữu, they are most prominent "Maoists" of the regime, representatives of the most backward and dogmatic faction of the Party.

The elimination of these ultra conservatives does not necessarily mean the repressive machine will be run by the moderates. The hard fact that other so-called "technocrats" like Nguyễn Côn, Trần Phưởng, Lê Khắc, Nguyễn Lâm... are also cut from the Central Committee proves the real nature of this purge is not the choice between the dogmatics or the

technocrats. Conversely, the elevation of Lữ Minh Châu to the Central Committee also startled the Saigon people. Châu had been an undercover VC agent, working as a clerk in a French Bank in Saigon; after 1975 because of his "expertise in banking operation" Châu was given the position of director of the Eximbank (formerly Viet Nam Thuong Tin Bank). Six months later he embezzled about 900 million "new" dong and was dismissed. He reappeared at the Sixth Congress and was promoted to the Central Committee also because of his "expertise". Châu is a typical case of a "technocrat" contributing to the regime's next economic reform.

But the real irony must be the fact that after Trương Chinh read his summary of the political report in which he publicly accepted all of the mistakes made by Central Committee, the local committees without any shame, dutifully recited their "economic achievements" attained by "strictly following the direction of the Central Committee"!

The Vietnamese people, the unwilling viewers of this sickening comedy, know that this is just a preview, and life will get worse with the time. They see no alternative but to stand up and destroy these idiosyncratic rulers along with their evil system. ■

Economic Failures Conceded

way, warned their agents to ease their extortion pressure in order to make the population more motivated in production activities.

The purpose of the article and the new policy, as claimed by the regime, was to "develop to the production force vigorously", and to "accept the existence of various economic forms and components without showing any subjectivism, impatience, hastiness, voluntarism, by denying this fact and abolishing various economic components immediately..."

What is the real meaning of this?

Only since 1975, the population in South Viet Nam began to feel the pressure from a Soviet-styled economy, only two types of "economic components", (the state-controlled and the collective enterprises) are socialist. Other types, such as

sole-proprietorship, private owned or joint venture businesses, must be seen as jetsam of capitalism, and need to be socialized throughout the "reform process". Therefore, the regime has been abolishing those components which are not conformed with communist orthodoxy. Trouble is, the so called orthodox components, the economic exploitation organs of the regime, are not productive and suffer constant opposition from the population, and are mismanaged so badly that the country has gone from one economic crisis to another. In order to prevent a total collapse of the economy, the regime has to compromise with the ideology, and to appeal to their members to accept the inevitable existence of non-socialist components. The "family economy" is one of these components. In sum, the "encouragement of the development of family economies" is nothing more than a temporary tolerance for private economic units in order to mobilize private incentives to bail out the regime. This motto is not new. It has been heard during August 1979 and has been hastily replaced by another

motto "to speed-up our socialization with strenght and confidence" ... in 1982.

This generosity of the regime will last as long as the communist economy need to be fixed by the cooperation of the population. After that, Nguyễn Văn Linh or whoever in charge at that time, will have a planned self-evaluation, and conclude it by installing a new ruler to "speed-up the socialism process".

The new change of the VC regime is something our people in North Viet Nam are very much familiar with. They lived through this joke 30 years ago when Hồ Chí Minh cried out about the "mistakes committed in the land reform", in 1959. Trương Chinh, Lê Văn Lương, Hồ Viết Thắng were forced at that time to step down. Chinh was replaced by Lê Duẩn who is not more compromising and who started the invasion of the South several years later. Did Trương Chinh really make mistakes? If so, there must be an explanation for his continuous leadership in the party until the age of 80... ■

Who's Who Among The New Rulers

In the hierarchy of the CPV, the most powerful bodies are the Politburo and the Secretary of the Central Committee. Its new members are coopted from the pool of the Central Committee members. The Politburo makes the decision upon the options presented by the Secretariat; therefore, the most prominent members of the Party are those who have their seats in both the Politburo and the Secretariat. In short, they are those who design the policies and then execute them.

Based on the member lists of the CPV Politburo and the Secretariat, it can be seen that there are only three members who have their seats in both of these bodies. They are: Nguyễn Văn Linh, the newest General Secretary, Nguyễn Đức Tâm and Trần Xuân Bách. Nguyễn Đức Tâm, a leading Party organizer and a close associate of Lê Đức Thọ, has been a rising star since joining the Politburo in 1982. Trần Xuân Bách, another long-time Central Committee Secretariat member, was chairman of the Central Control Committee, the Party's apparatus which monitors the conduct of the party members and cadres.

Other senior members of the Politburo are Phạm Hùng, Võ Chí Công, Võ Văn Kiệt (not related to the former), Đỗ Mười and Lê Đức Anh. Phạm Hùng is the Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers (equivalent to Deputy Prime-Minister), Minister of Security, and member of the National Defense Council. He's from Vĩnh Long, a province in South Viet Nam, and a leading candidate for the Prime-Minister position, based on his experiences as the representative of the Party to the South during the war, and his extensive contacts in the security faction.

Võ Chí Công had been Director of the Collectivization of Southern Agriculture Committee, Deputy Prime-Minister and Party Secretary in the Central provinces.

Born in Gò Công, South Viet Nam, 66 years ago, Võ Văn Kiệt, a Senior General, is the Director of the Gosplan and also a Deputy Prime-Minister. He is considered to be a self-made revolutionary and a close associate of Nguyễn Văn Linh.

Đỗ Mười, a Senior General and

Deputy Prime-Minister, had replaced Nguyễn Văn Linh as Director of the Sovietization of Southern Commerce and Industry Committee (Linh was judged as not expeditive enough for the job). He is regarded by the Northern people as one of the most Stalinian members of the CPV.

Lê Đức Anh, a Colonel General, front Commander of the Kampuchean invasion, is a Vice-Minister of Defense and considered to be the most senior member of the Central Military Party Committee. A powerful figure in the VC armed forces.

There are two members -Foreign Minister Nguyễn Cơ Thạch and Deputy Prime-Minister Đồng Sĩ Nguyên - who rose from the positions of Politburo alternates to its standing members. Thạch is well known for his dedication to the Soviet Union international policies and is a rising star with his deputy, Hoàng Bich Sơn. Đồng Sĩ Nguyên, a Senior Colonel, logistics expert, had been Vice-Minister of Public Works, Minister of Communication and Transportation, and Deputy Prime-Minister.

Four newcomers to the Politburo, by-passing the alternate step, are Trần Xuân Bách, Nguyễn Thanh Bình, Đoàn Khuê and Mai Chí Thọ.

Nguyễn Thanh Bình, Secretary of the Hanoi Party Committee, is in charge of the Distribution and Circulation Department of the Central Committee. He is believed to stick very closely with communist principles in economics, and on the very first session of the Congress strongly criticized the political reports read by other Politburo members. The reports, he said, do not answer Party's pressing problems and do not put forward sufficiently effective solutions to overcome socio-economic problems.

Đoàn Khuê, a Lieutenant General, First Deputy of Defense, former Commander and Political Commissar of Military Region V (included provinces in Central Viet Nam: Quảng Ngãi, Bình Định, Gia Rai, Kontum, Phú Yên, Khánh Hòa, Đắk Lắk, Lâm Đồng and Bình Thuận).

Mai Chí Thọ, a.k.a Năm Xuân, a Major General, is the younger brother of Lê Đức Thọ. He had been Party

Secretary and Mayor of Saigon. Born in the North, with feudal behaviour, he is believed to be in charge of the regime's security forces in the future.

Among those who lost this latest round of power struggle, most noticeably were Võ Nguyên Giáp and Văn Tiến Dũng, the last two Defense Ministers of the regime.

Văn Tiến Dũng, a Senior General who had been the First Deputy Secretary of the Central Military Party Committee and Defense Minister, was dropped from the Politburo and also lost his ministerial position. No reason was given for Dũng's departure from a job he had held since 1980, the year after the VC regime invaded Kampuchea. Văn Tiến Dũng is the last Maoist figure of the VC army and his departure signals a new drive to consolidate the army along the Soviet thoughts.

Võ Nguyên Giáp, an hero of Điện Biên Phủ only to the French media, has spent several years on the fringe of power, was not named to the Politburo as expected by some Western observers. Instead, he was only returned to the Central Committee. Giáp had been stripped of most of his power even before 1975. After then, he had been put into mediocre positions such as "Vice-Chairman of State Prize Commission" and "...Birth Control Commission". He is now just a figurehead and is used by the regime solely for its external propaganda objectives.

The fact that the Central Committee is made up of all fighting factions in the CPV demonstrates the predicament of Nguyễn Văn Linh. No matter how skillfull he is in manipulating these factions, Linh still has to negotiate with them on any major issues, thus his options are limited.

The Politburo may consist mostly of "pragmatic" members and a minority of "hardliners". However, all of them share with him the interest of staying in power. This ensures Linh a leeway to proceed with his programs which are guided by the Resolution of the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In any way, Moscow is the only place that can assure them of their terror reign on the Vietnamese people. ■



Third Anniversary Of The Vietnamese Resistance Radio Celebrated

Last month, the Vietnamese communities in all over the world enthusiastically celebrated the third anniversary of the Vietnamese Resistance Radio. Due to limited space, we can only excerpt some of these activities.

DUISBURG, W. GERMANY.

Over a hundred Vietnamese in Duisburg, an industrial city by the Rhein in Central Germany, and many from nearby cities gathered here on December 18 last year to attend a three-hour ceremony to celebrate three years of operation of the Vietnamese Resistance Radio. The president of the Central Germany Chapter/NUFRONLIV opened the ceremony with a brief history of the station and its achievements. Tapes recording programs broadcast by the VRR were then played for the audience. Money was donated by people at a dinner after the ceremony to support the activities of the Khang Chien Quan in Viet Nam.

ALKMAAR, HOLLAND.

Another ceremony was held in Europe to mark the third year on air of the VRR. Vietnamese refugees in Alkmaar, Holland last December 20 gathered to listen to NUFRONLIV representatives talked about the achievements of VRR during the past year. They joint hands and sang songs written by the Khang Chien Quan about the struggle to liberate their homeland. The ceremony ended with a fund raising dinner to improve the operations of VRR inside Viet Nam.

WASHINGTON D.C., USA.

Washington D.C. Chapter organized a fund raising dinner in Arlington, Virginia on December 27 to celebrate the inception of VRR exactly three years ago in Viet Nam. In spite of cold weather, people filled the meeting place to hear chapter members speaking about the establishment and

the mobilization effects of VRR, also the sacrifices of the Khang Chien Quan to maintain an uninterrupted operation of the radio station in the last three years. Slides presenting the activities of the Khang Chien Quan were shown before the dinner.

SAN JOSE, CA, USA.

Over 800 Vietnamese attended a musical performance held by the Northern California Chapter in the Civic Center Auditorium in San Jose to celebrate the third anniversary of VRR last December 27. Three Resistance Performance Groups of Houston, Los Angeles and San Jose performed epic songs about the struggle to liberate Viet Nam. A play depicting life of the Khang Chien Quan in a resistance base, and another musical play titled "Hon Vong Phu" describing the eternal love a woman had for her husband, who was called upon by the fatherland in the time of war, were frequently interrupted by applause.



Resistance Performance Group of Holland (above).

The fund-raising dinner in Washington D.C. (right).



Our Friends & Our Cause



"No matter how strong a water current may be, it can never sweep away the moon shadow casted on it from above."

Today, everywhere in the world, the people of Vietnam, each man, each family, stand together to form a solid resistance movement, under the leadership of President Hoang Co Minh, to raise the flag of noble cause and to fight for the victorious freedom and true democracy for their homeland.

I am confident that their determination to pursue a self-supported struggle in the end will be as forever as the moon shadow, even when encountered by any brute force. Liberating Vietnam, for the Vietnamese people, is a revolutionary duty—a duty that must and can only be expressed through actions, not words, it is also an effort accumulated with valued substance, not mere appearance".

Mr. Akira Yata

Secretary, The Commission For The Solidarity of Indochinese Refugees, Japan.

"Under the leadership of NUFRONLIV, the struggle of the Vietnamese people is maintained in the name of principles which need to be universally upheld. They are the right to be free, the right to have a future according to one's will. It is the fight of the Polish people. It is the fight of the Afghan freedom fighters".



Mr. Jean d'Ormesson
de l'Académie Française,
Writer, Columnist.

The National United Front for the Liberation of Viet Nam (NUFRONLIV) was formed in 1980 by the Vietnamese people inside Viet Nam and abroad to liberate their country from the viet cong and to build a free and democratic nation. Under the leadership of President HOANG CO MINH, the National Resistance Council directs the NUFRONLIV's 3 bodies, the General Directorate of In-Land Affairs, the General Directorate of Overseas Affairs and the Armed Resistance Forces, in mobilizing in every way and by every means of the Vietnamese people to overthrow the viet cong. Throughout the country, from North to South, the General Directorate of In-Land Affairs has developed a resistance network in which mobilization activities are carried out under the protection of the Armed Resistance Forces. Directed by the General Directorate of Overseas Affairs, NUFRONLIV chapters have been formed and are active around the world where Vietnamese are resettled.

The following are addresses of NUFRONLIV overseas offices :

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P.O. Box 7826, San Jose, CA. 95150-7826, USA.

Asia : P.O. Box 223, Shiba, Tokyo 105-91, JAPAN.

Australia : P.O. Box 152, Bankstown, NSW 2200, AUSTRALIA.

Europe : Boite Postal 131, 92164 Antony Cedex, FRANCE.

To present background information on the Vietnamese liberation struggle, "THE VIETNAMESE RESISTANCE" is published monthly by the overseas Directorate of Information and sent to a selected readership. Also available are publications in Danish, French, German and Japanese..., and "KHANG CHIEN", the most widely read monthly tabloid among the Vietnamese overseas.

To promote our just cause, your financial contributions are welcome. For subscriptions or contributions, please contact our Public Relation Office :

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