

May 1988

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

Editorial

PERIODICAL FILE
UNIV. CALIFORNIA
INDOCHINA ARCHIVE
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

What's behind Hanoi claims of famine ? A logical solution for an emotional problem.

The Hanoi Government has recently claimed that Vietnam is facing a famine imminently and they call on the world to send food to help. Like in the Ethiopian experience, one can expect that the Vietcong will undertake a vast publicity campaign about the famine with pictures and 'facts' designed to move the world public opinion. This operation shows that the Vietcong regime would employ even the most devious techniques in order to attain the objectives: To attract the foreign resources that would help the regime to consolidate its power grip on the country.

The economic failure of the Vietcong government came partly from their incompetence in economic management but mostly from the very nature of the regime which is built upon a vast military and security apparatus, designed to safeguard the regime and to maintain at all time the aggressive policies toward the other countries. The existence of the regime is preserved through a systematic repression of the people not only physically but also economically with emphasis on the policy of food distribution based on political criterium along with a complex system of privileges distribution to maintain the obedience of the military and security apparatus even to the detriment and hunger of the populace.

To counter these cruel and oppressive policies, the people had resisted by all means, especially by non cooperation with the regime, and by sabotaging the production mechanism in such a way that during the past thirteen years, the government never succeeded in its collection-confiscation programs. Now that the government reserve does not have enough supplies for their bulky machinery anymore, the Vietcong start crying famine. The truth is that they need food not for the population which is of last feeding priority per the government policy, but for the grumbling war and security ranks and files.

In light of the Vietcong government true motivation in their calling for assistance, the well-intended people and international institutions desiring to assist the people of Vietnam humanitarilly must take the appropriate precautions so their assistance could truly reach to the people in need, and not to profit the regime. This eventuality, if happens, will result in more suffering to the people they intended to assist at first. For this, some measures could be of consideration:

- Under international supervision, the Vietcong government must specifically prove what regions and to what extent the famine is now threatening. And the alternatives to solve the problem must be assessed upon examining the global situation.

- All international assistances, if any, must be assured to reach the people in need. For this to be effectif, the regions infected by famine thus assessed must be declared 'sinister zones' in which the Vietcong administration apparatus must be dissolved so a internationally supervised, self-administered distribution system by the people of such zones could take over in order to assure no detour of the assistances by the Vietcong government.

- The Vietcong government must withdraw all its expeditionary forces out of the occupied countries, and discharge their 3 millions security agents and military apparatus so they could lead a economically productive life in the society.

Until these measures are implemented, the pressure must be kept on the Vietcong government, both diplomatically and economically until they comply. Any assistances without such proper precautions are certainly in opposition with the Vietnamese people interests.

Headlines

Le Quang Ba, a former Vietcong general has died last March for unknown reason, only 10 days after the death of Pham Hung, the late President of the Government Council. The noticeable part is not the death of an aging Communist general, but is his funeral arrangement in which virtually all Communist leaders of the current regime were present to pay his tribute including Nguyen Van Linh, the leader of the Vietcong Party. To know that Le Quang Ba, ancien Central Committee' head of the Minority Ethnic's Committee, was an accomplice of Hoang Van Hoan clique in the internal power struggle with Le Duan, Nguyen Van Linh in 1978 that resulted into Hoang Van Hoan exile to China the same year. Along with several other officials, Le Quang Ba was under arrest ever since, only to be on the limelight again once dead. His state class funeral, per communist coded convention, had a strong political significance: The Nguyen Van Linh clique wanted to soothe the opposition of those of the Communist cadres who still opposed to his power in the eternal power struggle inside the Vietcong apparatus.

On May, 3rd, The Vietcong representative at the United Nations has contacted FAO officials here to call for help to face the so-called famine that, they said, is threatening 7 millions of people in the Northern province of Viet Nam. The reason of the food shortage, according to the Vietcong government came from a number of natural tragic-event such as flood, drought, and pest that caused a decrease in exploited land totaled up to 250,000 hectares.

On the very same day, the Statistic organ of the Vietcong government issue a report on the present agricultural situation, viewed as optimistic !. It is reported that the overall pest infection on the land was under control and somewhat less extensive than during the same period last

year. And the total of the exploited land had significantly increase compared to the last year level. In the south alone, the increase was in the order of almost 4%.

Resistance News

(as reported on March 24th-1988 VRR' broadcast)

Resistance in Ben Tre

The RAC of the Ben Tre province reported that during February, NUFRONLIV cadres, in coordination with the Resistance Youth Association in Ben tre, had organized several seminar on Vietnamese History for the people in the province. (The History of the Country is the source of pride for most Vietnamese people who found in it the linkage within themselves and the national heroes of the past who endured sacrifices fighting enemies to preserve national independence). On the occasion, 300 copies of the booklet "Our national Heroes" have been transcribed and distributed in the province for circulation among the people.

Also during February, 1988, a Ben Tre resistance group named "The Anti-Communist Ben Tre Youth" has joint NUFRONLIV bringing along all their equipment and weapons.

Resistance in Thuan Hai

The RAC of Thuan Hai province reported that in late February, the province RAU in Thuan Hai had ambushed a patrol of Vietcong security agents (cong an) on its way back from harassing the people of the Thap Cham district. After a short engagement,

the Viet cong agents dispersed, leaving behind 3 dead and 1 seriously wounded. The wounded agent was tended to by the ARU medic, but later died because of blood lost. Among the equipment and weapon the Vietcong agents left behind, the ARU found a bag of money. This is the money that the Viet cong collected through acts of bribery and confiscation.

Before getting back to the maquis, the khang chien quan have disseminated numbers of leftlets warning the vietcong agents to stop from harassing the people, and to call on them to desert the security forces in order to avoid attacks from the resistance.

Resistance in An Giang

The RAC of the An Giang province has reported that during the month of February, the ARC has organized several information-mobilization operations in the districts of Cho Moi, Tri Ton, Phu Tan, and Thoai Son. On the occasions, the ARU has distributed 4000 leftlets on the Resis-



•A Medic Training Class of the ARF.

tance, hundreds of copies of NUFRONLIV Political Program and several others documents including 20 Vietnamese National Flag. During the operations, the ARU has recruited 34 young men and women who joint the province' Armed Resistance Forces.

Also, on February 24th, 1988, a viet cong tax collector named Sen has been stabbed to dead in Long Xuyen City. Sen is a tax agent known in the city for him being highly corrupted and his cruelty toward the population here.

'Freedom Of Expression' On Trial

The trial was hastily organized and ended, as hastily as how the defendants were questioned and the verdict was reached. The charge was "conspiring with foreign countries to destroy the regime". Relatives were notified only half a day in advance, enough time to come to hear the verdict. The sloppy manner in which the trial was conducted reflected a dilemma for the regime. The ruthless nature of this type of trial, popular in Communist countries, did not create this dilemma, nor did the necessity for the regime to resort to this sort of drastic measure. Rather the dilemma exists because it comes at a time when Ha Noi tries hard to polish its so-called "open" and "reformist" image with a new class of leaders to bail itself out of economic and diplomatic troubles. Through the trial of poets and writers Doan Quoc Si, Khuat Duy Trac, Hoang Hai Thuy, Tran Ngoc Tu va Nguyen Thi Nhan, Ha Noi implied the need to terrorize the populace is still most important to the regime, far more than the need for good propaganda to conquer the world's opinion.

The defendants, like thousand other writers and poets in Vietnam, were arrested, imprisoned and tortured because they wanted to write freely. The dictatorial and backward nature of the Viet cong regime could not tolerate such freedom of expression. The right of free speech, the regime claimed, is a product of a bourgeois society and has no place in the kind of a totalitarian Vietnamese society the Communists want to create. Free writers are regarded by the regime as most dangerous enemies because their profession and creations give them the symbol of the type of free men the regime find impossible to mold into obedient robots. In addition, the regime by oppressing the free speech through terrorizing writers and poets wants to prove to the people it will not hesitate to crush any individual who dares to defy the party's thinking and disobey its policies. Yet all efforts by Ha Noi to suppress the free speech have failed and this failure is once again proven in the last trial. The Vietnamese writers and poets' opposition to the Viet cong regime has progressed from opposite passive thinking to intensive practical acts; it is gaining strength and popularity both at home and abroad. Most recently, works by poet Nguyen Chi Thien, who has spent more than half his life time in Viet cong prisons, were warmly received by the Vietnamese community overseas. Readers found in his poems a daring defiance for the regime and great love for free creation. Heroic acts of writer Phan Nhat Nam in jail are also a frequent topic of talks among people at home and inside the refugee community. Bald spirit of writer Doan Quoc Si when interrogated by the Viet cong secret service is equally admired with love and pride by the people.

First arrested in 1976, writers Doan Quoc Si, Duong Hung Cuong, Hoang Hai Thuy, Nguyen Hoat, Tran Ngoc Tu and singer Khuat Duy Trac were later released but were soon rearrested in 1984 and charged with "conspiring with foreign countries to destroy the regime". The evidence used by the regime to convict the writers was no more than innocent gifts sent home by some colleagues abroad to help their impoverished friends in hardship. This obviously did not deter the regime from handing down the guilty verdict since it was any opportunity, not the evidence, that Ha Noi has been waiting for to slam an espionage charge on the writers and put these "dangerous elements" away for good. This explains why Nguyen Thi Nhan, a government postal worker was among those arrested. The trial would also serve to remind the populace of the kind of society they live in and what is expected of them.

On the day of the trial, April 27, 1988, only five defendants were able to make appearance; Nguyen Hoat and Duong Hung Cuong, badly tortured, died in prison. The verdict gave Doan Quoc Si a nine-year sentence, Hoang Hai Thuy eight year, Tran Ngoc Tu and Nguyen Thi Nhan five year, and Khuat Duy Trac four year. It's still unknown how many of the writers can survive long enough to complete their sentence. It does not really make any difference since life inside prison or outside in a Communist society are very much the same. ●



United States

During the months of February and March 1988, a campaign to denounce the Vietcong scheme to take advantage of international financial institutions has taken place by Vietnamese Communities living in the United States on the initiative of NUFRONLIV. The campaign was destined to sensitize public and political opinions in America to prevent tax dollars channeled to the international financial institutions from being used to help the Vietcong regime financially or technically. At the same time, Vietnamese Communities in the United States have written the IMF and the World Bank to warn these institutions on the Vietcong government political scheme behind their request for loan and assistances, which are needed so the regime could consolidate its strength in order to maintain the policies of aggression toward the neighboring countries, as well as to enhance their repressive machine toward the people of Vietnam.

The Vietnamese National Day has been celebrated by Vietnamese communities all over the world wherever. The National Day, the 10th day of the third month on the lunar calendar, is also the day the Vietnamese people commemorate King Hung Vuong, the founding father of the Vietnamese Nation. The underlying concept is to contest the Vietcong government legitimacy to represent the country of Vietnam. In the grand celebration, organized this year in Chicago-USA, The Vietnamese National Day Art and Literature Award 1988 was granted to the suite for small chamber ensemble "Chinh Phu Ngam" (or The Ballad of a Warrior's Wife), composed by Cung Tien, who is one of the most known and loved song writers in Vietnam.

On April 30th, 1988, demonstrations were staged in practically all Vietnamese communities worldwide. On that day, 13 years ago, the Vietcong complete their military invasion of South Vietnam. To the difference



• Demonstration in Canberra, Australia, to denounce Vietcong economic and financial scheme.

of the previous years, this year gatherings of Vietnamese people living overseas were not to grieve on the failure of the past, but were marked by a general sense of optimism, and determination to struggle against the Vietcong regime. The demonstrations were organized, from Texas, California, Washington...in the United States to cities in Japan, Australia, France, Norway, West Germany, Great Britain...to protest the Vietcong continuous human rights violation, and to denounce their economic & financial scheme abroad.

Australia

In Perth, where the Vietcong government has sent a "water puppet show" troop to propagate among Australian schools here, the Vietnamese community in West Australia was mobilized to oppose to this propaganda ploy. Several participants came from many other communities such as the Cambodian, Laotian, Afghan, Polish and local Australians. The end result was the total failure of the Vietcong attempt to present the show.

Federal Republic of Germany

On April 28th, The Phan Nhat

Nam Committee in West Germany has organized a demonstration before the Vietcong embassy in Bonn to protest the recent Vietcong show trial of 5 Vietnamese artists and writers. On the same day, other demonstrations were staged in Stuttgart and Berlin to denounce the Vietcong government's violation of human rights. (The Phan Nhat Nam committee is an organization of several chapters worldwide which endeavor is to fight for the liberty and human right of Vietnamese artists and writers. The committee was named after the writer humanist who is imprisoned by the Vietcong since 1975, and whose work "Peace and War Prisoner" received the National Day Art and Literature Award in 1987.

Japan

A reception in honor of the Vietnamese National Day was held by NUFRONLIV Japan Chapter in Tokyo on April 19th, 1988. Among the guest invited was number of diplomatic corp in Tokyo, and Japanese personalities in the political and academic fields. The guest speaker at the reception was Dr Tran Xuan Ninh, NUFRONLIV Deputy Commissioner General of Overseas Affairs.

Declaration of Direct Opposition to the Vietcong Regime (*)

Given that:

1. *The Vietcong regime is a dictatorial, cruel and degrading regime which is but an extended organ of the International Communism. And that the Vietnamese people has risen up in a Resistance movement to overthrow that regime in order to win back national Independence and human rights for the people.*
2. *Under the pressure of the Vietnamese people resistance, the Vietcong regime had to adopt a number of measures designed to salvage the regime from collapsing, noticeably since their Vietcong Party 6th Congress in December 1986. The true nature of these 'openness' and 'renovation' policies is to consolidate the power of the ruling Party and not, in anyway, to tend to the welfare of the people.*
3. *Under the directives of the said Congress, the Vietcong regime has applied on one hand the parallel policies of propaganda and terrorism against the people in Vietnam, and on the other the systematic exploitation of Vietnamese living abroad in their economic and financial scheme along with their orchestration to deceive the world about the nature of their 'openness' and 'reform'.*
4. *That the Vietnamese people abroad has endeavor themselves to campaign against these Vietcong economic and financial scheme, and to denounce them before public opinion.*
5. *The struggle of the Vietnamese people inside the country became more and more threatening to the regime. To assist their compatriots in Vietnam in that struggle the Vietnamese people living abroad must undertake more active stand against the Vietcong on all fronts, by all means.*

We, the undersigned associations, organizations and committees, hereby declare that:

1. *The only way to assure a durable peace in Southeast Asia is that the Soviet Union must withdraw their armed forces out of Vietnam, and that the Vietcong regime must be overthrown.*
2. *In order to effectively assist the Vietnamese people in Vietnam to overthrow the Vietcong regime, news actions must be taken to directly oppose the Vietcong regime in their activities abroad in all fields: Cultural, Economic, Politic, Diplomatic, Religious...*
3. *In the Vietnamese traditional spirit of tolerance, the Vietnamese people welcome all Vietcong followers to return to their people, joining them in the struggle for the liberation of the fatherland.*
4. *In the name of human conscience and justice, and for a peaceful Southeast Asia, we call on all democratic nations, all international organizations, all media organizations, all economic and financial institutions and the world public opinion to support the struggle of the Vietnamese people and to continuously embargo the Vietcong regime diplomatically as well as economically until they cease their aggressive and repressive policies against the neighboring countries and the people of Vietnam respectively.*
5. *The Vietnamese Refugees Communities must act to fulfill their duty toward the fatherland by not to do anything harmful to the country interests or/and anything that would benefit the regime. All acts that cause division or that dilute the solidarity among vietnamese or to propagate for the Vietcong regime in the community are not permissive.*

Brussels, May the 15th, 1988

Representatives of 350 Associations, Organizations and Committees.

(*) On May 14th and 15th, 1988, a special convention gathering representatives of 350 Vietnamese organizations, associations and Committees against the Vietcong economic and financial activities worldwide was held in Brussels, Belgium. After two days of discussions the convention agreed upon a Declaration, resuming the common lines to follow in the struggle against the vietcong regime with emphasis on coordination and efficiency of action

Commentary

THE OUTLOOK OF THE U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

A rather worried opinion has surfaced among political centers of East and Southeast Asian countries and America over recent meetings taking place since mid April between Washington and Manila to discuss the future of U.S. bases in the Philippine.

The military base treaty, signed by the U.S. and Philippine in 1947 granting the U.S. the use of Clark Air Force Base and Subic Bay, thus far has been regularly reviewed and renewed every five years. The present negotiation between the American and Philippine representatives is somewhat special since and will be terminated in 1991 if the two countries fail to come up with a new treaty to replace the old one. The worry of countries in the region is justified by the military as well as economic impacts of the presence of the U.S. bases in the Philippine, which is directly tied to the economic development of these countries.

Clark AFB and Subic Bay naval base are considered as two most important strategic points in the effort to stop the Communist expansion in the 50's and 60's. Changes of strategic priorities in the defense plan in the last twenty years have made the American military presence in the region and important factor that contributed to a robust economic development enjoyed by countries in Southeast Asia. This presence also plays a vital role in protecting economic and security interests of Western nations

whose economic increasingly becomes dependent on the economic well-being of Asian countries.



• (Above) The VC expeditionary forces in Kampuchea.
(Below) Map of the strategic South East Asia.

A strong U.S. military presence in the region has allowed member nations of ASEAN to alleviate their defense spending and concentrate more on economic development. This should explain the misproportion of economic growth between some Asian and Western countries. While the U.S. spends 11% of its GNP for defense, Western European nations' contributions range from 8 to 13% of their GNP. On the other hand, the economic strength of Southeast Asia contributes a great deal to world's economic.

The military victory of the Viet cong in 1975, however, has changed the power balance in the region. The beachhead role played by Hanoi in the expansion plan of the Soviet Union is more than a threat to the security of

Southeast Asian countries, especially those that lie within the striking distance from Soviet military bases in Vietnam, particularly Cam Ranh and Da Nang. The strategic importance of these bases have outgrown that of all other Soviet bases outside Russia; they supplement Soviet military activities in Central Asia and the Middle East. This threat is also aimed at Western nations since Soviet naval fleets and fighter planes from Vietnam can easily dominate and isolate strategic points such as Sunda and Lombok of Indonesia, or Malacca of Malaysia. (Can phai giai thich tai sao cac diem chien luoc nay anh huong den cac quoc gia Tay Phuong).

Facing the threat, Southeast Asian countries are forced to revise their defense policies; as yet, these countries today are still struggling to agree on a uniform policy. The U.S. bases in the Philippine fit right into this struggle. While the countries in the region agree on the vital need for the bases, so far only Manila has shouldered the burden. Other leaders have managed to avoid the issue although they are well aware of the fact that the security presence in the Philippine. Therefore, the future of the U.S. bases conveniently remain a U.S.-Philippine issue, at least on an official basis.

In the mean time, the government of President Aquino is having an uphill battle in trying to renew the treaty. The opposition to such renewal started even months before negotiations between Manila and Washington took place and is now gaining strength. Leftist-organized protests accusing the government as a puppet of Washington were coincident with a wave of attacks by the Communist rebels throughout the country. The opposition forces to renewing the treaty. Dozens of elected officials joined the opposition. After unsuccessful attempt by Foreign Minister Manglapus for a solution, Manila is trying to calm the opposition with more demands of the U.S.

It is more likely that Manila and Washington will conclude a deal despite pressures from the Philippine leftist opposition and sabotage efforts by the Communist rebels, and even indifferent silence and cautious observation by other ASIAN countries. The deal will extend the lease of the two bases beyond 1991. Washington will pay a higher price for the lease. Mr. Manglapus has mentioned in several press interviews a "multi-billion dollar" deal, up from 1.1 billion dollars for the last five-year lease period, whereby the U.S. will increase its aids to the Philippine and in return acquire the right of use of the bases. A similar solution was discussed among the Philippine law makers. The bases would be leased for a price of three billion dollars annually, or the U.S. takes over payments of Manila's 27 billion dollar foreign debts.

While the price to maintain their security and economic interests is quite clear to all concerned nations in the region, the question of when the ever increasing financial burden for national defense can and will be alleviated yet remains to be answered. Perhaps in the process of searching for a solution agreeable to all parties, one will think of the need to rid of the myth "Communist is invincible" and to start cooperating with the Vietnamese Resistance to solve the Communist threat problem at its root. ●

DIPLOMATIC TIES WITH THE VIETCONG, A SOCIAL SOLUTION FOR THE U.S. ?

Recent visits to Vietnam by a few elected officials from the U.S. can serve as an indication of some success gained by Hanoi in its latest campaign to establish diplomatic ties with Washington. The need to monitor the negotiations between Washington and Hanoi on the MIA and Amerasian children issues, these officials claimed, sent them to Vietnam. Nonetheless, it is only naive to believe that Hanoi engaged in the dialogue only to seek a humane solution to the problems of human sufferings. The Communist leaders want diplomatic relations with the U.S., relations that will help the regime strengthen its grips on the people, and nothing can be more effective than the issues of American soldiers still unaccounted for after the war and Vietnamese children fathered by the G.I.s to appeal to the emotions of the American people.

While the two sides appear to have the same tasks to accomplish, they differ each other vastly in their ends. Ha Noi's aim is purely political, economic, and diplomatic; the American main concern is social and humanitarian. The differences in the ends and priorities of the two sides have led to regrettable outcomes from their meetings.

Ha Noi made itself the target of economic sanctions and diplomatic isolation in the world community after sending troops to Kampuchea in 1978. Ha Noi's occupation of Kampuchea and its colonization of Laos prompted many countries to condemn its aggression; some of these countries severed their ties with the regime. The main intention of the U.S., the leading nation in the boycott against Ha Noi, was to stop the Communist expansion in the region and to put a check on the aggression of the Viet cong. Another reason was to create among Southeast Asian countries a unity that Washington regarded as the most critical element needed for political stability in this strategically important region.



The diplomatic isolation and economic sanctions were decided ten years ago based on these reasons. Unfortunately, U.S. elected officials who went to Viet Nam on fact-finding trips apparently forgot why the boycott against Ha Noi was created and why it was participated by so many nations. These officials joined forces with some interest groups to pressure the administration to make concessions to Ha Noi on the MIA and Amerasian issues. Nonetheless, Washington representatives have managed to avoid helping Ha Noi gain any political, economic, and diplomatic advantage from these humanitarian issues. The Communist regime's aim is to create a de facto recognition by the U.S. that would eventually lead to formal diplomatic ties after perhaps slowly but surely progressing through stages where mutual cooperations between the two countries in a number of areas take place. If this skillfully orchestrated plan succeeds, meaning Ha Noi gains recognition from the U.S. and hopefully some Western nations, the regime will interpret it as if the world tolerates its imperialist image in the region thus gives the regime the green light for future aggressions.

Elected American officials who called for establishing U.S.-Vietnam diplomatic ties fail to recognize strategic priorities of the U.S. in Southeast Asia. Their demands disappointed leaders of many American allies who were dismayed by the fact that after one single trip to Viet Nam, American law makers quickly changed their opinion and demanded a reversal of U.S. policies towards the Viet cong regime *in order to help some Vietnam veterans deal with the problem of postwar emotional stress*. America's own interests and the security of America's friends are replaced by these politicians' questionable motives on their high priority list.

In a study of the Vietnam veterans' health conditions, the Center for Disease Control said that the Vietnam veterans do not have any symptom that would confirm that they suffer any disease or emotional distress that the veterans of other wars did not. In the contrary, these veterans seemed to fare better in many areas compared to other wars veterans, the study concluded. Thus, by demanding the administration to reverse a long-time foreign policy to solve a problem which although existed would not have a scope great enough to justify such a policy reversal, some American law makers revealed that they have a different sense of priorities. The misjudgment by these influential individuals surely does not help the American government maintain a favorable impression among its allies every time they think about how the U.S. formulates its foreign policies and why these policies are changed. On the other hand, America's enemies, among them Ha Noi is one, will not miss the opportunity to exploit the weakness. ●

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

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

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