

The Vietnamese RESISTANCE

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• A monthly publication of the National United Front for the Liberation of Vietnam.



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- **VC Military Forces On The Way To Dissolution**
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THE FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE VIETNAMESE RESISTANCE RADIO

The date of December 27, 1983 marked an important in the progress of the Vietnamese Resistance: it was the day when the Vietnamese Resistance Radio officially began its operations. The Vietnamese Resistance radio has pierced through the curtain of silence and distortions used by the Viet Cong authorities to keep the people inside the country in the dark about what is happening in the world and about the activities of the people's resistance going on all over the country. Besides, as a strategic means in the liberation struggle, the Vietnamese Resistance Radio also assumed the role of guiding the people to participate in the struggle to overthrow the present Viet Cong regime.

Since its inception, the Resistance Radio has been operating without interruption, with eight hours on the jamming by the Viet Cong. This achievement is due to the patience, determination, and sacrifices of the resistance fighters. The same sacrifices, sometimes going beyond anything imaginable, have contributed to bring about other great achievements in the resistance and to help spread the resistance movement all over the country.

December 27, 1983 therefore is an important day for every Vietnamese. On the occasion of the 4th anniversary of the Vietnamese Resistance Radio, celebrations were held by Vietnamese communities all over the world.

NEWS IN BRIEF

On the occasion of the 4th anniversary of the Vietnamese Resistance Radio, celebration has been held by Vietnamese all over the world. Following are some of events organized:

EUROPE:

- In Paris, France, where a campaign had been going on for several months against the economic and financial ploy of the Viet Cong, the Vietnamese communities and the local chapters of the NUFRONLIV held a party-reception with the attendance of several foreign friends and supporters. A fund was set up to support the radio station and after the meal and a cultural event, the guests also participated to a seminar-discussion on the Vietnamese Resistance.

- In Svenborg, Denmark: Vietnamese refugees from Hjarring, Alborg, Arhus, Odense, Copenhagen converged on Svenborg on Dec. 27, 1987 to participate enthusiastically to the 4th anniversary celebration of the Resistance Radio organized by the local chapter of the NUFRONLIV and the Free Vietnamese Association.

- In Oberhassen, in the Federal Republic of Germany, a party was held by the local NUFRONLIV chapter to celebrate the 4th anniversary of the Resistance Radio with the participation of Vietnamese refugees coming from several localities in central Germany.

- Similar activities were also held in the Netherlands, Norway, and Belgium.



Fund raising dinner in Toronto to support VRR

AUSTRALIA:

- In Sydney, New South Wales, Vietnamese refugees and representatives of various Vietnamese associations attended the 4th anniversary celebration of the Vietnamese Resistance Radio at Cabramatta City Hall last December 27. The celebration was followed by a cultural event in support of the Resistance organized by the local NUFRONLIV chapters and Resistance support groups with the participation of the Laotian and Kampuchean communities.

- In Melbourne, Victoria, members of the Vietnamese communities enthusiastically participated to the anniversary celebrations organized by the local NUFRONLIV chapters. The event was highlighted by a fund-raising dinner.

- In Adelaide, South Australia, in addition to fund-raising activities on the occasion of the 4th anniversary of the Vietnamese resistance Radio, Vietnamese refugees and members of the local Buddhist and Catholic associations also held prayer services for the Resistance fighters in Vietnam.

- Vietnamese refugees settled in other localities in Australia such as Perth, Brisbane etc. Also organized community events in support of the Resistance on the occasion of the 4th anniversary of the Vietnamese Resistance Radio.

JAPAN:

- In addition to a meeting to commemorate the 4th anniversary of the

Vietnamese Resistance Radio in Tokyo on December 27 and a fund-raising dinner, more than 2,000 Vietnamese refugees in Japan also participated to other activities in support of the Resistance jointly organized by the local NUFRONLIV chapters and Vietnamese community associations on the occasion of the Tokyo Spring Festival.

- In Osaka, local NUFRONLIV chapters and Resistance support groups also organized community events marking the 4th anniversary of the Vietnamese Resistance Radio. The events included sport competitions and a fund-raising dinner.

AMERICA:

- In Washington, D.C., about 200 Vietnamese refugees and a number of representatives of local Vietnamese associations attended a meeting marking the 4th anniversary of the Vietnamese Resistance Radio. Participants also drew lots in a game organized after the meeting in support of the Resistance.

- In Houston, nearly 2,000 people attended a cultural event marking the 4th anniversary of the Vietnamese Resistance Radio. The event, organized by the local NUFRONLIV chapters and Resistance supports groups, had been a complete success thanks to the participation of well-known Vietnamese artists and entertainers.

- Elsewhere in the United States and Canada, such as in Denver (Colorado), Baton-Rouge (Louisiana), Chicago (Illinois), Honolulu (Hawaii), Tulsa (Oklahoma), Orlando (Florida), Toronto (Ontario) etc. Vietnamese communities, jointly with the local NUFRONLIV chapters, have enthusiastically organized activities in support of Vietnamese Resistance on the occasion of the 4th anniversary of the Vietnamese Resistance Radio set up through the effort and the contribution of the Vietnamese themselves. •

VIET CONG MILITARY FORCES ON THE WAY TO DISSOLUTION

An analysis of the military strength of the Viet Cong in the aftermath of the Resolution on Party purification in the Army.

In November of 1987, the Party Central Committee's Military Commission of the Viet Cong announced a Resolution to launch a campaign "to purify and to strengthen the Army." It was not the first time that the Viet Cong was concerned about the consolidation and the strengthening of their Army, the fourth largest army in the world. But the Resolution of the Military Commission had a particular significance at this time when Viet Cong troop morale had become even more seriously deteriorated in reverse proportion to the ever increasing eagerness of the Viet Cong to perform their "internationalist duties," or, in plain terms, the works of a proxy in the service of the expansionist policy of the U.S.S.R. The phenomena of "negativism" as pointed out in the Resolution were the first signs of the dislocation of the Viet Cong Army. On the other hand, the campaign also proved that Nguyen Van Linh was still unable to secure complete control of power and that a bitter power struggle was still going on, even within the military.

How is it possible to assert that the Viet Cong forces were on the way to dissolution? An analysis of the Resolution of the Central Committee's Military Commission would lead inevitably to the conclusion that the strength of the Viet Cong Army, long considered to be a well-trained, battle-hardened army, is now only a myth. Several factors have contributed to bring about the present state of dislocation of the Viet Cong Army, and this is a situation that the world should be made aware of:

After noting "the deviation of the revolutionary spirit," "the increasing irresponsibility," "the arrogance and insubordination" of those who believed themselves not appropriately "rewarded" for services rendered, the Resolution had to admit that the deterioration in the morale and the fighting capabilities of the army, begun since 1975, had worsened to

the point where even the survival of the regime was at stake. After their baffled disillusion in 1975, the Viet Cong troops had come to realize that they had been consistently cheated by the Viet Cong leaders all through the last decades with the call for "liberation of the South to achieve national independence." They became even more disillusioned after their leaders revealed their true nature as lackeys of the Soviet Union. They had gone wearied with the war and no longer wanted to continue to be used as cannon fodder for the expansionist designs of the rulers in Hanoi. It is not without reason that the Central Committee's Military Commission had to put the task of "building the Army politically" as a first priority. The Viet Cong leaders realized that if they should fail in this task, they would no longer be able to control a mass of men who are demoralized but who are well armed and ready to turn their guns against those who have misled them.

Meanwhile, despite a situation of the utmost deprivation, the Viet Cong troops continued to be exhorted to "determinedly carry out the internationalist duties." Nguyen Van Linh has lavished praise upon the soldiers "who keep on doing their duties although they lack even the most basic necessities such as food and clothing." In that, Linh has proved to be demagogic enough, but still it is not possible to restore the morale to the troops with only empty promises as long as the national economy remains drained by the war efforts and the Viet Cong soldier continues to be urged on to fight on an empty stomach. While the guns and ammunition, valued to more than two billion dollars a year, are donated free by the Soviet Union for the Viet Cong to "export the Revolution," the food has to be produced by the Viet Cong themselves. After trying to calm down the troops, Linh again reminded them of the "internationalist duties", even as far as Central America and South Africa. In that situation, the Viet Cong troops are left with no other alternative than that they should consider the Viet Cong ruling machinery as the enemy. They have begun by stealing and selling military equipment. And the situation has become critical when incidents of insubordination have proliferated,



The Viet cong Bo doi: A demoralised Army

NEWS FROM VIETNAM

inside the country as well as in the occupied territories of Laos and Kampuchea.

Finally, and most importantly, there is the ever-increasing opposition of the people against the on-going wars of aggression conducted by the Viet Cong leaders against the neighboring countries, draining the economy and causing more and more privations to the people. The Vietnamese people do not want the Viet Cong to invest the nation's manpower in wars without a good cause. The children are encouraged by their parents to avoid the draft and to defect. With the increasing presence and strength of the Resistance, they have found that they can also actively oppose the Viet Cong by defecting and joining the Vietnamese Resistance. There have been mass defections to the Resistance. In the Resistance they have found people who are really fighting for true independence and democracy for the country. The Viet Cong have been unable to stop the massive defections to the Resistance. By announcing the false news that they "have destroyed the Resistance" and by proclaiming a plan to "raise the standard of living" and to "give appropriate rewards to the deserving ones" the Viet Cong are attempting to avert the process of dislocation of the army. But these are only vain attempts. Because the Viet Cong troops no longer trust the words of the Party.

And they are right not to trust the words of the party because the campaign for "purifying the army" is only part of an on-going power struggle, a ploy for the Nguyen Van Linh faction to wrestle full control of the army. The denunciations of "negativism" in the army are only aimed at the followers of certain military leaders that have been ousted after the 6th Party Congress in 1986 and replaced by a new class of military commanders trained in the Soviet Union and East Germany. These men are still present in the ranks and files of the army and their influences are still felt everywhere. The new slogans are the calls to arms for a large scale campaign to purge the army of all the remnants of the deposed military leaders. This is not a struggle between the "radical doctrinaires" and the "moderate realists." This is just a natural process of consolidation of powers of the new rulers who will put all the blame for past mistakes and failures on the former rulers.

The use of the masses to help purge certain elements in the leadership is a traditional Communist tactic. Nguyen Van Linh has only applied the lessons he has learned from the previous leadership. He has not invented anything original.

What is different this time - and hence particularly noteworthy - is that the Viet Cong troops by and large have shown an unwillingness to be involved in this power struggle for they know too well that, whoever is on top, they will continue to be pushed to carry on "the internationalist duties for the proletariat." And if they don't, Nguyen Van Linh is there to remind them. •

Once extensively covered by the world media, Vietnam has been neglected by news agencies since the 1975 communist takeover; as a consequence, the public both inside and outside the country hardly know what has actually happened to the Vietnamese people except for speculation based on Hanoi's propaganda.

To offset the Vietcong's suppression of information, the National United Front for the Liberation of Vietnam has established in 1983 the Vietnamese Resistance Radio to inform the Vietnamese populace of the world, and to bring news from within to the outside world.

Broadcasting eight hours daily on the 30m and 40m waveband (13.3 Mhz and 7.4 Mhz), the VRR has effectively mobilized the populace into concerted resistance activities against the Hanoi regime.

Following are some excerpts from the Vietnamese Resistance Radio daily news program

RESISTANCE IN DONG THAP

- 54 receive basic military training and taught information and mass techniques.

- More than 8,000 information leaflets distributed.
- Several Viet Cong cadres killed.

(Vietnamese Resistance Radio, Nov. 16, 1987)

According to a report from the Resistance and Administrative Committee (RAC) of Dong Thap province, 54 men and women in the province have received basic military training, with particular emphasis on the handling of light weapons and the use of mines and booby traps, and have been taught techniques of Information and mass mobilization in the third quarter of 1987, under the aegis of the Committee. The report, broadcast over Vietnamese Resistance Radio on Nov. 16, 1987, also said that upon graduation, 32 of them have voluntarily joined the provincial armed resistance group and the rest have returned to their native villages and hamlets to work for the Resistance. The trainees also helped the Committee in disseminating more than 8,000 assorted leaflets calling on Viet Cong troops and cadres to return to the Cause of the people's resistance. The Committee also reported several Viet Cong cadres were killed in Tam Nong, Cao Lanh and Hong Ngu districts in late September 1987 by the people who were angered by the Viet Cong's policy of using forced labor to work on irrigation and flood containment projects. After four of them were killed by the people, the other Viet Cong cadres in the districts have become more restrained in their dealings with the people.

It had also been reported that a Viet Cong cadre named Tran Van Tong was killed and his body found in the rice-field in Hong Ngu district on August 23. Tong was known for his

extortionist practices in the district. He used to force the people to give him bribes in return for exemption from forced labor.

His practices caused deep resentment among the people who have resolutely boycotted the Viet Cong's policy of using forced labor to work on irrigation and flood containment projects. Also in July, 1987, the provincial Resistance and Administration Committee welcomed 18 new recruits and turned them over to the provincial resistance group, along with about 300 kilograms of supplies including rice, salt, dried fish, and medicine...



An Armed Resistance Unit in action

RESISTANCE IN KIEN GIANG

- A Viet Cong unit is ambushed in An Bien district.

(Vietnamese Resistance Radio, Nov. 16, 1987)

A Vietnamese Resistance Radio news broadcast on Nov. 16 said a Viet Cong unit had been ambushed by forces of the Armed Resistance Unit of Kien Giang province in An Bien district in the beginning of October.

The Viet Cong's fled after a few minutes of engagement, leaving behind three killed and one wounded, as well as one B-40, three AK-47's, several grenades, and a quantity of ammunition and first-aid kits. The Armed Resistance Unit had one combatant slightly wounded in the arm. The wounded Viet Cong soldier received first aid and elaborate medical care and was released after one week from a safe location. He was deeply moved by the policy of amnesty of the Front and promised to propagate the cause of the Resistance in his unit and to call on them to defect.

RESISTANCE IN THUAN HAI

- Increased popular support for the Resistance.
- Training of recruits.
- More than 3,000 leaflets distributed.

More than 3,000 leaflets had been distributed in Dac Binh, Thap Cham and Phu Quy districts in September of 1987, according to a report from the Thuan Hai provincial Resistance and Administration Committee, relayed over Vietnamese Resistance Radio on Nov. 16. The leaflets called on the people to boycott the work projects ordered by the local Viet Cong chapters in celebration of the anniversary of the October Revolution of the U. S. S. R.

The same report said the Committee had received more than 400 kilograms of supplies from the people, including rice, salt, dried fish, fish sauce, tobacco, and clothing. In coordination with the provincial Armed Resistance Unit, the Committee also provided training for 19 new recruits in the two

months of August and September, 1987. It was also reported that a Viet Cong security agent named Nguyen Van Xech was killed in the district of Ham Tan last September 25. According to the local people, Xech was the victim of an internal dispute among the Viet Cong public security agents in the district over the distribution of bribes. The Viet Cong in the district said Xech was killed by the Resistance forces and vowed to arrest the perpetrators of the act, but no investigation was conducted afterward. •

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 Vietnam.
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.

DISASTROUS SETBACK FOR THE VIETCONG ECONOMY AFTER ONE YEAR OF REFORMS

Last December, the Viet Cong Party's Central Committee held the fourth plenary session of the year to review the results of the new policy of reforms decreed by the 6th Party Congress in December of 1986 and to outline new directions for the economy for the next three years. On this occasion, let us also review the ability of the Viet Cong Government reform itself in the field of the economy and let us see if, taking account of the basic nature of Communism, the policy of economic reforms by Nguyen Van Linh and his followers could possibly achieve economic stabilization and development.

After reviewing the economic situation in 1987, the Party had to admit that the policy proposed by the 6th Congress had run into "significant failures in several fields." There are two aspects of that policy that are of particular interest to the Vietnamese. One of the stated objectives of the economic reforms was "to get rid of the phenomena of negativism." This is really aimed at purging the ranks and files of the remnants of the previous leaders that have been ousted and is only part of the on-going power struggle between the new and the old leadership under the guise of "economic reforms." The result was that not only did the reforms fail to achieve their stated economic objectives but the entire government machinery was paralyzed, causing serious difficulties due to the Viet Cong political and public security apparatus corruption, and due to the resistance of the cadres who felt they were the targets of the purge. Nguyen Van Linh himself had to admit this failure, not without warning of more purges to come.

According to the report by Vo Van Kiet, the right-hand man of Nguyen Van Linh, and currently deputy prime minister for state planning, the new economic reforms also failed to relieve food scarcity and to slow down the unmanageable skyrocketing inflation. In addition to the blockages in the distribution system, the foreign trade situation remained stagnant as a result of abyssmal productivity due to an utterly artificial pricing system. The repeated devaluations of the rate of exchange of the piaster, from 80 down to 380 piasters for one U.S. dollar in the official rate of exchange, had not had any impact in slowing down the inflation or increasing export (this rate is in fact only 1/3 of the black market one).

At the plenary session, the Viet Cong again blamed the failures on natural causes such as floods and droughts, on bureaucratic inertia, and on the lack of enthusiasm of the cadres.. the same reasons used by the former leaders to explain their failures. In fact, the failures were due to three basic causes which neither Linh nor Kiet was ready to admit:

The first cause was the expenses involved in a policy of repression inside the country and of aggression beyond the borders. The Soviet Union has been subsidizing Hanoi with more than 2 billion dollars a year. But that money is strictly military aid to help the Hanoi rulers maintain an army that has been ranked the fourth largest army in the world. While this



The misery of a family in one of the Vietcong 'new economic zones', the most boasted economic program.

aid can provide sufficient military equipment for its army, the Hanoi government has to find ways to feed an unproductive mass of nearly two million men. It also has to keep up some export of foodstuffs, raw materials, and handicraft products to the Soviet Union. There is no way production can keep up with demand under these circumstances.

The second cause, inherent to the present Viet Cong regime, was that the first priority continued to be the defense and consolidation of the power of the Party and the state. Elements deemed to be "the most efficient and capable" are reserved for the so-called "tasks of safeguarding the Socialist motherland", the 'Security sector', and the criteria for the use of personnel remain "the degrees of loyalty to the Party and to the Communist doctrine." These political considerations have resulted in an alienation of the economic machinery and corruption and mismanagement both in the political and the economic fields remained widespread. Under this political system, all economic reforms would be useless. It is in the nature of Communism to be impervious to any attempt at economic improvement. The Viet Cong regime being the most backward form of Communism, economic backwardness has become its second nature.

In addition to these two causes that are more or less inherent to the regime, we must also note a third cause which consists in the opposition of the people to the regime. The people have refused to cooperate with and to carry out the reform directives of the Party and the government. Moreover, they are ever ready to sabotage the policies and the management structures imposed upon them. They are against the survival of the regime, and they don't want to help consolidate the regime by carrying out the economic reforms decreed by the Party and the government. We call this "resistance by all means and on all front."

The Viet cong Party's Central Committee chose to ignore these three causes. Despite the realities, they have persisted in trying to implement an economic policy that remains basically Communist in conception, while desperately luring the people with empty promises as they have done in the past.

The decisions of the Party's fourth plenary session are not going to bring about any changes that could improve the situation: the 6th Resolution again stressed the objectives of a five-years plan, in the same arbitrary and utopian way as the previous Resolutions. And the 3rd Resolution made it clear again, for those who were naive enough to believe that Nguyen Van Linh was about to give up the Communist ideology and to start a new revolution, *that the prime objective of the reforms was to move toward a purely Socialist economy in the next phase*. The 2nd and the 4th Resolutions seemingly proposed even more aggressive reforms but again, it is unwise to expect any changes since Resolution No 5 has reasserted something that only those who have lived under a Communist regime could have a keen and bitter understanding: *"We will resolutely carry out the duties of the international proletariat."* To put it simply, that means that the Viet Cong will continue the war inside and outside the country in order to consolidate Communist power in all of Indochina, in accordance with the wish of the Soviet Union. The Vietnamese people will continue to be the victims of this blind policy of aggression.

In the world at large, a good many experts on Indochina Communism seemed to have deluded themselves with a quite fallacious picture of the Viet Cong. For more than a year they seemed to be enthused with what they thought to be a new era of "openness" of the Viet Cong on which they have built so much hope, hopes that are born out of their credulity and that may lead to perilous consequences. Because of this misconception - due to a misunderstanding of the true nature of the Hanoi regime and the campaign of propaganda from Hanoi - they have proposed the lifting of the economic boycott imposed on Indochina since 1979 "as a way to help the Viet Cong free themselves from the Soviet orbit." **The fact is that the Viet Cong have chosen to lean toward the Soviet Union ever since 1968 and have definitely moved over to the Soviet bloc before their invasion of Kampuchea. The economic boycott was only imposed because of the invasion of Kampuchea.** The process of cause and effect has been reversed in order to justify an appeal to go to the aid of an aggressor. In the same line of argument, some people have even proposed economic aid to the Viet Cong in order to alleviate the miseries of the people under their rule. It must be pointed out that any aid to the Viet Cong would only be used for the purpose of consolidating the power of the Communists and therefore would only help them carry out even more repressive and exploitative policies against the people.

Under a totalitarian regime, the people will be more miserable as the government grows more powerful. **Conversely, the worsening of the economy and the weakening of the ruling machinery would create opportunities for the people to rise up and overthrow the totalitarian regime that oppresses them.** The Viet Cong have admitted that they have failed to improve the economy in the past year. That means that in the past year the Vietnamese people have achieved significant successes in their struggle against the regime. To give economic aid to the Viet Cong regime is tantamount to supplying weapons to murderers so that they can commit more crimes.

THE NEW VIETCONG INVESTMENT LAW : A STUPID DECEPTION

In the beginning of this year, the Viet Cong government has promulgated a new Foreign Investment Law and has immediately followed it up with a campaign of propaganda publicizing what they claimed to be the most progressive and generous terms in this set of law. But people who are familiar with the issues of the world economic development and with the true nature of the Communist regime of the Viet Cong know instantly that this is just a barely camouflaged deception. In fact, this is so backwardness of the Viet Cong when they attempted to entice foreign investors.

This set of law was passed by the National Assembly, a body without real legislative power under the Viet Cong regime, on December 29, and was signed into law on Jan. 9. It is made up of nine Chapters, totalling 42 articles stipulating the objectives and the terms of investment containing, as claimed by the Viet Cong, several privileges for the foreign investor. Three forms of investments are outlined in the law : (1) Business cooperation contract; (2) Joint venture without limit to the maximum contribution of prescribed capital by a foreign investor; and (3) Private enterprises with 100 percent foreign investment capital. On the financial terms, it is stipulated that the foreign investor is entitled to repatriate both capital and profits and that the invested capital and assets of investors shall not be requisitioned or confiscated by administrative measures. It is further stipulated that an enterprise with foreign invested capital shall not be nationalized. Concerning the tax problem, the law provides that income taxes account for 15 to 20 percent of the profits earned, and when repatriating profits abroad, foreign investors have to pay a tax ranging from 3 to 10 percent of the actual amount... lower than in other countries....

On the surface, this set of law is no different from similar foreign investment laws in a number of other less-developed countries. But in reality, if the actual situation in Vietnam is taken into account, it becomes clear that this seemingly attractive investment law is only a trap to draw in foreign resources and technical know-how without providing any advantage for the foreign investors or any change for the people in the country to improve their living standard. Why ?

First of all, we must not lose sight of the fact that Vietnam remains under Communist domination, a brand of Communism that is the most backward and the most impervious to economic improvement. **Under a Communist regime, all the economic concepts concerning money, prices, accounting, taxes, credits... lose all their commonly accepted significance.** The accounting method of the Viet Cong - the process by which losses and profits are computed - is based on Marxist ideology which also gives particular definitions to such terms as capital, labor cost, depreciation, profits and income. With their own understanding of such terms, the Viet Cong cadres, even if they have enough goodwill, will not be able to compute objectively the manufacturing costs. Nor can they come to any agreement regarding operating costs and profits, not to say of more complicated notions such as pay-back period, return on investment or exchange rate, inflation indexation etc....



Under these circumstances, the investor will have to struggle all the way through every stage of the investment, production, distribution... against bureaucratic inertia, corruption and inefficiency of the Viet Cong regime. Each administrative bottleneck will be an opportunity for corruption, bribes and the investor, as a capitalist according to the Communist terminology, cannot expect understanding or help. As the hated capitalists, they will be milked dry.

Another possible cause for failure that the Viet Cong have tried to gloss over lies in the capacity of the people to cooperate with foreign investment. The Viet Cong have emphasized three factors which they say are favorable to foreign investment: cheap labor, rich natural resources and a stable political system. But all three of them are fallacious. Labor in Vietnam may be considered cheap, compared with the labor costs in other countries, because Vietnam is now one of the five poorest countries in the world. But the labor cost has to be compared with productivity. **The Vietnamese people will be unwilling to work for foreign investors who cooperate with a regime they hate.** They are even more unwilling when their salaries will be held back, deducted, perhaps substantially, by special taxes levied on their salaries, and by other exchange or administrative measures. Therefore, when speaking of cheap labor, the **foreign investor will have to keep in mind a very high "shadow labor cost, coupled with low productivity, and other losses incurred such as thefts by the Viet Cong cadres, the counter-productive interference by Viet Cong tax collectors and security agents among the employees.** Concerning natural resources, Viet Nam is indeed rich in natural resources, forestry and marine products, but these resources are not unlimited and have been uneconomically exploited for the last ten years. In emphasizing the richness in natural resources as a way to attract foreign investment, the Viet Cong have forgotten that many other countries have achieved economic development and have become international investment centers not because they are endowed with rich natural resources but because they have a free market economy that rewards hard work and high productivity. Finally, the Viet Cong claimed that the foreign investors will enjoy a stable political environment in which to conduct their businesses. Here again, they have failed to mention two very strong undercurrents that are threatening the survival of the regime. The first destabilizing factor is the ongoing power struggle that is spreading to every echelon of the ruling hierarchy and to every province, locality in the country from North to South. The second destabilizing factor is the opposition of the people against the regime. The Resistance movement has spread so far and wide that the regime has had to launch one terror campaign after another to try to put down the wide-ranging popular opposition. **There is a pervasive situation on insecurity in the whole country, posing a very serious threat to the regime** which will have to counter by massive campaigns of repression and an increasingly unsettled environment can be expected in the years ahead.

We have just compared the promises of the government with the stark realities. The ultimate objective of the foreign investment law gives rise to other concerns. That objective is stated as follows:

"To broaden our cooperation with foreign countries is of important significance for carrying out socialist industrialization in the future as well as gradually stabilizing and developing our economy on the initial stage of our transitional period to socialism." (The nationalization without indemnity of all foreign businesses in 1955 by the Viet Cong Government is not to be forgotten.)

There is also an international dimension to this if we have in mind that **the Viet Cong regime is still a member of COMECON, an organization of economic cooperation led by the Soviet Union.**

The Viet Cong regime has asserted that "(the law) reaffirms the ideas of the 6th Party that is to expand (the Viet Cong) participation in international labor division, first of all, in the division of comprehensive cooperation between (the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, i.e. the Viet Cong) and the Soviet Union, Laos, Kampuchea and other socialist countries..". In other words, this foreign investment law is only the continuation of the economic policy that the Viet Cong have learned from the Soviet Union, and in accordance with the idea of international division of labor of COMECON. The Viet Cong will remain a satellite dependent on the Soviet Union politically and on COMECON economically. The Viet Cong after all are trying to fulfill their duties toward COMECON by calling for foreign investment. In that, they are a Trojan horse brought in to exploit the free market economic system.

That is why for the Vietnamese, it is inconceivable that the world can even contemplate the possibility of cooperating with an oligarchy who, with more than 4-million-dollar worth a day of military assistance from the Soviet Union, continue to move the Vietnamese society back to the Stone Age. **Economic cooperation with the Viet Cong amounts to a declaration of war against the Vietnamese people.** It is an ill-thought and sterile venture.

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 three branches of NUFRONLIV, the General Directorate of In-land Affairs, the General Directorate of Overseas Affairs, and the Armed Resistance Forces in mobilizing the Vietnamese people in every way and by every means to overthrow the Viet Cong. Throughout the country, from North to South, the General Directorate of In-land Affairs has developed 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 wherever Vietnamese are resettled.

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To present background information on 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, Japanese, etc., and "KHANG CHIEN", the most widely read monthly tabloid among the Vietnamese overseas.

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