

The VIETNAMESE RESISTANCE published monthly by the General Directorate of Overseas Affairs to provide background and information on the liberation struggle of the Vietnamese. Subscription is \$12.00 US dollars or other currency equivalence. Please contact respective offices for inquiries and changes of address. Financial contributions to our cause are greatly appreciated.

## 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) 768-6104

### Australia:

P.O. Box 1260  
North Richmond, Victoria 3121  
AUSTRALIA  
Tel: (03) 429-3425

### Europe:

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

### Send by:

## Radio Jamming & "Openness" Policy

In early December 1988, the United States and the West discovered that radio broadcasts toward the Soviet Union was suddenly free from the usual electronic jamming. The Voice of America, said an American official, was heard loud and clear in the Soviet land. This fact has generated mixed feelings. The optimists cited it as another evidence of the Soviet "glasnost". Other are more cautious of its lasting. In the speech at the United Nations on December 7, 1988, drawn special attention because of Moscow's proposal of unilateral reduction of one tenth of Soviet forces within 2 years, Gorbachev officially announced the desist from jamming overseas radio broadcasts.

Despite various experiences of broken promises and violations of signed treaties from the Soviets and despite Khrushchev's similar announcement 29 years ago, the world seems exhilarated, with reservation, of a peaceful prospect, changes from confrontation to dialogue.

In this December, the Vietnamese inside and out of Vietnam celebrated the 5th anniversary of fighting against the Vietcong's ever increasing jamming the voice of struggle and hope, the Vietnamese Resistance Radio. Since December 27, 1983 the Vietnamese Resistance Radio (VRR) has been operated with limited self-sufficient resources to struggle for the ordinary human rights of the oppressed Vietnamese people.

In a short period when the Vietcong were unprepared for electronic countermeasures the voice of VRR freely reached the Vietnamese inside Vietnam. At the end of 1984 the VRR broadcasts were vehemently interfered. Therefore besides 5 fixed broadcasts, the VRR also scheduled 3 inordinary programs daily. For 5 years the Vietnamese have endured all kinds of hardship and sacrificed themselves to protect their liberation voice, a mobilization weapon of the struggle begun more than 10 years ago. Oppression is a way of rule as ever in Vietnam, even though there are some "changes" mentioned by a few Western media.

Temporary and piecemeal economic and political maneuvers to salvage the collapsing regime plagued by a bankrupt economy and a deteriorated society are sometimes misconstrued as Hanoi's fundamental changes of policy. Hard evidences contrary to the publicized "openness" were often neglected. The September 30 curt pretended trial resulted in death sentences on 2 scholars and Buddhist monks Tri Sieu and Tue Si, arrested in April 1984 with other Buddhist monks and nuns on counter-revolutionary charges, and 4 year-hard labor to life imprisonment sentences on 19 others.

"Changes" implemented indeed are of administrative and management nature designed to consolidate the rotting apparatus, a pervasive deterioration in all areas and structures which are threatening the foundation of the party oligarchy. "Changes" also are also witnessed in Hanoi's dealing with the outside free world, from defiance to compliance, for nothing other than hard currency much needed to rescue a regime already burdening the Soviet and Eastern European bloc.

Against this backdrop the Vietnamese shared the elation of this December. Not because of Gorbachev's announcement or Vietcong superficial changes described by Western media. The Vietnamese are delighted because they perceive the inevitable collapse of a regime self-claimed "utmost insight of the world and time".

The Vietnamese are cheerful because VRR news and information, despite fierce electronic jamming in metropolitan areas, are being relayed by millions of mobile and undetectable mini transmitters: mouths of the oppressed Vietnamese. No electronic technology can jam these transmitters. Material forces are loosing their ground in an all-front struggle participated by all Vietnamese led by the committed NUFRONLIV.

## 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.

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News briefs from VRR broadcast of  
September 25, 1988

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### NUFRONLIV receives 4 Vietcong soldiers

Four Vietcong soldiers had seek to join the resistance rank, were received by the NUFRONLIV Resistance and Administrative Committee of Cuu Long province, it is reported. The group led by Sergeant Quan has brought along 2 assault rifles AK-47, 1 CKC, 3 grenades and ammunition. NUFRONLIV cadres have carried out many mobilizational missions in districts of Tam binh, Long Ho, Binh Minh and Duyen Hai in late July: dissemination of leaflets, and making group contacts in a drive to sabotage the regime's plans and to expand the resistance presence. The RAC also reported of food, medical supplies and money donated from the provincial population.

### Resistance Armed Unit encounters Vietcong in Dac Nun District

Four Vietcong were killed in a skirmish with the NUFRONLIV Armed Unit of Dac Lac in early August, the provincial Resistance & Administrative Committee reports. A Khang Chien Quan was wounded in arm. The Resistance Unit captured 1 assault rifle AK-47, ammunition and document. In late July, a Vietcong public security agent was killed in a kolkhoz near Prong-A-Na District when he resisted the call to drop off his weapon. Another accompanying agent has escaped. The unit seized 1 AK-47 and some documents. As a reminder, in last March, this Armed Unit has ambushed and killed 4 Vietcong agents,

but suffered the loss of one Khang Chien Quan.

### 14 Youth selected for the resistance Armed Unit in Tien Giang

NUFRONLIV cadres has completed a training course for the youth in June and July, the Tien Giang province's RAC reported. The youth trained in mobilization mission, in explosive devices and light arms, returned to their localities for contact and recruiting work. Fourteen youth were selected to remain in the provincial Armed Unit. The Unit has also opened a history class, based on NUFRONLIV's publication "Hero of our country", for the children in districts of Cho Gao, Tan Chau, and Cai Lay.

In mid-July members of a group called "Youth of Go Cong for Nation-Saving" took oath to join NUFRONLIV under the witness of

Tien Giang RAC's representatives. The group, comprised mostly of young men drafted in Vietcong Volunteer Youth League, brought along an assault rifle AK-54, a grenade, a typewriter and documents.

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News briefs from VRR broadcast of  
October 8, 1988

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### Resistance trains 40 youth in Ben Tre Province

Several mobilization activities have been carried out in September by NUFRONLIV cadres in districts of Cho Lach, Thach Pho, Giong Trom, and Mo Cay, the Resistance and Administrative Committee of Ben Tre Province reports. Forty youth have been trained in military basics and mobilizational techniques. Tran Van The, a Vietcong agent working in the local fishery company and reputed for his unjust purchase-confiscation of people's shrimp catch, was reportedly killed in late August. After the killing, other agents showed their hesitancy in enforcing the state confiscation policy.



NUFRONLIV President Hoang Co Minh and Commander-in-Chief of Resistance Forces Dang Quoc Hien visit an Armed Unit.

The National United Front For The 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 Vietnam Resistance Radio, broadcasting 8 times a day for one hour each.

NUFRONLIV President:

HOANG CO MINH

Commissioner-General/Directorate of Inland Affairs:

NGO VAN TU

Commissioner-General/Directorate of Overseas Affairs:

NGUYEN KIM

Commander in Chief/Armed Resistance Forces:

DANG QUOC HIEN

### **Vietcong ambushed in Ham Thuan Bac District**

A group of Vietcong agents was ambushed on their return of a raid in Ham Thuan Bac district. The Resistance and Administrative Committee of Thuan Hai province reported that NUFRONLIV Khang Chien Quan have killed 4 Vietcong and wounded 1 in a short skirmish. The NUFRONLIV armed unit captured 4 machine guns AK-47, 1 CKC rifle, several grenades and documents. The wounded Vietcong was treated and released. Moved by the NUFRONLIV humane treatment he promised to return to civil life and to call on other not to collaborate with the Vietcong regime.

### **NUFRONLIV Armed Unit recruits youth in An Giang Province**

Following dissemination of flyers in districts of Cho Moi, Phu Chau, Chau Thanh, and Long Xuyen City in late August, NUFRONLIV cadres of the An Giang Province have organized basic military and mobilizational training for the youths in the area. After being trained, 19 youth were selected for the provincial Resistance Armed Unit, two of them were Vietcong local former militiamen who brought along 1 M-16, 1 AK, and ammunition. The NUFRONLIV Armed Unit also received over 300 kilo of rice, dried foods, and medicines from population of the province.

### **News Briefs from VRR broadcast of October 28, 1988**

#### **A resistance group joins NUFRONLIV**

A resistance group led by ARVN ex-officer Nguyen Van My joined the nationwide network of NUFRONLIV in September to be directed under a unified command for the quest of liberating the country from the Vietcong regime, the Resistance and Administrative Committee of Long An announced recently. Composed mostly of ARVN ex-officers the group centered its activity on recruitment, distribution of anti-regime literatures, and neutralizing secret police agents. Upon joining NUFRONLIV the group brought along 2 pistols, 3 grenades, a typewriter, an embosser, and various documents. It was also reported that residents in Moc Hoa, Ben Luc, Can Duoc Districts have gathered more than 400 kilo of food for the provincial Khang Chien Quan (resistance fighters).

#### **NUFRONLIV Armed Unit assails Vietcong agents**

A group of Vietcong public security agents was taken by surprise in Tra Mi district last month. The attack terrified the agents who fled after a short encounter, leaving 2 Vietcong

dead, the Resistance and Administrative Committee of Quang Da Province reported. The NUFRONLIV Armed Unit was safe and captured 2 AK-47, ammunition, and documents. Handbills were dispersed to admonish the Vietcong public security of their anti-people activity and calling on them to return to the people side. Many power posts supplying for the Vietcong stations in Tuyen Phuoc, Dien Ban, and Duy Xuyen Districts were also destroyed.

#### **Vietcong soldiers return to NUFRONLIV ranks**

Upon help from people in Song Be Province the Resistance and Administrative Committee in song Be have received 16 Vietcong soldiers and militiamen into the ranks of NUFRONLIV. Among those joined the resistance is a Vietcong second lieutenant, who disclosed that the Vietcong soldiers spirit were very low and on the verge to riot as they were more and more disillusioned of the Vietcong regime's promises on their life betterment. Most of these soldiers were ready to join the resistance when having opportunity. The ex-Vietcong group brought along 2 grenade launchers B-40, 11 machine guns AK-47, 1 pistol K-54, ammunition and supplies. The recruitment of Vietcong soldiers was perhaps a direct results of the grassroots mobilizational activity of the NUFRONLIV cadres in the province. 1500 handbills were reportedly distributed in 2 previous months.

## NEWS OVERSEAS

### **Vietnamese crush Vietcong propaganda plan in West Germany**

Vietnamese opposition in West Germany might have baffled the Vietcong government. Their traditional music performances planned in 9 cities there were in chaos when the about 2000 Vietnamese participated in a 2 week-long campaign to denounce the regime.

The Vietcong tour troupe "Hoa Lan" (orchid) programmed fiddles, sixteen-string samisens, and other Vietnamese musical instruments, in a drive for overseas publicity of "openness" policy. To avoid public protest the program was limited advertised only a few days ahead. The first performance was however met with fierce protest of more than 150 Vietnamese on October 11 in Oberhausen, crippling the momentum: the occasion drew less than 20 German audience, many other left when being explained of the Vietcong propaganda ploys. Performances in Hamburg, Koln, Mannheim, Offenbach, Ulm, Nurburg, and Duisburg did not fare better. Coordinated by local NUFRONLIV chapters and Committees Against Vietcong Financial Schemes the Vietnamese have successfully crushed the Vietcong plans to allude of a normal and relaxed life in Vietnam to the German audience. All of these scheduled performances could not attract more than a few dozens Germans. The last performance planned for Duisburg was cancelled.

Demonstrators distribute leaflets questioning the Vietcong regime of their human rights violations, the most recent death sentence of 2 well-known Buddhist monks accused for "anti-regime activity", the occupation of Cambodia and Laos.

### **Vietcong "openness" campaign smashed in Australia**

A discussion meeting on theme " Socialist Renewal in Vietnam", organized by the Australian Socialist Workers Party for October 25, was cancelled when its guest speaker, Nguyen Dien, editor of the Vietcong-affiliated Vietnam Today Magazine, did not show up upon mass demonstration of Vietnamese at the Gorman House, Canberra, Australia. The peaceful demonstrators waited for more than an hour outside the meeting hall ready to challenge the Vietcong speaker. Leaflets were distributed to would-be Australian audience, all of them left when being explained of the Vietcong ties of the speaker. Besides the mass demonstrations the absence of any audience might have prompted the organizers to abort the evening discussion. The mass rally was mobilized by the NUFRONLIV chapter in Canberra which nearly 2 months ago assisted Ta Duy Binh, a Hanoi-born Playwright, in his defection after attending the International Festival of Youth Playwrights in Sydney.

Earlier, in September a Vietcong delegation led by so-called "priest" Thien Cam came to South Australia to overshadow the protest of religious oppression committed by the Hanoi regime. His dubious background and pro-regime stance have alienated Catholics inside Vietnam. Belonging to the " Patriotic Catholic Council" Thien Cam had opposed the Vatican's June 19 canonization of 117 martyrs died in 19th century in Vietnam, a sacred honor that Vietnamese catholics are proud of. He reportedly made contact with Vietnamese individuals that affiliated with the Vietcong regimes in business or other activity during his stay in Australia. Being informed of his itinerary and stay, the Committee Against Vietcong Financial Schemes in South Australia has alerted the

Vietnamese for public rally if the delegation and Thien Cam appear in public. The 2 week stay of the Vietcong delegation was transformed into a series of location changes and limited to secret contacts. His final encounter with angry demonstrators at a convent at Rostrevor denoted the failures of this delegation in its mission to cloud the Vietcong human rights violations in Vietnam.

### **Storming protest against Vietcong death sentences of Buddhist monks**

On a shamble trial of September 30 the Vietcong Supreme Court has curtly sentenced to death Reverend Monks and Scholars Thich Tri Sieu (secular name Le Manh Phat) and Thich Tue Si (secular name Pham Van Thuong) and a resistance fighter Tran Van Luong on charge of counter-revolutionary activity. In the same trial two persons are sentences to life and 17 others from 4 to 15 hard labor imprisonment. The phony trial and its sentences, especially on 2 well-known Buddhist monks, have sparked vehement protest from Vietnamese communities in America, Australia, Europe. In October 23 a prayer service was held in Khanh Anh Temple, Paris, with presence of representatives of various organizations and NUFRONLIV local chapters. The protest continued with mass demonstration of more than 400 Vietnamese a week later in front of the Vietcong Embassy in France, with participation of Vietnamese Buddhist and Catholic clergy from adjacent countries. Religious leaders and representatives of Committee Against Vietcong Financial Schemes have made speeches denouncing the deceptive nature of Hanoi's so-called "openness" policy, and demanded them to withhold the sentence execution. Similar demonstrations were held in various cities in other countries.

## Vietnamese ostracize Vietcong-affiliated businesses in Vancouver, Canada

Continuing the 4 month-long campaign against Vietcong business affiliates in Vancouver, Canada nearly 200 Vietnamese chose Saigon Bookstore as target for their mass rally on October 22. The book store carries printed materials of Vietcong front organizations in Canada and represents these organizations in several kinds of businesses. Lying on the Pacific coast, Vancouver becomes a convergent point where travellers from the U.S. and Canada are assembled for Hanoi-promoted tours back Vietnam. Its location also facilitates transportation of heavy machinery to Vietnam, an activity prohibited by American law. Business affiliated with the Vietcong grew in recent years and this surging also met with organized opposition of the Vietnamese in Vancouver. Most protests and mass rallies were organized by NUFRONLIV local chapter and the Committee Against Vietcong Financial Schemes in a worldwide campaign initiated more than a year ago by NUFRONLIV.

## Vietnamese raises money for Resistance

The ongoing resistance in Vietnam relied mainly on resources of peoples inside Vietnam. Money from Vietnamese overseas has however contributed a notable part since the money raising drive was publicly organized by NUFRONLIV more than 7 years ago. From various parts of the free world, the Vietnamese have formed support groups with scheduled meetings, dinners, cultural events for money. Vietnamese in Milwaukee, Wisconsin State, USA is a community where financial support consistently comes since the early days. Fund raising for the Resistance blends as a way of life in community activity of this small group of about 1000. Fresh prawns bought from Southern coast for resale became a money-raising pattern for summer. The winter weather usually advocates for a different activity: on



Vietnamese protest the Vietcong propagandistic tour in Köln, West Germany

October 22, more than 200 Vietnamese have gathered in the hall of the Washington Park for a dinner. Mr. Nguyen Dong Son, a Commissioner of NUFRONLIV General Directorate of Overseas Affairs, was invited as guest speaker of the fund-raising event.

The same day another fund-raising dinner spiced with improvising music performance organized by one of support groups in Houston, Texas USA drew about 250 Vietnamese. The Vietnamese community in Houston, estimate about 40,000, is well-known for its persistent campaign against Vietcong-affiliated business activity.

On October 23, Vietnamese people from as far as Munchen, Gladbach, Lobberich, Krefeld, have congregated in Herne, a city in the middle of West Germany, for a resistance-supporting dinner. After enjoying "pho", a well-liked traditional beef noodle soup, more than 100 Vietnamese have viewed the document film "National Day 1988 in Chicago", an event that drew more than 2000 Vietnamese from all parts of the United States. Vietnamese National Day, initiated by NUFRONLIV to be on the National Ancestral Commemoration Day, the tenth day of third lunar month, is a notion to fight the Vietcong on all front: the rejection of Vietcong National Day. The NUFRONLIV Resistance Choral Group of central West Germany have performed newly composed songs on the fund-raising event. A woman from Gelsenkirchen

contributed all her summer earnings. Several contributions were from Vietnamese who could not attend.

Fund raised from all these events were sent to the General Directorate of Overseas Affairs of NUFRONLIV.

## NUFRONLIV members in Norway convene in Oslo

The annual assembly of NUFRONLIV members in Norway has taken place on the 15 and 16 of October in the capital Oslo. The assembly heard reports of city chapters, and concluded with plans of action according to strategic guidelines laid out by the General Directorate. Experience on different kinds of activity were exchanged among the members and among chapters. The Oslo assembly also received some members from the adjoining country of Denmark and heard the commendations bestowed on active members.

Twenty eight certificates were conferred on members completing the Mobilizational Course of basic level. Seven candidates were pledged to full membership on the occasion.

The concluding reception was open to members of the Vietnamese Women Association in Norway whose aims includes pledged duty to the liberation of Vietnam. The Woman Association has catered in compliments all food in 2 days of the assembly.

## Twisters in a Vietcong envoy's talk for economic aids

Late September Nguyen Xuan Oanh, a former South Vietnamese official recently selected as deputy of the Vietcong National Assembly and economic advisor for CPVN Secretary-General Nguyen Van Linh, came to France to surreptitiously campaign for the openness policy of the Vietcong regime among Vietnamese intelligentsia abroad. Early October he managed to enter the United States in a private citizen visa in a drive for aids and economic normalization from the country that the Vietcong regime long regarded adversary.

Educated in Japan and later in the U.S., Oanh held briefly the post of deputy prime minister of South Vietnam in 1966.

His background, subjecting him to Vietcong detention for a period, became useful when the Vietcong regime wanted to put up an image of change and openness to solicit help from the outside world. For various reasons probably known only to himself Oanh collaborated in Vietcong deceptive plans.

His speech at the Harvard Institute for International Development held in October to a limited left-leaning audience in the United States, full of twisters and left-outs, indicated again the Vietcong ever-ready concealment of facts behind their parlance and their tactics for short-term campaigns.

Oanh's pleading are presented in 5 main parts, to which we shall recapitulate and bring into view the true situation.

### 1. Deceiving Diplomatic

Opening the speech Oanh cunningly preempt that he came here not to spread propaganda but to establish dialogue between 2 peoples. "But what matters now is how to find ways and means to establish a meaningful dialogue between our two peoples. What important is to promote

better mutual understanding, with the ultimate aim of achieving beneficial developments in the near future in areas of political, cultural and economic cooperation.", Oanh said

Calling for reconciliation between the peoples of the United States and of Vietnam was the view propagated recent years by pro-Vietcong American parties in attempt to mislead the American public. As peoples there is no hostility between them so as to call for reconciliation. Linking to "dialogue between two peoples" the Vietcongs hope to compound advocacy of humanitarian aids for the Vietnamese people to official relationship between 2 governments. Relations as such do not benefit the people, but to the contrary, only inflict more harm to the oppressed. Oanh put forth this confusion in his speech opening.

### 2. Reconstructing history to the Vietcong benefits. Reducing the issue at hand to the economic problem to mislead of its root cause.

Oanh continued by citing reasons of Hanoi current failures. On leadership, he critically singled out Truong Chinh; on historical event he alluded the country 1954 partition and its consequences of 2 opposing economies, one state-controlled of the North and one market economy of the South.

Calculatingly, he reduced all crises that the Vietcong regime now faces into a problem of economic difficulty, the integration of a market system into the communist model, as if it was the prime source of all disasters. Continuing multiple problems manifested in areas unrelated to economics indicated their basic origins from politics and ideology. The regime's economic measures are actually tools to turn the society into a communist structure, and to mold individuals into conformed beings, along the state-conceived design, the

one and only to be accepted. The issue is from this deterministic mind-set on all areas, not from the choice for either economic models. Oanh's reasoning in effect may give a wrong impression that if the economic problem is solved, all other crises shall cure themselves.

His reduction of a tugging war between the free market and the state models may prove useful to those advancing the simplified arguments that there is fighting between a Southern pragmatic faction that advocate changes and another mostly Northern dogmatic hard-liners that demand strict adherence to the communist state-building. This line of argument forms a favorable base that the Vietcong regime awaited to substantiate the rising of a "pragmatic faction" led by Nguyen Van Linh, in its calling for help and support from the democratic world.

Truong Chinh, criticized by Oanh as a symbol of hard-liners and failed policies, was a dead scapegoat just like Stalin and Brezhnev who common Soviet cadres are now encouraged to criticize. Criticism only occurred after the "leaders" had died and proved useful for the claimed moderate power-holders and for their banners of "restructuring" and "openness".

### 3. Assessment ambiguous and deceiving on reasons of 10 year failures, 1976-1986

Oanh's assessment delved on 2 periods of Vietcong 5-year plans, 1976-1980 and 1981-1985, with his citing some statistics for the first 5 years, probably in hope to impress the audience that the Vietcongs did apply a sound and familiar method on their economy management. He is not unknown of the fact that the Vietcong economic system sets up no ground for statistics, and that reported numbers are products of imagination matching with the ups and downs of the state's campaigns. These numbers however may have put peace in the minds of

some outsiders unfamiliar with the true situation in Vietnam.

For the first 5-year plan Oanh mentioned failures in agricultures, industry, and foreign investment. Forced collectivization and low state-prescribed prices on agricultural products have stagnated this area, and since 1979 the situation was redressed by "fair play" measures, Oanh argued. He however deliberately left out how badly and why the agriculture situation kept deteriorating after 1979 corrections. Equally embarrassed, he avoided to mention the phony "major famine" in Vietnam, vociferously announced by the Vietcong regime and latter picked up by some leftist organizations in mid 1988 to induce Western aids but stopped short in 3 months after cool responses from these countries.

In industry, Oanh brushed over measures of 1976 to nationalize private enterprises, its subsequent decline in productivity, and reforms of 1979 as incentives to boost consumer and export production. What specific measures, and whether they were effective to redress failures in industry since then, nearly 10 years later, were however omitted.

International cooperation in economics is a part Oanh attributed to the Chinese abrupt termination of aids as reason that brought about the Vietcongs' entry to Soviet-run COMECON. By play of words Oanh has craftily reversed cause and effect: He ignored totally the surrogate role of the Vietcong regime to Moscow and casted aside the situation of Indochina in late 1978, early 1979, when in return for Soviet money, the regime conferred military bases to Moscow and performed the expansionist duty invading Cambodia. On economic relations with the Soviet Union, Oanh stated curtly that long-term projects could only yield results after a decently long time. Ten years have past since the signing of the Soviet-Vietnam Friendship and Economic Cooperation Treaty.

To conclude the assessment of two 5-year plans Oanh summarized the severity of economic failures in all areas by quoting the political report of the December 1986 Vietnamese

Communist Party Congress. The harshly self criticism of the Party was immediately balanced by Oanh's presentation of promised new reforms and of personnel changes in the Vietcong government.

#### **4. Misleading representation of changes and reforms.**

"A new leadership has emerged, together with a new Council of Ministers", "a new National Assembly has been elected. Sixty percent of its members are new deputies drawn from all backgrounds, regardless of their political allegiance", Oanh said.

Citing personnel changes in the Cabinet and National Assembly as basis of policy changes is rather misleading as under the Vietcong regime, the National Assembly is a rubber-stamped organ of the Party, an all-power structure that also gives orders to the Cabinet. These government bodies were not counterparts of those similarly named in the free and democratic countries.

On the other hand, the unchanges were carefully avoided in Oanh's speech - principles such as monopolistic rule of the Party in all areas, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the centralized democracy, etc...

On economic reforms, Oanh said "A vast program of reforms aimed at improving economic management in general has been undertaken with urgency". No specific measure directly involved was mentioned, except "In fiscal area, new efforts are being made to determine controversial tax rates and to increase efficiency of tax collection which so far has been shared inequitably -- and in a confusing manner -- between central and regional authorities".

Broad description of banking reorganization and exchange policy was highly claimed where separation of monetary management from finance function, Oanh assert, would improve the banking system.

But the issues actually mattered are the role of money as conceived in the Vietcong economy, the trust of people put in its money, and the competence and power of agencies

making monetary and financial decisions. Oanh left out the fact that the Vietcong regime failed helplessly to stop the 1500% annual inflation. The issue is not to sign a decree to reorganize an institution as Oanh advocated. Practically, how management personnel are trained, how principles of accounting and financing are established? On "socialist economic accounting" method?

On exchange policy Oanh regarded the replacement of multiple exchange rates by dual-rate system, one for commercial transaction and the other for fund transfer, as a measure to reduce trade deficit. The dual rates however still contradict the regime's claim of privileges offered to foreign investment and finance. Oanh's speech left out more ominous signs of the bankrupt economy: 10,000 million US dollar foreign debt versus a meager 10 million national reserve in foreign currency. Indeed, if had been completely presented, the overall picture would not hold up his high hope for increasing inflow of foreign money and technology that he claimed should make necessary conditions for the economy to take off within two 5-year plans.

In summary, Oanh presented the crises ruining the Vietcong regime as consequences of mere economic policies. He disregarded many other critical political reasons - the bleeding occupation of Cambodia and Laos, the popular resistance, the innate anti-economic natures in other policies of communist model, to name a few. In economic area itself, policy switches as Oanh mentioned would most unlikely guarantee positive results because of fragmentary makeshift measures, incompetence in the decision-making and weariness in the implementing levels, not to mention the most devastating cause, the active and pervasive opposition and sabotage of the people abetted by the system's own insiders. Oanh might have known these failing omissions but chose to subside as his trip and speech were aimed at coloring a new image of "openness" and "renovation" for the regime, not at finding plausible and feasible ways to establish the kind of life that the people want.

## For A Free Vietnam:

# NUFRONLIV-proposed Guideline for Education Policy

Education, a pivotal activity of human kind, is an aspect well realized for its importance by the National United Front For The Liberation Of Vietnam (NUFRONLIV). Therefore, guidelines for education policy are laid out in the Nation-Building Part of the NUFRONLIV Political Program.

## EDUCATION PHILOSOPHY

As in other domains of activity mentioned in the Political Program, NUFRONLIV conceives aims of education quite diametrically opposing to that of the Vietcong regime. Upon determination of communism as an infallible and unchanging utopia, the communist philosophy of education regards schools as deliberate instruments to produce communist citizens serving its sociopolitical system and its protecting apparatus, the party. Vietcong education theory and practice enunciate the communist state as an end and visualize the role of education as to preserve this status quo. The focal goal is to politicize children in early years of the party lines to ingrain docility and obedience to the state. Not completely achieving its intended effects, the Vietcong education policy has however inhibited independent thinking among the younger generation, and imbued many of them with hopelessness to change the system.

NUFRONLIV on the other hand regards education as a medium to enhance individual ability and potential to the fullest possible in the context of the world that he or she lives. Regarding that individual be educated as an end, not a mouthpiece or instrument of the state, a proper policy is aimed to equip the child with knowledge, skill, and attitude to better meet challenges of his or her life and eventually of the existing society. Conceiving the reality and the need of an ever progressing society, NUFRONLIV encourages the role of individual, especially of academic level, in exploring changes for a better society.

This education concept however acknowledges the foundation of existing order as one built upon time-honored values and acclaimed institutions. Balance between stability and changes, between individual and society are therefore considered. Humanity, altruism, generosity -- aspects that safeguard against extremity, and excess -- are incorporated in envisioning education policy for a free Vietnam.

## EDUCATION POLICY

Different in aims, the education policies of the Vietcong regime and those proposed by NUFRONLIV denotes even more striking opposing basics.

To forge a classless society, the Vietcong regime cultivated vengence and hatred among people, among social strata, and among different groups, so as these social forces would controll each other, and individual would watch one another, for benefits of the state. Class struggle became the backbone of any Vietcong explanation of social phenomena and history. For more than 3 decades nationalism was noxiously aroused and profoundly misguided in Vietcong schools for the regime's communist objectives, either in invasion of South Vietnam, occupation of Cambodia and Laos, or persecution of ethnic Chinese. "International duty" and "communist duty" are euphemistic terms by which military aggression against neighboring countries was justified as measures protecting these communist regimes from outside threats and destruction of national culture and social foundation were carried in terms of serving the state and the party.

On another hand NUFRONLIV believes open communication, humanity, and altruism as foundation for education. Open truths, nurtured understanding, and increased communication are seen as ways to educate the youth not only for their personal advancement but also for societal benefits: to encourage generosity and reliability among individuals, to foster empathy between groups, and to forge a strong sense of nationhood. Loyalty to a broad entity of the nation as versus sectionalism is regarded necessary for a social cooperation and national development. Against the dangers of chauvinism, patriotism is to be developed with moral and altruistic considerations by providing knowledge and understanding of the interdependent world and its peoples. Children shall be educated of their citizen rights and responsibilities, of their constraints and opportunities to a better living for themselves and others. Schools shall be one of important institutions to build up generations of good citizens -- the asset conceived pivotal to the national strength and development. Hostility and vengence shall be condemned; harmony and tolerance shall be promoted. Such undertaking is only possible in an education that does not preconceive class conflict, communist exemplar, and utopia infallibility, but opens to freedom of opinion, inquiry, searching, and teaching.

Objective truth, unaffected by the interest of the state or the party, is foreign to the Vietcong's philosophy of education. The absence of academic freedom is a corollary, not just at higher education level but also at the elementary one under the Vietcong regime. Vietnamese government after liberation shall protect academic freedom as commomly defined and conceived. For the role and aptitude of high education the

academic freedom is bestowed with largest latitude at this level and shall apply to teachers as well as to students. Academic freedom should manifest itself from the process of selecting, training, appointing the teachers, not just in investigating, publishing and teaching the subjects.

Under the Vietcong education policy, teachers and teacher candidates are strictly selected on basis of ideological adherence, social background, and party loyalty. The child is educated not only exclusively by the state but exclusively for the state as well. Access to higher education is a form of political reward, totally reserved for loyal party members or their children, where academic aptitude is irrelevant. (\*)

On the other hand education policy of free Vietnam after liberation envisions benefit of increased communication, exchange of ideas and opinions, hence, diversification of education sources. For level of primary education, the child should benefit from teacher's conviction on truth and morality. At higher level of education, however, free inquiry and independent thinking shall be encouraged. Similarly, to guarantee a balanced and well developed education, there may be public and private schools, there may be social and religious institutions. Family, youth clubs, associations, churches, and pagodas may all play important and independent role in education. Sport, cultural, artistic activities shall be encouraged to build up a healthy and good life for the youth as for the population. Only in such education system, tours to museums, parks, shows, buildings, cities may realize its function that open minds of the youth with different ideas, values, diversified ways and methods, and train them to accept even to value the differences.

In summary NUFRONLIV conceives 3 realms that education may provide: knowledge, skill, and attitude. Education should prepare individual not only with every day knowledge information -- preventive health care, food preservations, choices of career, life style and entertainment -- but also citizenship duty and democratic rights, social issues and interdependent world. Skills that education embodies shall not limit to notation of technical skills, but shall rather encourage thinking, problem-solving, decision-making, and communicative potency that the child will need in many other aspects of life. Attitude is another important aspect that education needs to address, not just scientific attitude toward the world around, but also about the possible control and change one can act to have on one's life, about acceptance of human frailties and searching for human strengths, and about caring concerns for others and for oneself.

## PROPOSALS

On education, cultural, and youth activity once the country is liberated the NUFRONLIV therefore aims to :

- restore, maintain and develop the national culture based on nationhood, humanity and open-mindedness.

- immediately promulgate an education policy for Vietnamese future generations in accordance with tenets of patriotism, family values, morality, community spirit, altruism that encompasses moral, intellectual, physical and esthetic disciplines.

- devote special attention to citizenship study, free people from fear and distrust ingrained in everyone's subconsciousness under the Vietcong shackles, and form a new generation of honest, harmonious, and law-abiding citizens.

- stamp out illiteracy and determine minimum education level required of all citizens.

- recover valued national customs such as harmony, hospitality, and magnanimity which have been suppressed under the Vietcong rule.

- rebuild, through cultural activities, entertainment, sports, literature and arts, a new society characterized by a natural, wholesome, and luminous way of life that the people can enjoy in an atmosphere of love and freedom.

The Vietcong rule based on Marxist-Leninist ideology has destroyed the country of Vietnam beyond imagination for more than 3 decades. All the policies aimed to better the life of the people are only possible if devastating causes of the communist system are removed. The NUFRONLIV Political Program indicates therefore:

- to eradicate all vestiges of slavish Marxist-Leninist culture, especially history and thought distortions based on class struggle.

- to assemble all Vietcong books, magazines, papers, and documents in special depository for future generations to study cultural crimes of the Vietcong and to understand the darkest period of our nation's history.

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**(\*) Note:** The Vietcong's educational system has caused many ironic incidences. In Northern provinces many incompetent teachers selected by political consideration were forced to resign and numerous students reassigned to much lower classes, the phenomenon euphemistically reported in the Vietcong magazine as "teaching wrong class" and "sitting in wrong class" (Tuoi Tre Chu Nhat, July 31, 1988).

Competent teachers trained under the South's education system, regardless of science or social subjects, were expelled or repoliticized, and college students of any school were reselected on political criteria after the Vietcong 1975 takeover. The Vietcong report of 10,543 elementary teachers quitting their jobs in 1987, albeit a low unreliable figure, and the failure to recruit teaching students reflected only part of a larger education problem that the Vietcong magazine claimed "total decaying". Grave problems appeared on every area of education due to the state's monopoly in "setting up education strategic direction, choosing personnels, training teachers, preparing every pages of text books, managing every book printing, every bricks of any schools ..." (op. cit.)

All these phenomena mirror overdue consequences of a deformed education policy designed exclusively to consolidate the existing regime.

## Interview with Dr. Tran Xuan Ninh:

# Human Rights vs. the Vietcong's "Openness" Policy

*Dr. Tran Xuan Ninh, a practicing surgeon, is the Deputy Commissioner-General of NUFRONLIV General Directorate of Overseas Affairs. He consecutively held Commissioner posts of Research & Training, and Motivation & Mobilization Affairs during 1983-1986.*

**The Vietnamese Resistance:** We know of your recent visit to Europe, where you're a guest speaker in the Human Rights 1948-1988 Commemorative Conference on September 10, 1988 in London. Could you tell us more about that conference?

**Dr. Tran Xuan Ninh:** The Conference was organized by the British Section of the International Society for Human Rights, in which human rights issues in Southeast Asia, East Europe, South Africa, Ethiopia, Tibet, Afghanistan, Nicaragua were addressed. Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam are 3 countries of Indochina where human rights were to be discussed. The Laotian speaker couldn't come on the last minute; Mr. Bindra, a native of India, speaks of violation of human rights in Cambodia, and I speak on the case of Vietnam.

**VR:** Doctor Ninh, what do you think about the general situation of human rights 40 years after the birth of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights?

**Dr. Ninh:** After the Second world War there were 3 phenomena affecting the problem of human rights around the world. First, the expansion of communism, beginning in Eastern Europe and later East Asia, where behind the iron curtain repressive terrors become the ruling methods of the Communist totalitarianism. Violation of human rights in Communist countries were the focal issue during 1950's, but since then the Western attention gradually declined, partly perhaps because of the political atmosphere of coexistence and later detente, partly because of apathy of being repetitious. Second, the disappearance of colonial rule around the world, in effect reduced generally severity of human rights violation. In some former colonies, power nevertheless remained in the hands of a few dictators, hence to varying extend human rights were not seriously observed. Third, the question of racism was gradually recognized and dealt with.

In general, the situation improved after the U. N. 1948 Declaration of Human Rights, except in the countries of Communist bloc and South Africa.

**VR:** What pressure, if there's any, of international opinion on violations of human rights around the world?

**Dr. Ninh:** First, let's talk about the United Nations, a largest international organization. The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights has set



the issue of human rights to be a problem question of human race. In reality the United Nations didn't react properly to cases of human rights violation and when it did its pressures were limited or ineffectual. It's is reasonably expected because the United Nations is a political medium, but not a judiciary organ nor a human rights enforcement one.

There are 2 other notable organizations which main objective is to monitor the observation of human rights in the world: the Amnesty International (AI) and the International Society for Human Rights (ISHR). Beside their watch report, these 2 organizations also rallies public support on petition to relevant government on behalf of the human rights victims. AI, being conferred Nobel prize of Peace in 1977, seems more known and better manned than ISHR. AI's seemingly unbalanced reports of violation in terms of amounts and contents between non-communist and communist countries however prodded some critics to associate it with the Left. This is probably because AI has easier access in non-communist countries than in totalitarian ones. Campaigns and motions of these organizations might have had concrete and limited effects on some individual cases. Results on overall policy to correct the situation are however null, except in rare cases when the governments involved needed to

redress their images in face of mass media attack and public protest.

**VR:** Did human rights organizations ever address the violations committed by the Vietcong government in Vietnam?

**Dr. Ninh:** Amnesty International has considered the Vietcong violation of human rights in Vietnam, mostly after Joan Baez's open letter in 1977 to the Vietcong regime on the "reeducation" camps and after investigation reports by Mrs. Ginetta Sagan of Aurora Foundation on outrageous persecution of detainees in these camps.

Upon negotiating with Hanoi the AI was allowed to send an observation delegation to Vietnam, which later indicated of the presence of "prisoners of conscience" and incidents of human rights violation such as prolonged detention with no trial, etc. Amnesty International however did not make any finite conclusion on the situation of these camps for "lacks of evidence upon the trip". AI mentioned neither the swelling of numerous prisons after the Vietcong takeover of South Vietnam, nor the continuation of numerous unfounded arrests to date. Recently AI has voiced on the death sentences of Thich Tue Sy and Thich Tri Sieu, 2 Buddhist prominent monks and scholars that the Vietcong regime detained incommunicado since 1984.

To my knowledge, the smaller ISHR does not maintain many records of human rights violations of the Vietcong state. Particularly, the Aurora Foundation directed by Mrs. Ginetta Sagan, one champion for the cause of human rights, has consistently investigated and compiled evidences of Vietcong state's inhuman policies for the last 10 years. Understandably, its activity can not go farther than making

the issue known to the international public.

**VR:** In another word, activities of these human rights organizations did not affect much the persecution and infringements on human rights committed by the Vietcong state?

**Dr. Ninh:** As I just said, campaigns of these organizations, such as Amnesty International, only brought about confined results on individual cases, typically when the condemned governments were in need of winning public support abroad. These campaigns usually made impacts on the public via mass media augmentation, and in turn the public protest might have attracted attention of the governments involved.

We shall not forget that these organizations' objectives are to voice up cases of "prisons of conscience" (such as A.I.), and petition the responsible governments to abide by the Universal Declaration. They do not fight against these governments. Many victims of the oppressive policies tend to expect the human rights organizations to strive more against these regimes. It's an irrelevant expectation as these organizations's mandate concerns mainly research on human rights violations, petitions and requests when deemed necessary but not challenging against the repressive rulers. It's the responsibility of the oppressed themselves if they want the problems to be solved totally and permanently.

**VR:** There has been a lot of talking about Glasnost and Perestroika in the Soviet Union. And people also mention of "openness" and "changes" announced by Nguyen Van Linh, Secretary-General of the Communist Party of Vietnam. Do you think that the human rights situation will improve in Vietnam?

**Dr. Ninh:** Many mass media people rely on Nguyen Van Linh's and other Vietcong officials's announcements to project or to indicate changes and openness occur in Vietnam. Some journalists cited articles publicly relating popular misery and condemning the bureaucrats as evidences of openness. Other wrote about the state tolerance of rock music and escorts bars in Saigon and Hanoi. I think such thoughts are rather superficial. First, these mentionings only touched upon daily hardships at hand, and needless to say, we can be certain that those openly criticizing are cadres acting along directives from above to present an image of "openness". Condemning the bureaucrats, especially among the rubber-stamped level, is a way to find a scapegoat for the omnipotent leaders. The culprits of these policies and their disastrous consequences are immune, or more accurate, only cursorily self-blamed of "shortcomings and mistakes". The lines to redress the deep-roots problems are still the dictatorship of the proletariat and more reinforced control of one party. Nguyen Van Linh said in the 5th Plenum Congress of Party Central Committee on June 20, 1988, I quote, "It is necessary to exert more leadership and control over the press, publishing, cultural, and artistic services so as to gear them toward actively supporting the renovation undertaking and contributing to the implementation of the party's resolution." It's hard to imagine why more controls and leadership are necessary if openness and new changes are really pursued. It's hard to understand why the people needs to be pushed to exercise their freedoms.

Citing state tolerance of night clubs and escorts bar as evidence of freedom may sound interesting! In Vietnam, people starve even on some jobs, who else can afford these



entertainments? They can only be corrupted party members and cadres, their privileged children, foreigners, and Vietnamese travelling back to Vietnam on the Vietcong-promoted tour for their badly needed hard currency. Who else if not the state or its delegated cadres are the owner of these night clubs when petty private business on an alley may not be approved? These places are basically the state businesses to retrieve money when it failed terribly on underground market to reduce inflation. Intendedly, the night clubs also are vivid showcase to impress the foreign guests of the state "openness" policy in Vietnam!

Finally a recent incident in London testifies clearly how the Vietcongs accept the rights of expression and discussion: On September 04 Tran Nhan Khang, the third secretary of the Vietcong diplomatic corp in Britain brandished a hand gun to disperse a peaceful demonstration in front of the Vietcong Embassy. Demonstrators includes men, women, children, and elders, protesting the reception of Vietcong National Day, had to duck until the British police arrived. Tran Nhan Khang was later expelled in violation of the British laws.

**VR:** Then how the issue of human rights in Vietnam can be solved?

**Dr. Ninh:** The root cause of banning basic rights and trampling human rights in Vietnam is the perpetuation of power by a minority Vietcong rulers. Ordinarily, in an open and free society, a regime failed continuously cannot continue its existence. Monopolizing power for the last 13 years, the Vietcong regime led the whole country into one of the four poorest in the world, and deprived the people all fundamental rights to survive. That regime has no ground to continue.

The Vietnamese have organized under the leadership of the National United Front For The Liberation Of Vietnam (NUFRONLIV) to overthrow that regime, solving at the root the problem in Vietnam. Doing that, the Vietnamese profess their consciousness of the rights of human beings, and exercise these rights to fight for the freedoms of each individual and of the entire Vietnamese people.

**VR:** Do you think that in an atmosphere of high expectation for "openness" and cooperation with the Communists regimes, the struggle to overturn the Vietcong regime may be considered too radical?

**Dr. Ninh:** I don't think an ordinary and reasonable man will consider a struggle to survive by the victims of a perpetually oppressive regime an act of radical. I can understand the indifference of the outsiders because they aren't victims, they don't suffer real anguishes, or because there is no interest to involve. Some people may not acclaim the ongoing struggle of the Vietnamese people because they deem it as an inroad to any profitable deal between them and the claimed "openness" regime. To these people I want to tell them that there is no profit potential in doing business with the

Vietcong because the majority of Vietnamese people detest, do not cooperate, and resist this regime in all possible ways under the orchestrated guidance of the NUFRONLIV.

The superficial openness, if there's any, is to gear toward the foreigners in attempts to save the regime and to reinforce its oppressive apparatus inside Vietnam. And as such, the Vietnamese people shall continue their struggle for human dignity and freedom as long as they are under a regime oppressive by nature and conviction, regardless of whatever different solutions other may see. Any money or resources of the world, poured into Vietnam within the framework of profitability, shall pour into a bottomless bag whose gash is ever enlarged by the oppressed Vietnamese in a struggle not always necessarily by explosive devices. In all, to those who claim the ongoing struggle of the Vietnamese people as radical I may assert that they do so with intent: they are politically Vietcong-inclined. The people of Vietnam are exercising their human rights: to strive for freedoms of an ordinary life. Alleging as radical this exercising only proves they are enemies against the advancement of these basic rights.

#### Abbreviations in the newsletter:

ARF	NUFRONLIV Armed Resistance Forces
ARVN	Armed Forces of Republic of Vietnam
CPVN	Communist Party of Vietnam
GD/ILA	NUFRONLIV General Directorate of In-Land Affairs
GD/OA	NUFRONLIV General Directorate of Overseas Affairs
NRC	NUFRONLIV National Resistance Council
RAC	NUFRONLIV Resistance & Administrative Committee
RVN	Republic of Vietnam (South Vietnam)

#### Acronyms and well-used Vietnamese:

Khang Chien Quan (KCQ):	Vietnamese Resistance Fighter(s)
NUFRONLIV:	National United Front for the Liberation of Vietnam
Vietcong(VC):	Vietnamese Communist(s)