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NUFRONLIV

Overseas Headquarters:

P.O. Box 7826
San Jose, California 95150-7826
USA
Tel: (408) 723-2997

Asia:

P.O. Box 223
Shiba, Tokyo 105-91
JAPAN
Tel: (03) 768-9856

Australia:

P.O. Box 1260
North Richmond, Victoria 3121
AUSTRALIA
Tel: (03) 429-4717

Europe:

B.P. 131
92164 Antony Cedex
FRANCE
Tel: (1) 43-86-82-01

Send by:



CARROT-STICK APPROACH IN DEALING WITH HANOI

The Hanoi recent announcement of total troop pullout of Cambodia in the end of September has brought a lot attention and some encouragements from leaders of democratic countries. Optimistic welcome and promised rewards are goodwill measures to accelerate the termination of Vietnamese communist occupation in this war-wretched country. But how these measures should be executed so as to most effectively achieve the goal without causing backfires is a problem that needs to be discussed.

The main reason that forced the Vietnamese Communist (Vietcong) leaders to withdraw their troops does not come from their acknowledgement of immorality and unjustifiability of the 10-year occupation of Cambodia. When announcing their total troop withdrawal, Hanoi avows its right to come back on request of Hanoi-installed Hun Sen government, which amounts to a mere convenient retreat for the time being.

During their 10-year occupation of Cambodia, Vietcong leaders have lingered on their domination grip despite of many Western offers of aids and trade relationship to encourage a total Vietcong troop withdrawal. Hanoi has mounted a noisy advertisement on promises and contact with the outside world as a political asset to soar up falling trust among party members and soldiers. Yet, as a self-elected regime, the absence of foreign aid and diplomatic relation did not significantly impair its power. Promise of economic aids, diplomatic and trade normalization is more of a carrot nature than that of the stick.

These inducements only showed signs of working when the Vietcong leaders' power base dangerously stumbled from inside. Morale crises in the army and the party, social disintegration, economic and political failures are compelling pressures that led to Hanoi's announcement of unilateral pullout. The breakdown of authority and control in most areas was a result of imaginative and prevalent acts of disablement from the population. Disillusioned party members and soldiers at all levels also participated in destroying the enforcement and administrative machine.

The resistance was carried on quietly without flashy and news-catchy events but formed a formidable strategic roadblock for the Vietcong leaders' economic plans and power consolidation. The growing subversion movement were fueled by the popular knowledge of an active resistance organization with base in Vietnam and overseas. Orchestrated and wide-spread resistance activity have paralyzed all remedial measures approved by the Vietcong highest authority. Thus, two and a half years after the official retreat by organizational restructure and policy switches in the fashion and help of Western-educated technocrats, the Vietcong regime has not least significantly recuperated from the deteriorated power and the troubled economy. It's the organized but quiet resistance movement that acts as the stick in complement to the inducements offered by democratic countries.

Three conclusions may be drawn from that observation.

First, active demands, rather than rewards withholding, must always be strict conditions accompanied any form of inducements to the Vietcong regime. The Vietcong leadership manifested for 60 years since the birth of their party a uniformed irrationality and arrogance in regardless of friendly or conflictional

(Continued, next page)

→ dealings. Unilateral inducements without attached demands shall most likely invite the Vietcong's construing them as signs of weaknesses. To effect these demands as genuine pressures accompanied any inducement program, the countries involved have to make it clearly known to Hanoi their commitment to verify the faithful implementation as well as their readiness to react forcefully if any breach should occur.

Second, the Vietcong withdrawal from Cambodia, demanded by democratic countries as the only prime condition for diplomatic normalization, has not actually resulted from the abolition of its expansionist policy, therefore does not suffice a moral ground for trade cooperation or economic, technology, cultural aids to the Vietcong regime. Domestically, the Vietcong regime must behave humanely and in a democratic way before one can expect it to behave fairly and cooperatively in its external policy. Demands for concrete implementation of democracy, economic freedom, and social justice must be preconditions to any cooperation-assistance program if the goodwill of countries involved is not to be misconstrued or misused for the political needs of the Vietcong leaders in Hanoi, and if the final beneficiaries of the goodwill are to be the people of Vietnam.

Third, trade and diplomatic normalization, technological and economic aids only stand their ground as incentives for Hanoi's cooperative manners as long as a coercion on the ruling machinery is maintained or increased. In the case of Vietnam, the coercive factor comes from the perpetual defiance and resistance of the population. The growing Vietnamese Resistance movement is thus a significant factor to be considered in maintaining a reliable and permanent pressure on the irrational Vietcong leadership.

Unilateral promised rewards, often advocated as an easier way to attract the single-minded Vietnamese Communist leaders, have always failed as witnessed in the past. Only the coercion-inducement approach proved to be the fastest and most effective way for Hanoi to see the offers with reasonable and somber minds. Resolute pressures instead of reasoning encouragement was most effective in "inducing" Hanoi to civilized behaviors. This is an irony necessary in dealing with a subject as abnormal as the Vietnamese communist leadership. The "carrot" is not perceived as one if the blinded mule is not helped with the discerning whips of the "stick".



Melbourne, Vietnamese National Day. From top: 1) 3000 Vietnamese on the evening event. 2) Guest of honor, Mr. Nguyen Kim cut the opening band. 3) The Resistance Choir Group of Australia. 4) Welcome remarks to guests at the reception hall.

THE VIETNAMESE NATIONAL DAY

Grand Celebration in Melbourne, Australia

The celebration lasted the entire Saturday of April 22, from the early hours of the morning through the late night, and drew nearly 5000 Vietnamese in several events that was unprecedented in their community in Melbourne. Hundreds of them came thousands miles away, as far as from Perth, Brisbane, and Adelaide, to participate or to help organize the event.

Various organizations spent months in advance to aim for perfection of their parts in the event. The Organizing Committee had begun its work many months earlier. Local Vietnamese businessmen and associations donated money for the grand celebration which this year Melbourne City of Australia was honorly chosen for the place.

A whole bloc surrounding the Dallas Brooks Hall, where all activities took place, were cordoned off. Street-side food and game booths stirred up the festival air, and inside the traditional rituals worshipping Vietnamese Founding Fathers made the Day a uniquely solemn event. Impatient game champions and soccer teams waited outside the hall for the trophy-awarding event which followed. Spicing the energizing atmosphere were music and dance performances by invited Lithuania, Cambodia and Vietnamese youth groups.

At the reception hall, Vietnamese community leaders and Australian guests clustered in small groups talking, an informal occasion for the Vietnamese to discuss their opposition to the Australian government's policy toward the Vietcong regime. Among the attending guests were Australian Senators Jim Short, Representative Michael Wooldridge, Victoria Representative the Honorable Bruce Skeggs. Later in the afternoon, the guest of honor, Mr. Nguyen Kim, the National United Front For the Liberation of Vietnam's Commissioner-General of Overseas



From top: Orlando, FL. (April 16); Montreal, Canada; Oslo, Norway (April 15); Tokyo, Japan (April 23).

THE VIETNAMESE NATIONAL DAY

Affairs, was guided by the Organizing Committee Chairman Nguyen Tan Hai, to tour the photograph exhibition hall. The 250 framed pictures illustrate the Vietnamese struggle for national independence and freedom 4000 years ago to the present day.

The main event of the Grand Celebration took place in the evening where a 1-hour theatrical play "Emperor Quang Trung's spirit in history" portraited the people's power in the 200-year ago victory against the invasion of 200,000-Manchurian army. Performance by the NUFRONLIV Resistance Choir Groups of Australia embarking on unison and determination of the current freedom-fighting struggle has captivated more than 3000 audience. That night, the 1989 Art and Literature Award was conferred by Commissioner-General Nguyen Kim to artist Duc Am Truong Quoc Trung, author of a 4-piece air brush set called "Emperor Quang Trung in the soul of the Vietnamese".

National Day celebrations around the globe

Around the globe, Vietnamese have similarly celebrated the Vietnamese National Day in commemoration of their Founding Ancestors with blessing mass, music performance, festival activity, or competition in soccer, volley, table tennis, from Europe to Australia, from Japan to North America. For 2 weekends of mid-April, hundreds of them, and in a few places thousands of them, gathered in the cities where there are large Vietnamese communities, in Aalborg, Denmark, in Bergen and Oslo, Norway, in Duisburg, Bremen, Berlin, West Germany, in Montreal, Toronto, Ottawa, Vancouver, Canada, in Birmingham, England, in Paris, Bordeaux in France, in Osaka, Tokyo, Japan, in Perth, Adelaide, Brisbane, Australia, in Portland, Biloxi, Honolulu, Houston, Atlanta, Phoenix, Denver, Philadelphia, Chicago, Washington D.C., Seattle, the United States.



From top: Portland, OR. (April 15); Philadelphia, PA. (April 8); Toronto, Canada (April 8); Ottawa, Canada (April 8).

THE VIETNAMESE NATIONAL DAY



Hawaii (April 14, 89)

MANIFESTATION OF ALL-FACETED STRATEGY

Thirty cities around the world. It's the number of cities around the globe where almost all Vietnamese escaping the Vietcong (Vietnamese Communist) dictatorship have settled and where the Vietnamese National Day was celebrated this year. Tens thousands in all have come together for a sacred day that symbolizes the continuing battle against the Vietcong dictatorship at home. Game competition, music performance, religious mass, festival fairs, exhibitions and speeches were among the activities that have denoted the atmosphere of this occasion originated 3 years ago.

In 1987 the National United Front for the Liberation of Vietnam (NUFRONLIV) introduced the idea to set the Vietnamese National Day to be honored by the Vietnamese people so as to reject the one imposed by the Vietcong regime. The Day was chosen to be the tenth day of the third lunar month, the Vietnamese Founding Fathers Commemoration Day.

The *raison d'être* for the people-set National Day is to rally the Vietnamese in a worldwide event to denounce the Vietcong rule. Their authority seized and retained by guns are rejected by the people. The Vietcong-set holidays, always to honor events of the Vietnamese communist party, are thus loathsome to the Vietnamese.

The National Day as now enthusiastically celebrated by the Vietnamese overseas and discreetly observed by Vietnamese at home signifies the bond of union between each Vietnamese and between the Vietnamese overseas and at home in a common front for the freedom of Vietnam. Rallying the Vietnamese with just cause and attacking the Vietcong on the legitimacy ground is one manifestation of the Vietnamese Resistance's all-faceted strategy. The National Day, normally an occasion of grand celebration for the entire population, serves such liberation purpose during the struggle phase of the Vietnamese people.

On the Vietnamese National Day

... Today is a day in which we look forward to the rebuilding of a non-communist, independent, democratic and free Vietnam. Since the tragic fall of Saigon on 30 April in 1975 it has become apparent that the Vietnamese (Communist) Government has shown itself to be more communist than nationalist, more ideological than pragmatic, and more intent on external expansion than internal development.

... Today, we are also remembering the plight of those Vietnamese who are still suffering at the hands of their Communist rulers.

In particular, I should like to pay tribute to all whose who have stayed behind who have developed a strong and determined network of resistance - the Vietnamese resistance.

I applaud their courage and bravery. In 1983 the Vietnamese Resistance radio was established to inform and mobilize the populace concerted resistance activities against the Vietcong regime. That was an important development.

... I join with you all here today to celebrate Vietnamese National Day. I share your hopes and desires that your fellow countrymen who are still in Vietnam may on day be able to live again in the freedom, dignity, and respect for one another which we in Australia enjoy as our basic human right.

Excerpts from the speech of Senator Jim Short, Australian Federal Parliament, on the Vietnamese National Day in Melbourne, April 22, 1989

NUFRONLIV DELEGATION MET THE AUSTRALIAN LIBERTY PARTY LEADERS

Mr. Nguyen Kim, Commissioner-General for Overseas Affairs of the National United Front for the Liberation of Vietnam (NUFRONLIV) has come to Canberra April 13 upon invitation to meet the Liberty leaders of the Australian Parliament for discussion on the Indochina and the Vietnamese Resistance issue.

Accompanying Mr. Nguyen Kim were his Deputy-Commissioner for Foreign Relations Le Van Nam, Australian Regional Chapter Head Tran Dinh Tho and Australian Chapter Executive Member for Foreign Affairs Le Thien Phuc. Present in the meeting were the Chairman of the Opposition's Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee, Representative Robert Halverson, the Chairman of the Opposition's Immigration and Ethnic Affairs Committee, Senator Chapman Teague, Shadow Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Representative Alan Cadman, and other Members of Parliament, David Hawken, Jim Carlton, Don Dobie, Peter White, and Dr. Mark Higgins, private secretary for Shadow Minister for Defence, Representative John Spender.

The meeting lasted an hour and a half, and issues on Indochina, Vietnamese Resistance, and the Vietcong regime's crises were discussed. Mr. Nguyen Kim presented that a long-term political solution for Cambodia would not principally depend on the Vietcong troop pullout of this country, because Hanoi had already completed, during the 10-year occupation, the settlement of 800,000 North Vietnamese and 700,000

Vietnamese of Khmer origin in Cambodia, and a large part of this Hanoi-controlled population were placed into all levels of Cambodia administrative, military, and economic systems.

He also analyzed that Hanoi's near bankrupt economy was resulted from years of mismanagement and corruption, international isolation, and more importantly yet less noticed, from the popular resistance. Methods that the Vietnamese resistance crippling the regime's exaction-procurement system and

spread in highland of North Vietnam. Facing increasingly active challenge from the population on various domains, inspired largely from success of NUFRONLIV resistance mobilization, Hanoi has intensified its oppressive crack-downs in the last few years. In attempt to defuse the growing resistance spirit, Hanoi on the other hand labored on a disinformation scheme about the 1987 elimination of NUFRONLIV organization and its leaders, Mr. Nguyen Kim explained.

Representative Don Dobie, after several trips to Vietnam, expressed his reservation to flimsy changes by Vietnamese Communist Party Secretary-General Nguyen Van Linh. This view was shared by the NUFRONLIV delegation. Mr. Nguyen Kim elaborated that while there had been temporary changes in administrative procedures and management techniques, Nguyen Van Linh recently warned that these changes had to carry out within the socialist framework and for the

building of socialism, a notion meant to be the consolidation of the Vietnamese Communist Party's ruling power.

At the end of the day, the NUFRONLIV delegation laid a wreath at the War Memorial in Canberra to express the Vietnamese people's gratitude to the Australian sacrifices in the defence for the freedom of Vietnam.

Media interview with the NUFRONLIV delegation after the meeting was broadcasted the next day by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation Radio.



At Australian Parliament House, Mr. Nguyen Kim was interviewed by UPI and ABC reporters.

continuing to upset Hanoi's plan for power consolidation were discussed.

Referring to Hanoi's 12 billion-debt to the Soviet Union and its annual reception of 3 billion-economic loan and military aid, Mr. Nguyen Kim pointed out that Western trade and aid will most unlikely to reduce the Vietnamese Communist dependency on the Soviet Union.

Activity of the Vietnamese inside Vietnam was a subject of high interest raised by Liberty Senators and Representatives in the meeting. The NUFRONLIV delegation made it known that the resistance network has

RESISTANCE NEWS IN VIETNAM

Vietnamese Resistance Radio established by NUFRONLIV in late 1983 broadcasts 8 times daily on the 30m and 40m wave bands (10.3MHz and 7.4MHz) to inform and mobilize the Vietnamese at home on the liberation struggle. Due to limited space, we can only excerpt part of the VRR daily news programs.

News briefs from VRR broadcast of February 6, 1989

Vietnamese Resistance Radio received a "birthday" gift from the people of Minh Hai province to celebrate the 5th anniversary of the Resistance Radio Station.

The people of Minh Hai province distributed over 3,000 leaflets and 600 copies of the book Anh Hung Nuoc Toi (My Country's Heroes) were printed in underground presses. Over 400 kilos of food and other supplies were also donated to the NUFRONLIV Resistance Fighters. This time there was something special given: 20 kilos of explosives, 7 grenades and some ammunition. In return the Resistance Fighters gave the people flags and printing materials. The Resistance & Administrative Committee of Minh Hai province provided this report.

Vietcong soldiers deserted to join the Resistance

According to the report of the Resistance & Administrative Committee of Dac Lac province. During November and December many mobilizational activities took place in Dac-Ninh, Rom-No, Rom-Nang, and E-Ka districts. Eight Vietcong soldiers deserted to join the Resistance; they brought along 4 AK-47 assault rifles, one CKC, one K-54, some grenades and ammunition. The former Vietcong soldiers also said security in the province has gotten worse and worse because of the people's resistance, especially in areas where the minorities live. The

Vietcong soldiers had resisted their superior's orders and tried to escape whenever they had a chance. Another former Vietcong soldier said, that before leaving his unit, he destroyed a radio communication system and some batteries.

The Resistance stopped a Vietcong convoy - A resistance group joined NUFRONLIV

In December, according to a report of the Resistance & Administrative Committee of Kien Giang province. A Resistance unit stopped a Vietcong convoy on 19 U-Minh route and seized everything that could be useful before setting it on fire. The driver and security guards were released after being told of NUFRONLIV's liberation strategy. All of them promised to leave the Vietcong ranks to join the Resistance. They also promised to urge other attacks on the Vietcong regime from inside. Also in December, a resistance

group named Vietnamese Youth to Exterminate Vietcong Forces, led by ex-ARVN officer Tran Van Canh joined NUFRONLIV. They brought along 12 assault rifles, one typewriter and documents. Tran Van Canh said just after meeting with NUFRONLIV unit, they decided to disband themselves because they learned that NUFRONLIV has the most effective way to defeat the Vietcong regime.

News briefs from VRR broadcast of March 8, 1989

Organize mobilizational technique classes - Attack a Vietcong police station

During December and January, the Resistance & Administrative Committee of Tay Ninh province reported that it has organized classes in mobilizational techniques and basic military training for the youth of the province. After the training program had completed, 14 young men and women volunteered to join the Resistance Armed Forces, other decided to join the resistance youth group and they will work together with NUFRONLIV at the local level. On January 19 a young man threw two grenades into a Vietcong police



The Resistance fighters on mission.

station, killing one agent, wounding another and destroying the building. He disappeared after the incident. The Vietcong police of Tay Ninh province opened investigation and intimidated the people in the region but found nothing.

Vietcong ambushed in Nghia Hanh district.

In the end of January, the NUFRONLIV Resistance Armed Forces unit of Nghia Binh province ambushed a Vietcong unit in Nghia Hanh district. After only 10 minutes of fighting, the Vietcong unit fled, leaving 3 dead Vietcong soldiers and one injured. One NUFRONLIV fighter suffered a minor injury. NUFRONLIV also seized 3 AK-47 assault rifles, one CKC, ammunition and documents. After the encounter, one Vietcong soldier returned fully equipped. According to this soldier, the life of the Vietcong soldiers in the province is very anguished, spiritually and physically. Many escaped as soon they had the chance. Before leaving the scene, many leaflets were dispersed asking the Vietcong soldiers to return to the people's side.

Boycotting Vietcong's seizure of foodstuffs and tax collections

According to a report of the Resistance & Administrative Committee of Dong Thap province, the people responded to the NUFRONLIV appeal to boycott the Vietcong's seizure of foodstuffs and tax collections. Many people demanded the return of land which the Vietcong had illegally confiscated in the past. The people also urged their children to join the NUFRONLIV Resistance Armed Forces and the Resistance Youth group. They have also distributed more than 2000 leaflets throughout the district promoting the NUFRONLIV boycott program. Also in January, the Resistance & Administrative Committee admitted members of another resistance group; Special Forces D81, led by an ex-ARVN officer. They brought along 4 assault rifles, some grenades, ammunition, and documents.

OVERSEAS NEWS

BICENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF THE DONG DA VICTORY

If you ask a European what the most memorable event of 1789 was, the answer should be the French Revolution. If you ask a Vietnamese this question, you will probably receive an answer like this: Vua Quang Trung Dai Pha Quan Thanh, meaning Emperor Quang Trung crushed the invading Manchurians. Vietnamese history is a long history of struggle, but the most memorable is the battle between about 200,000 well trained and better equipped troops of the Manchurian Army and about 100,000 (partly trained and poorly equipped) soldiers of Emperor Quang Trung, which raged for 5 days in the Spring of 1789. The decisive battle took place at Dong Da. To foreigners, the mysterious question is how could that happen? But the Vietnamese people with a happy smile will give you a very clear answer: PEOPLE'S DETERMINATION lead by a great leader. There have been many attempts to subjugate the Vietnamese

people, but none has ever succeeded. The 80-years colonization has similarly ended in a nightmare for the French. And today, of course, the Vietnamese struggle against the Vietcong dictatorship is no different; Regardless of what happens, the Vietcong regime, the Soviet's puppet, will be annihilated. To celebrate the victory of Emperor Quang Trung 200 years ago, Vietnamese around the world organized many activities from Europe to Australia, from Northern America to Japan. Following are some excerpts of reports of those activities:

Montpellier, France: On February 4, the Vietnamese Mutual Friendship Association of Languedoc-Roussillon coordinated with other Vietnamese Associations in Montpellier to organize a Tet Festival. It had various activities such as historic, traditional, and community activity exhibitions. There were musical performances by local singers and artists; speeches by



Tet Dong Da at Adelaide, Australia

the NUFRONLIV head in France and Representatives of other local associations. In the speech, Mr. Nguyen Ngoc Duc, head of French Chapter of the NUFRONLIV Overseas Directorate, said "the coincidence of the Bicentennial Anniversary of Quang Trung's Victory and the French Revolution reminded all of us that we must continue our ancestors' struggle spirit. Once Vietnam has been liberated, our people will have a chance to rebuild our country for truly a free, democratic, and humane society."

Marseilles, France: On February 5, Mr. Nguyen Ngoc Duc, NUFRONLIV head in France, was invited as a guest speaker for the Tet Festival at Marseilles, which was organized by local Vietnamese associations. At 4pm he attended the Tet Festival at Saint Georges, Bouche, which was also organized by the local Vietnamese community and then he appeared on a radio talk show to deliver his congratulation on New Year's Eve to the Vietnamese people. Once again he emphasized the Dong Da Victory spirit of Emperor Quang Trung and urged the Vietnamese people to continue their support for the liberation struggle led by NUFRONLIV. He also asked the people to boycott the Vietcong-affiliated business and their propaganda plan in France.

Bordeaux, France: On February 18, over 700 Vietnamese and their friends joined local NUFRONLIV members to celebrate the Tet Festival. After the started ceremony, the NUFRONLIV head of the Bordeaux Chapter gave a speech, he reminded the audience about the Victory at Dong Da of the Vietnamese people againsts the invaders. The program was followed by musical performances and ended with a very popular song called "This Century Is Ours".

Munchen, West Germany: On February 11, the NUFRONLIV Chapter at Munchen combined the Dong Da Victory Anniversary and Tet Celebration with a big festival.



From top: Japan; Denver, CO.; Washington, D.C.

Exhibitions, games, jeopardy games (about Vietnamese history), sports, and bingo were some of the activities at the festival. At 6:30pm, a very popular musical show was arranged by the Dong Tien (Eastward) Resistance Chorus and local performers. There were folk dances by students of the Vietnamese language school and group singings. The Dong Da Victory play was the favorite event of the audience. The same activities were organized throughout West Germany in places such as Hamburg, Dorsten, West Berlin, Weisbaden and Krefeld.

Bern, Switzerland: On February 18, the Vietnamese community at Bern organized an activity to celebrate

Tet and commemorate the Victory of Emperor Quang Trung, which attracted about 500 Vietnamese throughout Switzerland. Beside various festival activities, the organizers urged the participants to boycott and isolate all who are doing business with the Vietcong regime. They identified three Vietnamese; Pham Duc Tu, Pham Duc Thang, and Pham Hoang Hung, who recently traveled back to Vietnam under the Vietcong travel plans.

Ottawa, Canada: On January 29, some seniors in the Dien Hong support group arranged a trip for anyone who wanted to attend the Tet Festival in Montreal. They collected



From top: Orange, CA.; Stockton, CA.; Petersburg, FL.

signatures of the participants for a petition to request the Canadian Government to deport all Vietnamese refugees who are doing business with the Vietcong and who have traveled back to Vietnam under the Vietcong travel plans. The trip profits will be donated to the Vietnam Resistance Radio fund. On the same day, the Vietnamese community in Ottawa also organized the Dong Da Tet festival. Over a thousand people gathered on this occasion and all of them signed the same petition requesting the Canadian Government to deport any Vietnamese who are connected with Vietcong-affiliated

businesses. On February 25, a musical program arranged by the Vietnamese community coupled with the Resistance chorus and attracted over 400 Vietnamese and their friends in Ottawa. The program focused on the Victory of Emperor Quang Trung 200 years ago. Dances, songs, group singings, and plays were performed and the audience was quite thrilled with the program.

Mississauga & Toronto, Canada: On February 4 & 5, the Tet Festival combined with the Dong Da Bicentennial Anniversary Celebration was organized in Mississauga and

Toronto respectively. Thousands of Vietnamese in the community participated in many activities during this time. At Mississauga the organizers showed some videos which featured the meeting between the NUFRONLIV delegation led by President Hoang Co Minh with the Japanese Parliament in April 1985; the Freedom for Vietnam World Campaign in 1985; and the Vietnamese National Day in Chicago in 1988. The collection of participants' signatures for petitions was also arranged on these occasions.

Adelaide, South Australia: On February 4, Hundreds of Vietnamese and their friends gathered for the Tet Festival and Quang Trung's Victory Anniversary. Outside of the auditorium, people were so impressed with the decoration of the Dong Da fortification; it reminded them the battle which led to Emperor Quang Trung's Victory. Inside, traditional music, dances, and folk songs were also performed.

Sydney, Australia: Last year, the Australians celebrated the Australian Bicentennial Anniversary, this year the Vietnamese in Australia celebrated the Dong Da Victory, also 200 years ago. Thousands of Vietnamese in Sydney gathered for the Tet Dong Da Festival, which was organized by the local NUFRONLIV Chapter in Sydney and various activities were arranged for entire day of February 4th, 1989.

Melbourne, Victoria: During February 11 and 12, ten of thousands of the Vietnamese and Australian in, Melbourne were so enjoyed the Tet Dong Da Festival have been organized by the Vietnamese community and the NUFRONLIV local chapter. Over 100 booths, including foods, games, printing materials, traditional exhibitions have been displayed and served. Special musical performing also was arranged and drew the most crowd in 2 days. The "Emperor Quang Trung Crushed Manchurian" play of Melbourne Resistance chorus was most spectacular to audience.

THE VIETNAMESE STRUGGLE: THE UNTOLD STORY

By Scott S. Powell

Most Americans would rather forget the legacy of the Vietnam War. The cost of our involvement was staggering: 58,000 American lives and \$400 billion expended. And for what?

Many still can't figure out what we were fighting for and where we went wrong. But if you go into any Vietnamese restaurant and talk about the war, and you find the Vietnamese pretty clear-headed about the whole thing. They knew that Ho Chi Minh was no agrarian reformer, as sometimes portrayed by antiwar movement. They knew what the fate of South Vietnam would be after the Vietcong took over. And their worst fears were born out in the tragedy that followed on heels of the U.S. pull out in 1975. Conditions became so bad that nearly 2 million Vietnamese took to the high seas in unseaworthy boats, risking their lives just for the chance to find freedom.

Today, however, after 14 years of communist control of their native country, some of the 700,000 Vietnamese living in the United States have real hope that they will be able to return to their homeland. This optimism is largely due to the tireless work of the little-known National United Front for the Liberation of Vietnam, which has chapters world-wide and in cities across the United States.

"The Vietnamese resistance movement is succeeding against enormous odds, where other resistance movements such as the Nicaraguan contras have failed," says Le Van Nam, an Overseas Executive Committee member of the National United Front. "We recognized that we could not match the communist regime militarily, for the Vietcong have the fourth largest standing army in the world. We also knew that in guerrilla warfare, military factors are important, but that we must win the hearts and minds of the population and stay united in our common cause," says Nam.

In addition to building their military forces after consolidating their rule in 1975, the Vietcong seized control of the economy in South Vietnam. Monopolizing the distribution system and rationing goods enabled them

to reward those loyal and withhold from those suspect of engaging in anti-government activities.

But central economic planning soon met with widespread opposition. It sapped the people's incentives and work ethic, and led to continuous crises in production and distribution. Shortage became the rule and the inflation rate skyrocketed. And as Vietnam's problems could no longer be blamed on the war, domestic unrest and dissatisfaction with the communist policies became more widespread. The Vietcong leaders were forced to look to the Soviet Union for increased aid -- to bolster security and to pay for imports to make up for shortages.

These deteriorating conditions provided fertile soil for the growth of the resistance movement, which was founded and formally organized in 1980 by Hoang Co Minh. "Our movement gained momentum as it became increasingly clear that the Vietcong regime was a satellite dependent on the Soviet Union," states a National United Front white paper delivered to the Australian parliament this week.

In 1983, three years after the founding of the National United Front, the resistance established a clandestine radio station within Vietnam, which has broadcast continuously ever since. The Vietnamese Resistance Radio network and Resistance Administrative Committees established throughout the country have galvanized the local population to stand up to the Vietcong. In contrast to the situation in most communist countries where resistance tends to be passive and limited to random acts of non-cooperation, the Vietnamese resistance leadership follows a systematic strategy to produce concert effort throughout the country. For instance, Resistance Radio and Resistance Administrative Committees inform and mobilize people to coordinate work slowdowns and resist periodic Vietcong seizures of corps.

"This resistance strategy has been effective, for the more it contributes to the system's failure, the more disillusioned the regime's supporters become," says Dr. Tran Xuan Ninh, a Chicago-based surgeon who serves as the Deputy Commissioner General of Overseas Affairs of the National United Front. As Vietcong supporters turn to the private market to compensate for the regime's chronic shortages, they establish relations with the resistance who play an increasingly large role in this

Scott S. Powell is a Media Fellow at Hoover Institution at Stanford University and the author of *Covert Cadre*, recently published by Green Hill, USA.



unofficial private economy. "Once the Vietcong supporters come to us for food, it is only a matter of time before we win them over completely," explains Phan Duy, a staff member at the San Jose headquarters of the National United Front.

Not even the new policies of "openness in the field of thought and culture," undertaken in 1986 by Vietnamese Communist Party Secretary General Nguyen Van Linh and patterned on Gorbachev's glasnost and perestroika, have been able to turn things around. When artists and writers were given the chance to express their views more freely during this period of "openness," they used the opportunity to assail Vietcong policies. The Vietcong's October 1988 program to foster better relations with agrarian workers backfired when the farmers were joined by fishermen, who then proceeded to turn the affair into a massive resistance protest.

The Vietnamese people are also skeptical about the recent announcement of the Vietcong's withdrawal of troops from Cambodia. According to various reports, including one from Prince Sihanouk, during the last four years there have been over 1.25 million Vietnamese resettled in Cambodia to ensure pro-Vietnamese support even after the Vietnamese troops are withdrawn. "Unless Vietcong repatriates these cadres along with their troops, peace in Cambodia will be hollow," says Phan Duy of the National United Front.

With inflation running at over 1000% this past year, the resistance movement finds it easy to mobilize people to stockpile goods and foodstuffs, rather than rely on the

Vietcong's distribution system and its currency. In fact, the Vietnamese are now using gold, American dollars and cigarettes as a means of exchange in their own markets, instead of the official Vietcong piastre.

What is remarkable about the Vietnamese resistance movement, compared with the struggles in Nicaragua, Afghanistan and Angola is that their success has been achieved without any foreign aid other than what the Vietnamese themselves have been able to raise on their own. Yearly, when people around the world celebrate Christmas and the New Year, the Vietnamese people gather and enjoy fund-raising dinner parties to commemorate the anniversary of the establishment of Resistance Radio. The Vietnamese are an industrious people and the profits of some of their businesses also go to support the resistance. In Vietnamese communities throughout the world there are resistance support groups to which members contribute monthly. On the occasions of the birthdays, Vietnamese often ask for money instead of gifts and then donate it to the resistance.

Like other liberation struggles, the Vietnamese resistance involves military force. Currently there are more than 10,000 armed resistance fighters, in small guerrilla units throughout Vietnam. But these units seek to tie down the Vietcong troops rather than to defeat them militarily. Meanwhile the resistance carries on its work to win the hearts and minds of the people still cooperating with the Vietcong. This strategy is what makes the liberation struggle of the Vietnamese unique, and what gives them hope to prevail against great odds.

The National United Front For Liberation Of Vietnam (NUFRONLIV) was formed in 1980 to absorb Vietnamese at home and abroad into a mass organization to free Vietnam from the Vietcong and Soviet domination, and to build a democratic and prosperous country for the Vietnamese people.

NUFRONLIV liberation strategy emphasizes on mass mobilization for an all-front struggle that utilizes all available means and imaginative methods of the mass to destroy the enemy, in which military approach is conceived supplemental to mobilizational activity.

Overseas the NUFRONLIV has chapters almost everywhere there is a Vietnamese community. Inside Vietnam the infrastructure expands even far deep into the North. Besides the cadres network, NUFRONLIV communicates with people inside Vietnam via its Vietnamese Resistance Radio, broadcasting 8 times a day for one hour each.

NUFRONLIV President:

Commissioner-General/Directorate of Inland Affairs:
Commissioner-General/Directorate of Overseas Affairs:
Commander in Chief/Armed Resistance Forces:

HOANG CO MINH

NGO VAN TU
NGUYEN KIM
DANG QUOC HIEN