

March, 1988

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

Vietcong Economy and the 'Pendulum' Strategy

In the Communist world, the foreign policy and the economic policy of the satellites of the Soviet Union can be likened to the swings of the pendulum. Whenever they run into economic difficulties in their countries, they would turn to the West, seeking aid and economic cooperation. Their argument would go like this: 'We are now deep in economic crisis because of the rigid policies of the Soviet Union. With your economic aid we will be able to (1) modernize our economic management in a more democratic and flexible way, and (2) become less dependent on the Soviet Union and therefore we could eventually free ourselves from its grip and become neutral, if not yet truly independent.'

In their dealings with the Communist world, Western countries sometimes would base their foreign policies on wishful thinking. They would lift their economic embargoes or other retaliatory measures against the Communist countries and would encourage their non-governmental organizations to undertake humanitarian activities and then to establish cultural and economic relationships with these Communist countries. That would be followed by business corporations and bankers seeking profits. Since these Communist countries with more loans and credits from the Western countries. In diplomatic relations, the result may be even worse.

After they have managed to siphon off resources from the West (in the forms of foreign currency, raw materials, manufactured goods, and especially technical know-how, whether bought or stolen), these countries would not leave the orbit of the Soviet Union. Instead they would be even more docile and subservient to the latter. Politically, they would still remain in the Warsaw Pact and, economically, they would still be members of Comecon, both under the influence and close control of the Soviet Union. The Western countries would then have no other choice but to wait until the pendulum swing back to its former position when new leaders will emerge, with new promises of 'management reforms' and of 'eventual detachment from the orbit of the Soviet Union.'

The Vietcong regime under Nguyen Van Linh is now in this courtship phase. They are publicizing their so-called efforts to 'modernize their management techniques.' In a tone of confidence, they are complaining to selected journalists of 'the nefarious influence of the Soviet Union.' They have brought out a foreign investment law. They are trying to develop a tourist industry. And they have even announced the start of certain 'international' projects ... This is certainly a well orchestrated campaign. But this magic show has been going off and on in Eastern Europe for the last 40 years. The Viet cong have not had any new initiatives.

What is new, perhaps, is that the Viet cong are now saddled with the foreign debt totalling some 8 billion dollars while their foreign currency reserve comes to a mere 17 million dollars. They are now incapable of repaying their debts, and any loans given them would only be used in debt servicing. What is strange is that the Viet cong keep trying to convince the West of their desire to get out of the orbit of the Soviet Union while they are still receiving each passing day more than 4-million-dollar worth of military aid from the Soviet Union. In other words, the Viet cong, with Russian guns in hands pointing at Western interests, are trying to get a price from the democratic countries for their goodwill for peace and their desire for economic cooperation.

It has been said often enough of the Lenin statement that the democratic countries would hang themselves on the rope that they gave the Communists. The Viet cong are too poor to buy such a rope, but they can still hope to buy it on credit. Unless they are overthrown by the people in the country in the next few years, we will be able to witness the same show that has been staged elsewhere: The West gives money to a regime of armed robbers, hoping that by so doing they would not be shot at!

THE LIBERATION STRATEGY OF THE VIETNAMESE RESISTANCE

The liberation strategy of the NUFRONLIV is a combination of reflections from Vietnamese history and the current circumstances.

Difference between war and struggle

The situation in Vietnam has changed drastically since 1975. From an invading aggressor, the Vietcong have become totalitarian rulers, thus the former conventional self-defense war of Vietnam has given away to a new form of resistance struggle. The resistance struggle is a struggle for liberation which differs in strategic concepts from pre 1975 warfare in Vietnam. Differences in the nature and conditions between a war and a liberation struggle have required a new conceptual approach for the latter.

The liberation struggle is a struggle of an oppressed majority against a totalitarian oligarchy, and therefore the struggle is propelled by popular will, or "Chinh Nghia" which means "Just Cause" in Vietnamese. *In a conventional war, fire power and troop force are prevailing factors. In a liberation struggle the decisive factors are the will and determination of the oppressed.*

Toward a new liberation strategy

After assessing the present situation in conjunction with reflections from Vietnamese history, NUFRONLIV has arrived at a more appropriate liberation strategy which is introduced in the Liberation Chapter of the NUFRONLIV Political Program.

Communism began its expansion into Vietnam more than half a century ago. Confronting the expansion is primarily the task of the Vietnamese people. However, during the Vietnam war the Vietnam issue was dealt mainly in the framework of international interests and the Vietnamese lost their active role. The aftermath still lingers and today some people still expect the Free World to solve the present Vietnam issue for the Vietnamese people. NUFRONLIV emphasizes that the people of Vietnam will be the primary force in solving the Vietnam issue before counting on the assistance of the Free World. If the Vietnamese people do not assume this responsibility, the Vietcong regime will never be overthrown, and

peace in Indochina will never be restored. The conviction is reflected in NUFRONLIV's first strategic concept: *"To rely on our people's strength to liberate our fatherland."*

In the struggle of the oppressed Vietnamese majority against the Vietcong oligarchy, one of the factors determining success is a consensus to unite all popular forces regardless of age, social origin, political orientation, religion, or ethnic background. During the period of self-defense war the people of Vietnam did not reach that consensus. Having endured the Vietcong rule, the people of Vietnam, in both the North and the South, finally realized that they have no future under communism. Overthrowing the Vietcong oligarchy is thus a duty of each and every Vietnamese person, whose united efforts are an effective weapon. This conviction is NUFRONLIV's second strategic concept: *"To count on the spirit of unity of the entire people as a liberation weapon."*

These concepts are indigenous to Vietnamese history, which for almost five thousands years has witnessed the mobilizing of all Vietnamese for the defense of National Independence.

Since every Vietnamese has his own duty in the liberation struggle, the resistance efforts can not be consigned to a certain social category. And since each Vietnamese has his own part in the struggle, he can strike the Vietcong from his own position. *The liberation struggle is thus a fight on all fronts, by all means, at all places and by all Vietnamese people.* This total resistance, an unconventional struggle carried out in all possible ways and all possible means, is the third strategic concept of NUFRONLIV.

Due to the limitations of a military approach, NUFRONLIV focuses on the combination of military operations and its mass motive mobilization strategy to protect and to support the resistance network. Through mass motive mobilization, NUFRONLIV seeks to transform and direct popular hostility into a carefully planned resistance and to impair the enemy on all fronts. The key motto of the mass motive mobilization strategy is: *"Winning popular support rather than attacking fortresses"*, which reflects the peace-loving and humanistic nature of the Vietnamese Resistance. ●

LENIN'S NOOSE IN THE HANDS OF HANOI

On of the common characteristics of Communist regimes, including the one in Vietnam, is their hunger for capitalist resources. While moving to communize society by dismantling all social institutions and destroying all individual freedoms, they would simultaneously strive to obtain capital and technical know-how from free countries in order to maintain and develop the regime strength. It is not surprising then to see Communist governments often try to win the favors of free countries which, according to their Marxist ideology, should be their enemies.

The Vietcong regime is no exception. Since the last few years, their economic situation has deteriorated to a dismal point. The economic reforms decreed by the new rulers at the end of 1986 did not bring about any improvement as expected. Instead, they have created even more disturbances. These accumulated crises have their roots in the basic nature of the Vietcong regime which is immune to any economic progress. They are also the results of acts of sabotage and of the uncooperative attitude of the followers of the old rulers who have lost out in the power struggle. These loyalists now fear that they may lose their remunerative positions to the followers of the new rulers. The so-called 'inventive reforms' have failed to bring about any increase in agricultural production. Instead, the output in 1987 fell back to the level of 1985, the year when Le Duan was still in power. Production of manufactured goods, consumer goods, and goods for export also fell far short of the targets set in the so-called 'policy of three increases.' The Vietcong policy of 'Decentralized Democracy' only resulted in increased opportunities for corruption and graft in the various government agencies and state-owned plants. In short, beside creating an illusory feeling of openness, the so-called reforms decreed by the Vietcong government were not actually aimed at fulfilling the basic purpose of national economy which is, as

commonly understood, the furtherance of the well-being of the people. These 'reforms' were designed only as a means to attract the resources from the free countries, as is the common practice of Communist regimes. Since their ultimate goal is global domination, the Vietcong, as well as the Soviet Union, as Communists, will not lose sight of that objective and, despite the crises in their economies, will continue to try to consolidate their power, or at least to secure their hold on the acquisitions that they have gained through force of arms.

Generally speaking, the Soviet Union's ploy aimed at attracting resources from the Western democratic countries is based partly on the skillful use of techniques of international finances, taking advantage of the gaps in the laws of those countries. This policy is carried out even to the detriment of satellite countries whose interest will have to remain subservient to the interests of the Soviet Union: While the Eastern European countries would have to seek debt moratorium from the West, they still have to repay their debt to the Soviet Union to enable the latter to maintain good credit with the West. Gorbachev's Glasnost policy is but another ploy to lure foreign investment. The same policy, though on a smaller scale, is being applied, to the letters by the Vietcong as a way to attract foreign capital and resource which they need in their desperate attempt to consolidate their



Vietcong, the Soviet expansionist beach head in Asia.

power and in their expansionist drive in Southeast Asia.

The Vietcong have been seeking economic aid from the West for several years, but that was only given up top priority after the 6th Vietcong Party Congress at the end of 1986 when 'Glasnost' was becoming the motto in the Communist world and when

the the deterioration in their economies was reaching dangerous proportions.

The Vietcong regime has indeed expended great efforts to do their part in the execution of this economic and financial ploy of International Communism. Most clearly, they are trying to break out of their present situation of diplomatic outcast so they can hope to move on to achieve success in their economic and financial ploy without having to sacrifice their acquisitions in Laos and Kampuchea. While the Vietcong propaganda machine builds up the image of Nguyen Van Linh as a 'reformer' and create the myth of the need to help 'Linh-the-reformer' counter the influence of the 'doctrinaire' faction in the Party, a new investment law is also promulgated by the Vietcong government. Despite all the publicity, the Vietcong Investment Law contains nevertheless serious shortcomings rooted in the very nature of the Vietcong regime (re Vietnamese Resistance issue of Jan. 1988). Moreover, it is also noted that some of the most important problems concerning taxes and currency exchange tend to be glossed over in that set of laws. For instance, the tax rates for foreign investment have been left open, with the vague mention that these tax rates will be fixed later by the government, without specifying which government organ will be responsible. As to the problem of currency exchange, it should be noted that the official rate of exchange of the Vietcong piaster, despite the recent devaluation of 2500%, remains only about one third of rate in the free market.

The Vietcong economy also lacks an infrastructure capable of

supporting an investment project: Communications network, electricity, banking system, skilled manpower etc. The Vietcong government is looking to the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank for help to remedy these shortcomings. They state clearly that they 'need help to build up an economic infrastructure to insure success for their foreign investment law.' On the other hand, there are two points that cannot be ignored: The first point is that the Vietcong remain a member of Comecon and, in their duty according to the principle of 'International Division of Labor' they are still required, as a first priority, to repay up to 6 billions dollars of debt to the Soviet Union. That would give some

The Vietcong remain a member of the Comecon and in their duty according to the principle of 'International Division of Labor' they are still required to to pay up to \$6 billions of debt to the Soviet Union.

second though to those in the West who may be thinking of lending money to the Vietcong for, obviously, they will not be able to repay their loan to the West, being already saddled with such heavy debts to the Soviet Union which hold first right over its Vietcong debtor. Secondly, if the past is any indication, the Vietcong will not be able to build up an economic infrastructure even with the help of foreign experts: The Ha Tien cement plant, the paper mill project etc..have all been failures. The new projects which the Vietcong are presenting for financial aid will certainly suffer the worse fate under the management of the Vietcong 'experts'.

In the day ahead, we can expect the Vietcong regime to publicize some investment 'success stories' to lure international investors. But, in the final analysis, any joint economic venture with the Vietcong is fraught with risks, and the prospect for any real benefits is either non-existent or mediocre at best. ●

News in Brief

United States:

Los Angeles

Representatives of NUFRON-LIV chapter in the Los Angeles area, and members of other community associations in the San Bernadino area, attended an evening of cultural performance organized by the local student association and Vietnamese community at the San Bernadino College to celebrate the New Year of the Dragon. In was an opportunity for every one to meet and discuss on the problems concerning the Vietnamese Resistance.

Silicon Valley

In support of similar efforts by Vietnamese elsewhere in the world, a committee to Denounce the Economic and Financial Ploy of the Viet cong was jointly appointed by several Vietnamese groups in Northern California where there is a large community of about 100,000 Vietnamese refugees. The Committee also denounce the Viet cong plot to promote tourism in Viet Nam. The few who joint the tours to visits Viet Nam organized by Viet cong was severely criticized by the community for having unwittingly helped in the Viet cong propaganda campaign, and violated their status of refugees. It was known that some Vietnamese tourists, despite their foreign citizenship, has been held back by the Viet cong as hostages for money. 300 Vietnamese associations all over the world have joined in the campaign denouncing the economic and financial ploy of the Viet cong.

France

Bordeaux

An evening of cultural performance was organized by the local Vietnamese community and the Front Chapter in Bordeaux, France on the occasions of Tet Holidays, and to raise



Tet activities in support of the Resistance in Bordeaux-France

fund for the support of the Resistance. More than 1000 people attended the evening. The performance was stage by the Resistance Performance Group in the Paris area under the theme 'This is our Century', denoting the resolve of all Vietnamese to support the Resistance for the liberation of the Country.

Federal Republic of Germany

Munich

Simultaneously with other activities by the Vietnamese refugees elsewhere in the world, an evening of cultural event in support of the Resistance was held jointly by Vietnamese refugees living in Southern Germany and NUFRONLIV chapter in the area Munchen-Hemenkirch. The evening, on Feb. 27, was attended by more than 500 people despite the bitter cold at that time of the year. The festival was an occasion for Vietnamese to celebrate the New Year and to express their support for the Resistance.

Australia

Tasmania

Mr Le Quang, NUFRONLIV representative in Australia, attended a Year'End celebration with the small Vietnamese com-

Participants pledged increased support for the Resistance during the New Year. Unlike the big cities of Australia such as Sydney, Melbourne etc..where there are large communities of Vietnamese refugees, there are only about 30 Vietnamese families settled in Tasmania.

Belgium

Brussels

Mr. Vankerhoven, chairman of the International Committee for a Free Viet Nam, had a cordial meeting with Dr Tran Duc, representative of NUFRONLIV in Europe; During the meeting, which took place on Feb.11, Mr. Vankerhoven expressed his admiration for the spirit of struggle of the Vietnamese and said his Committee would help circulate news concerning the activities of NUFRONLIV. Mr. Vankerhoven and the CIVL had given strong support to the recent campaign to denounce the economic and financial ploy of the Viet cong, and has called on the European Economic



Demonstration to denounce the Vietcong economic and financial ploy in San Jose-USA

munity in Tasmania. It was an occasion for the Vietnamese people here to meet and express their support for the Resistance.

Community to reject the application for diplomatic relation of the Viet cong government. ●

Viet cong: The Hegemonist 'Liberation'

A serious analysis of the present struggle of the Vietnamese people would certainly clarify the characteristics and the significance of that struggle.

A myth that has been mistakenly accepted concerns the frequent misuse of the term 'liberation war' to designate what was really a war of aggression committed by the Viet cong against South Viet Nam. In fact, the Vietcong have never been considered by the Vietnamese people as 'liberators.' Instead, ever since the first years when Communist ideology was first introduced into Vietnam by Ho Chi Minh, the henchman of International Communism, the Vietnamese people were already well aware of the plot by the Communist imperialists to put their country under their hegemony. During the last 25 years of the century long struggle for Independence, the Vietnamese people had to fight against both the colonialists and the spread of Communism in their country. During the most trying phases of the struggle for Independence, Ho Chi Minh had not hesitated to cooperate with the colonialists in destroying the Nationalists, all the while deceiving the world with the slogan of struggle for Independence. It was Ho Chi Minh himself who sign the accord to bring back the French colonialists to Viet Nam after World War II, starting what the Vietcong have always claimed to be the 9-year war of resistance during which so much blood had to be shed by the Vietnamese patriots in order to regain national independence which could have been theirs much earlier. The role of the Communist Party, heretofore under the cloak of the Viet minh, was only officially confirmed after the Vietcong had seized control of the Northern part of the country after 1954. The struggle for independence of Vietnamese nationalists had been maneuvered by the Viet cong into a struggle between the Communist imperialists and the French colonialists.

The next phase, from 1954 to 1975, was the struggle of the Vietnamese people to remain free in South Viet Nam. But once again, the world was deceived by Vietcong propaganda and called this war of aggression a 'war of liberation of South Viet Nam.' The true expansionist nature of the war only recognized after

South Viet Nam had been taken over by force by the Viet cong.

The repressive measures of the Viet cong against the people in the country, and the stories of the 'boat people,' subsequently turned Viet Nam into a human right issue. However, some confusion between the form and the substance of the problem still persists and, as a result, some people are still not able to grasp the true oppressive and aggressive nature of the Viet cong, and the significance of the present struggle of the Vietnamese people to overthrow the brutal Communist regime still eludes their understanding.

The Vietnamese people do not intend to wage a war, neither do they want to start a war. They are only waging a struggle for their freedom and for national independence against the hegemonist policy of the Soviet Union acting through its Viet cong proxy. The true hegemonist nature of the Soviet imperialists and their Viet cong proxy could be seen through their expansionist policy that is being now implemented in Southeast Asia. However it must be recognized, in perspective, that policy is only the continuation of a strategy to achieve global domination that has been applied in Indochina for nearly half a century.

The Viet Nameese people do not intend to wage a war. Neither do they want to start a war. They are only waging a struggle for their freedom and for national independence against the hegemonist policy of the Soviet Union, acting through its Vietcong proxy.

For the Vietnamese people, the present struggle is directed toward the same objective: To regain human dignity, and national independence and sovereignty from foreigners, understood to be the Soviet imperialists acting through the Viet cong proxy. This is a life and death struggle for the Vietnamese people because they don't want their national resources to be siphoned off by the Soviet Union, they don't want to see Vietnamese lives still being expended to serve the expansionist design of the Communist imperialists, they don't want to see their country being occupied by a foreign power. The Vietnamese people are waging a struggle to put an end to a situation of war.

This is a fight for human dignity, for the salvation of the nation. This is also a fight to regain national independence. Those are the two characteristics of the present struggle of the Vietnamese people. ●

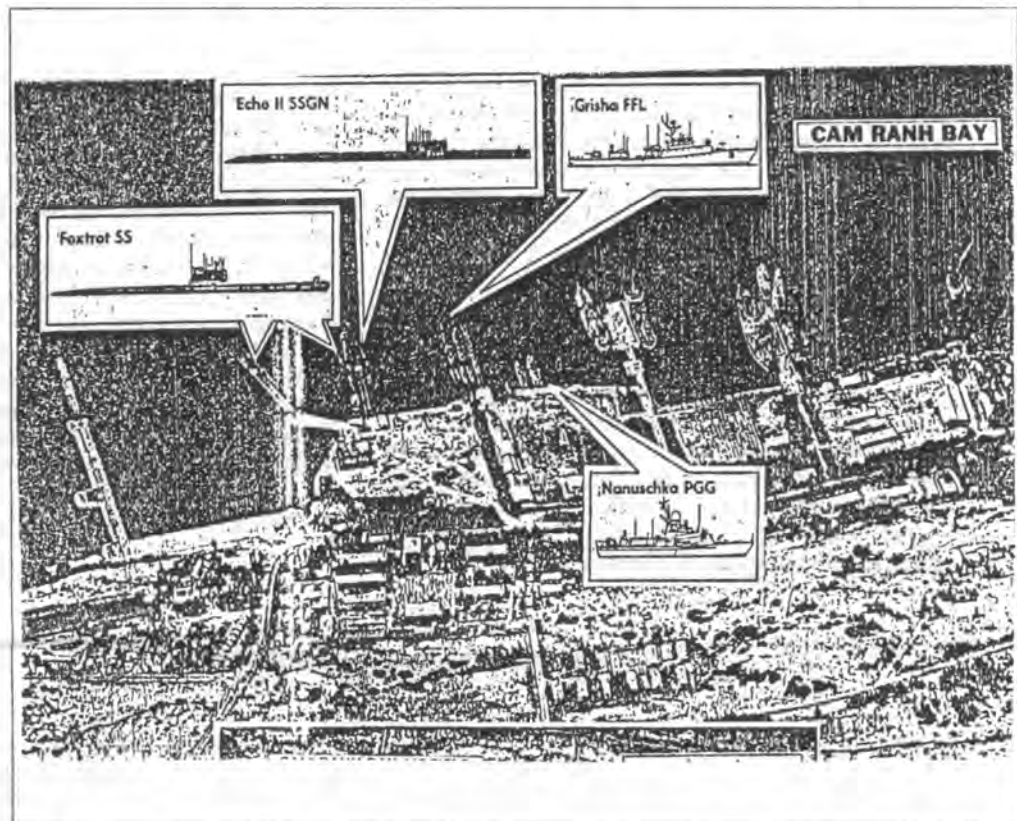
SOUTH EAST ASIA: THE ECONOMIC PROSPERITY AT RISK

With their steady economic development during the past two decades, the countries in Southeast Asia have assumed an increasingly important role in the community of the world economy. Their economic success was due not only to the fact that these countries are endowed with rich natural resources, but it also owed in large part to their logical policy in market economy as well as to the productivity and the spirit of enterprise of their peoples. Today, Southeast Asia has the capacity to absorb up to two thirds of the total exports of Japanese consumer electronics and enjoys an outstanding trade relationship with the United States and the countries in Europe. As a result, the standard of living of the peoples in Southeast Asia has increased by many times compared with the situation of several years ago. In the years ahead, these countries are expected to join the ranks of the industrialized countries in the world.

Another important factor that contributed to the outstanding economic progress of the countries in Southeast Asia is the political and social stability that they have enjoyed during all the past years. The growth of the democratic institutions, and the democratic spirit of the people, have provided a firm foundation for their political stability in accordance with the diverse cultures in the area. Meantime, because of this important strategic position, the whole region have enjoyed the security protection provided by the powerful armed forces of the United

States since the past decades. This has greatly contributed to the economic development in the area for these countries did not have to use up substantial resources for national defense.

But the prospect for continued economic development and political stability of these countries is nevertheless clouded by an external factor: the presence of the Vietcong regime in Vietnam. With nearly 2 million men under arms (including the regional and militia forces) the Hanoi regime has weighed heavily upon the whole region. For the last 30 years, the Vietcong government has been conducting an expansionist policy which led them first to take over South Vietnam then to move on to seize control



Above:
The Soviet Union
Cam Ranh Naval
Bases, the largest
outside Soviet
territory



Left:
....And its military
airport which range
of action cover the
entire Southeast Asia



of Laos and to invade Kampuchea. The armed forces used in that expansionist policy have continued to grow during the past ten years: the regular forces of the Vietcong have increased from 700,000 men in 1975 to more than 1 million ten years after. The situation of permanent insecurity along the border between Thailand and Laos and Kampuchea indicates that the threat of invasion by the Vietcong is likely to increase rather than decrease. Moreover, with Cam Ranh Bay, the most important navy base for the Russian Navy outside the Soviet Union, and Da Nang, one of the largest air bases in the region, the Soviet Union has also exerted increasing military pressures in Southeast Asia for the past ten years. In fact, the whole region lies within range of the Russian armed forces, and the Russian Navy has been making use of the most important sea routes in Southeast Asia.

There is a view which holds that the threat from the Vietcong and the Soviet Union actually has a beneficial effect in that it has cemented the unity of the countries in the region and promoted their economic development. This is purely superficial and subjective. It is also inaccurate and dangerous. It is inaccurate because the threat of the Vietcong does not have any bearing on the economic solidarity of the region which is just a natural process of economic development and the expansion of international trade. It is dangerous because it can lead to an incorrect appreciation of the potential threats to the security of the region posed by expansionist capacity of the Vietcong and the Soviet Union. The tendency to compromise actually has been exploited by the Vietcong to drive a wedge between the countries of the region. Besides in order to deal with

that reality, the countries in Southeast Asia will have to strengthen their own defensive capabilities instead of relying totally on the U.S. Naturally, this will adversely affect their economic development and may create other unpredictable chain reactions. Even the military presence of the U.S. has been challenged. The American naval and air bases in the Philippines have come under direct pressures and since last year they have become targets of attacks by the Filipino rebels who are aided by the Vietcong.

Faced with the Vietcong threats to peace, the temporary measures that have been thought of, such as the efforts to get the Vietcong to withdraw from Kampuchea, or, worse, the temptations to seek compromises with the Vietcong, will not resolve the problem in any fundamental way. The withdrawal of the Vietcong forces from Kampuchea would only signify the end of their military occupation and the beginning of a defacto annexation of that country, cemented with the presence of nearly 1 million Vietnamese civilians forced to settle in Kampuchea and the firm control of a colonial administration with Vietcong cadres at all levels of the administrative machinery. Besides, without waiting for a solution to Kampuchea, the Vietcong have continued to provide aid to the rebels in the Philippines and, lately, to the Thai and Burmese rebels to foment troubles in these countries. The Vietcong expansionist design is not limited to Kampuchea. It is being pushed everywhere in Southeast Asia. *To counter this threat, the best, and the most feasible solution the world could have is to cooperate with the Vietnamese Resistance.* ●

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.

The following are addresses of NUFRONLIV overseas offices :

America : NUFRONLIV : 5119-A Leesburg Pike Suite 111, Falls Church, VA 22041
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 Postale 131, 92164 Antony Cedex, FRANCE.

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.

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

NUFRONLIV : 5119-A Leesburg Pike Suite 111, Falls Church, VA 22041 (703) 425-9343