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Last Updated: 01/16/2024

December 12, 1983

Dear Bill:

Thank you for your November 30 letter in behalf of your constituent, Mr. Jim Caze, who inadvertently mailed two envelopes to the White House and is now interested in retrieving this material.

Our Records Management office has searched for the material which you described and was unable to locate any items from Mr. Caze. The mailroom here has also been notified and will continue looking for the envelopes. We will be back in touch with you if anything turns up.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

M. B. Oglesby, Jr.
Deputy Assistant to the President
for Legislative Affairs

The Honorable William J. Hughes
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

MBO: CMP: KRJ: krj

cc: w/copy of inc to Terry Good - FYI ✓

WH RECORDS MANAGEMENT HAS RETAINED ORIGINAL

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 2, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR:

TERRY GOOD

FROM:

KATHY RATTE' JAFFKE *Kathy*

SUBJECT:

Request for the Return of Two
Envelopes Which Were Sent
to the White House

Congressman William J. Hughes has contacted us in behalf of his constituent, Jim Caze, who mailed two envelopes to the White House by mistake. In the attached letter, Congressman Hughes describes the packages and their contents, and asks that they be returned to Mr. Caze.

As we discussed, once we determine that the envelopes are in fact at the White House, I will contact Congressman Hughes' office and indicate that we need Mr. Caze's written authorization to return the contents of the envelopes.

Thanks so much for your help.

WILLIAM J. HUGHES
2ND DISTRICT, NEW JERSEY

COMMITTEES:
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
CHAIRMAN
SUBCOMMITTEE ON CRIME
COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT
MARINE AND FISHERIES
SELECT COMMITTEE ON AGING
SELECT COMMITTEE ON
NARCOTICS ABUSE AND CONTROL

177891

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
341 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-6572

DISTRICT OFFICES:
2307 NEW ROAD
NORTHFIELD, NEW JERSEY 08225
(609) 645-7957

151 NORTH BROADWAY
P.O. Box 248
PENNSVILLE, NEW JERSEY 08070
(609) 678-3333

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

November 30, 1983

Mr. Ken Duberstein
Assistant to the President
Congressional Affairs
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear ~~Mr. Duberstein~~ ^{Ken}:

I am writing to inform you that a constituent of mine from Pomona, New Jersey has sent two envelopes to the White House addressed to the President by mistake,

These two envelopes contain both medical records and other records concerning missions in Vietnam. I would appreciate any help you can give me in this matter as they pertain to a case that I am currently working on and I need them as soon as possible.

My constituent's name is Mr. Jim Caze and his address is:

28 Turner Avenue
P.O. Box 373
Pomona, NJ 08240

The first envelope is addressed to Ronald Reagan in a large, light brown envelope marked first class. Inside are the medical records of Mr. Caze. These records are marked top-secret.

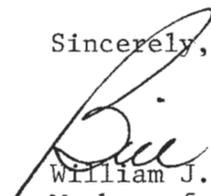
The second envelope is addressed only to "The President" in a smaller envelope with a white cover sheet. Inside is information on various missions in Vietnam that Mr. Caze participated in.

The letter was sent on November 10, 1983 and Mr. Caze has said that inside he mentions one of my legislative aides, Ms. Kim Knight. I'm not sure if there is any mention of my name.

Again, thank you very much for any assistance your staff can render, and if any additional information is needed, please do not hesitate to contact my office.

With kind personal regards.

Sincerely,


William J. Hughes
Member of Congress

WJH:ls



U.S. National Archives & Records Administration

Current Status Details for CTRH RECID: 188701 MAIN SUBCODE: CO172

Current Status	Open
User Name	dbarrie
Status Date	2010-09-20
Case Number	
Notes	Transfer to CO046

[Change Status](#)

[Close Window](#)

Review Status History

No.	Status	Date	User	Case Number	Notes
1	Open	2010-09-20	dbarrie		Transfer to CO046
2	Open	2008-03-20	swilliams		Prior

ID# 205026

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

00172

INCOMING

3:17

DATE RECEIVED: MARCH 27, 1984

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: MRS. LE THI ANH

SUBJECT SUGGESTS TESTIMONY OF HIGH-RANKING VIETNAMESE
DEFECTORS BE MADE PUBLIC AND SUGGESTS HOLDING
A SEMINAR

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY (STAFF NAME)	ACTION		DISPOSITION	
	ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD

ROBERT C. MCFARLANE	ORG	84/03/27		C 8403/27
---------------------	-----	----------	--	-----------

REFERRAL NOTE: _____

COMMENTS: sent to State

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: _____ MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: _____

MI MAIL USER CODES: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

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*****
*ACTION CODES:          *DISPOSITION CODES:      *OUTGOING                *
*                       *                               * CORRESPONDENCE:        *
*A-APPROPRIATE ACTION  *A-ANSWERED                *TYPE RESP=INITIALS     *
*C-COMMENT/RECOM       *B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL      *           OF SIGNER   *
*D-DRAFT RESPONSE      *C-COMPLETED             *           CODE = A      *
*F-FURNISH FACT SHEET  *S-SUSPENDED              *COMPLETED = DATE OF   *
*I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC*                               *           OUTGOING    *
*R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY *                               *                               *
*S-FOR-SIGNATURE       *                               *                               *
*X-INTERIM REPLY       *                               *                               *
*****

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REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE
(ROOM 75, OEOB) EXT. 2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS
MANAGEMENT.

UNCLASSIFIED
(Classification)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 8409404

Date April 4, 1984

For: Mr. Robert C. McFarlane
National Security Council
The White House

Reference:

To: President Reagan From: Mrs. Le Thi Anh

Date: March 26, 1984 Subject: Holding a Seminar with
Testimony from High-Ranking Vietnamese Defectors

WH Referral Dated: 8409404 NSC ID# 205026
(if any)

 The attached item was sent directly to the
Department of State.

Action Taken:

 A draft reply is attached.

 A draft reply will be forwarded.

 A translation is attached.

XX An information copy of a direct reply is attached.

 We believe no response is necessary for the reason
cited below.

 The Department of State has no objection to the
proposed travel.

 Other.

Remarks:


Charles Hill
Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED
(Classification)

April 3, 1984

Mrs. Le Thi Anh
Vietnamese Information Bureau
3105 Crest Avenue
Cheverly, Maryland 20785

Dear Mrs. Anh:

Your letter of March 26 to President Reagan, requesting assistance for a seminar by defectors from the communist regime in Vietnam, has been referred to me for reply.

As you note, those who are familiar at first hand with the brutalities of the Communist system in Vietnam have much to tell us about what happened in Vietnam after the Communists seized power, and about prospects under similar systems in other countries.

I regret that I cannot provide any suggestions for governmental assistance or support to your proposed seminar.

I hope it is successful.

Sincerely,

M. Lyall Breckon
Director, Office of Vietnam,
Laos and Kampuchea Affairs

Drafted: EAP/VLK: rkpatrick
3/3/84:X23132:1232A

8409404

T H E W H I T E H O U S E O F F I C E

REFERRAL

MARCH 29, 1984

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED:

DIRECT REPLY, FURNISH INFO COPY

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 205026

MEDIA: LETTER, DATED MARCH 26, 1984

TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN

FROM: MRS. LE THI ANH
DIRECTOR
VIETNAM NEWS
VIETNAMESE INFORMATION BUREAU
3105 CREST AVENUE
CHEVERLY MD 20785

SUBJECT: SUGGESTS TESTIMONY OF HIGH-RANKING VIETNAMESE
DEFECTORS BE MADE PUBLIC AND SUGGESTS HOLDING
A SEMINAR

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN
TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE
UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE
(OR DRAFT) TO:
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE

SALLY KELLEY
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

*rec'd S/S-I
2325 3/28/84 OTS*

T H E W H I T E H O U S E O F F I C E

REFERRAL

MARCH 29, 1984

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED:

DIRECT REPLY, FURNISH INFO COPY

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 205026

MEDIA: LETTER, DATED MARCH 26, 1984

TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN

FROM: MRS. LE THI ANH
DIRECTOR
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UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE
(OR DRAFT) TO:
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE

SALLY KELLEY
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

*need SIS-I
2325 3/28/84 OTS*

37

205026
8409404

VIETNAM News

THE VOICE OF
NON-COMMUNIST VIETNAMESE

VIETNAMESE INFORMATION BUREAU
3105 CREST AVENUE CHEVERLY, MARYLAND 20785
TELEPHONE: (301) 773-5435

March 26, 1984

933 2593

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington D.C.

NSC

Dear Mr President:

I am seeking your help in bringing the testimony of these Vietnamese witnesses to the American public. They are high ranking communist defectors from Vietnam. During the war, despite extremely harsh conditions, few high ranking communist defected. Since the end of the war, they defect in droves. Why? If we can bring them here for a seminar, perhaps they can tell us why. At least two dozens have defected since 1975. A few came here, but the majority reside in France. The latest of those is No 1 Vietnamese actor, Thành Ducc, who defected in West Germany on February 18, 1984.

Some of these defectors are veteran communist-nationalists, companions of Ho Chi Minh who have followed him in his Marxist road toward national independence and social justice. Others are the sons and daughters of those first generation of freedom fighters. Such are two relatives of Truong Chinh, Dr Dang Kim Anh and Dang Kim Thu. Some have completely forsaken Communism, such is former Vietcong minister of Justice Truong Nhu Tang. Others have not, such is the case of Mr Hoang Van Hoan, the 76 year old companion of Ho in the early 1940s. Mr Hoan now lives in Peking and can be more appropriately labelled as a "dissident" rather than a defector. According to interviews they gave to the press, they are deeply disillusioned with the communist system they have spent their lifetime to build. Vietnam does not have independence, peace, social justice, food, clothe and the respect of the international community. Vietnam is economically and militarily more dependent on a foreign power, the USSR, than she has ever been in recent memory. Those ex-communists did not fight and die for 30 years to exchange one form of foreign dependency for another, even more total and demeaning.

Their experiences are personal. Their accounts are factual. Each has his personal experience with Communism in general, and with their Marxist style "revolution" and "war of national liberation to tell". Their stories are sadly reminiscent of the characters in Ignacio Silone's story in the book "The God that Failed".

I believe those in Central America who are still following the Marxist road for social justice and national liberation should hear the testimonies of those who have been through that road before. Americans who still support Marxist Salvadoran "revolutionaries" should hear them too. Their sobering experience will provide the best antidote for Communism.

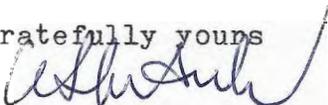
The electoral defeats of the French Communist Party during the last few years can be traced to the presence of those defectors in France, and the testimony each of them gave to the French people.

Dear Mr President, we enjoy here the freedom that has been denied us in our country. We place so much hope in your enlightened leadership. You are the Free-World leader who can keep the Free-World free.

Enclosed please find a draft proposal for a seminar on the situation in Vietnam today. Please help us to make it a reality.

I respectfully submit this draft proposal to your attention, with the hope that you will find it worthy of your support.

Most gratefully yours


Lê Thi Anh (Mrs)

Enclosures.

VIETNAM : 11 YEARS LATER

BALANCE SHEET OF NINE YEARS OF COMMUNIST RULE IN A UNIFIED VIETNAM

It is proposed to conduct a 3-day seminar on Vietnam to mark the 11th anniversary of the signing of the Paris Peace Agreements, ending 15 years of U.S. involvement in Vietnam - and nine years since Communism rules the whole Vietnam. The treaty was signed on Jan. 27, 1973. South Vietnam fell on April 30, 1975. The seminar can take place during the month of November 1984.

It is suggested that the whole seminar be recorded on videotapes, accompanied by interviews and other audio-visual documentation for use on TV networks, on future January 27 and April 30 anniversary dates, in classrooms and other public forums. The purpose of the seminar is to inform the American public about what has become of Vietnam, and particularly of South Vietnam, a place where America once has invested a great stake. Complete, accurate information about Vietnam has not been told the American people. We believe a better informed American public will make more enlightened decisions regarding U.S. foreign policy in general, and in Central America in particular; re. the dangers of Communism in other parts of the world,- and here in the United States.

Assessment of communist rule in Vietnam will be made by Vietnamese communist defectors'1). Some are older statemen, veteran party members, companions of Ho Chi Minh in the anti-colonial struggle. Some are younger, the sons and daughters of these first generation independence fighters. The younger generation of N. Vietnamese has not known any other form of society than the communist one.

Some are mid-level cadre men, artists, sportmen and farmer; all have been witnesses and participants to the 30 years struggle for independence and democracy that has yet to come to an end.

Is the war in Vietnam over for the S. Vietnamese? The answer is no.

During the war, in spite of extremely harsh and dangerous conditions, no ranking communist official and/or party member defected. Now, they defect in droves. Why? Perhaps, they can tell us in person why they quit the system they had spent their lifetime to build. As told by the defectors themselves to the Vietnamese press in the U.S., the cause of defection goes much deeper than dissatisfaction with the regime's war policies and economic performance, or the split along pro-Soviet and pro-Chinese lines. It goes to the heart of the question of Vietnam's independence so dear to every Vietnamese. Whether the communist road chosen by Ho Chi Minh was the appropriate road toward national independence? Or did we exchange one form of foreign dependency for another? How can anyone pretend the country is independent when a 100% cut in Soviet aid will bring about the collapse of the regime?

Did the Marxist way of liberation bring the Vietnamese true freedom, true post-colonial revolution, food, clothes, social justice and a better life for the poor? Are the Vietnamese people better fed today than during the war? Has the quality of life improved? Have the many ills of the old society decreased? Among those are corruption, black market, inflation, unemployment, a privileged class, even a ruling oligarchy, social discrimination and injustice, indefinite imprisonments without charges or trial? Has the human right situation improved? Has the number of widows, orphans, homeless, beggars, thieves, prostitutes, refugees and dislocated families grown any smaller?

Have the Vietnamese known many days of peace since the end of the war? Has it really ended for many S. Vietnamese? Is the number of Vietnamese lives lost during the 9 years of "peace" any smaller than during the previous 9 years of war? Is Vietnam better liked abroad today than during the war? Where is the national concord and reconciliation, the peace among Vietnamese, when thousands of former enemies of the regime are still being detained in prisons and "reeducation camps"? How many boat people died on the S. China Sea and how many more want to leave? Why even lamposts would want to leave? Why are communist cadres leaving?

The answers to all these questions, and many more, are largely negative. Nine years after the last American left Vietnam, Hanoi can no longer evade these questions.

During the war the communist leaders conveniently hid behind the all-purpose scapegoat "U.S. aggressors in the South" to explain away their failures, shortcomings and warlike policies. The American presence in Vietnam generated an inexhaustible source of popular support for Hanoi. Leaders of every persuasion put aside their differences to rally under the communist banner against what they perceived as the foreign invader.

Since 1975, are no longer on Vietnamese soil the French or American presences, the super-coordinator, the cement which held together for several decades the strange-bedfellow alliance of Communists and Nationalists disintegrates and the alliance unravels. Those who feel betrayed by the Hanoi made revolution quit. It is not without reason that the anti-Hanoi resistance in Vietnam call itself Phuc-Quoc-Quan or Restoration Forces. The men who continue the struggle believe the war for independence and revolution of their country has been "stolen" by the Communists and needs to be restored to its rightful owners who are the people.

In 1975, the sudden fall of Saigon leaving intact before the communist cadres' elated eyes the artifacts of a much richer, freer capitalist life opened their eyes, and destroyed their blind faith in the communist system. The "depraved, exploited, miserable" society of the South was not what their leaders told them it was. Neither was their northern socialist paradise. For the first time, the north-Vietnamese communist had a capitalist society to compare to their own, and the comparison was devastating for both the Hanoi leaders and the Marxist ideology. The United States left equipment, machinery and consumer goods in S. Vietnam may be assets for the economy, but they are poisons for the communist system.

Today, the artifacts of the rich capitalist life are still in display on the Saigon sidewalk markets in the form of U.S. or French made consumer goods sent home to their relatives in Vietnam by thousands of Vietnamese refugees now living in the West. The spectacle of Russian tourists buying with great delight wristwatches and transistor radios on the Saigon sidewalks is telling the Vietnamese communists in unmistakable terms that if their country faithfully followed in the footsteps of big brother Soviet Union, 40 years from now, they would still be deprived and hungry for the consumer goods commonly available to everyone in the West.

During the war, Hanoi leaders pointed out to the US bombings of the North, and the presence of American troops in the South to demand additional sacrifices from their people. The war-exhausted N. Vietnamese kept going for years. They were promised peace and a better life when "the U.S. aggressors would be driven out of their country": the light at the end of the tunnel, such a long tunnel that many never lived long enough to see it.

Today, nine years after they are supposed to be out of the tunnel, it is still pitch dark, and there is no light at the end of any tunnel to look forward to. Even the people's hope for a better future has been killed. Hence,

the sense of hopelessness and despair which descended on the people of Hanoi observed by foreign visitors and reporters.

According to Dr Duong Quyinh Hoa, the French trained pediatrician former NLF minister of health, and current director of Saigon children's hospital, 38% of Vietnamese children suffer from severe malnutrition. Their mental and physical development are gravely impaired, the future of a whole generation of Vietnamese is at stake. With great sadness, we witness the coming of rachitic, pot-bellied children, of undersize adults, too weak from malnutrition to sustain a full day of productive work. According to foreign technicians working on aid projects, malnourished Vietnamese workers are too weak and tire too fast to provide the needed local labor.

Most Vietnamese would continue to endure any hardships and deprivations without complaints, had their most cherished independence been materialized. But today Vietnam is more foreign dependent than ever before. Vietnam is totally and exclusively dependent on the Soviet Union, economically and militarily. Soviet aid to Vietnam runs at the rate of \$6 million a day. Should this aid be terminated, not only would food riots erupt in the streets, but the war of occupation in Cambodia would come to a halt, and the current Hanoi regime would fall as fast as the Saigon regime did in 1975 when facing similar aid termination. South Vietnam has been self-sufficient in food throughout the war years. U.S. rice imports into Vietnam did not exceed 250,000 tons a year; much of it went to orphanages and other charitable institutions. Unlike US aid, most Soviet non-military aid to Vietnam is in the form of loans, not grants. To pay back its huge debts to the Soviet bloc, Vietnam degraded itself to the point of exporting its slave labor to the Soviet Union, a measure painfully reminiscent of French colonialist practices. Vietnamese soldier-workers in France lived among Frenchmen and received their pay in full.

Vietnamese workers in the Soviet Union live in segregated quarters and received only 40% of their salaries. The remaining 60% are being used to sponge off their country's debts.

The Soviet Union uses Vietnamese military bases at Danang, Haiphong, and Camranh Bay, exploits Vietnamese natural resources, imports scarce Vietnamese foodstuff and clothes when the people are ragged and hungry, keeps Vietnamese boys dying in Cambodia for its hegemonistic purposes, this kind of Soviet behavior is not any different from the French colonialists' some 40 years ago. This writer, and many defectors, have lived under colonial rule long enough to make the comparison.

Hanoi leaders are still trying to put the blame on the U.S., especially its herbicide sprayings, to explain all of Vietnam's ills and their failures, and claim for reparations, i.e. US aid. But the difference between today and the war years is that nobody in Vietnam believe them.

The departure of the American troops and the national dependency upon the Soviet Union, are the causes of the drop in morale of the communist army. That ragtag army doubly victorious against the French (1954) and the American (1975) is now better fed, clothed and armed to the teeth with modern weapons, but its once famous fighting spirit seems to have deserted it. It is plagued by low morale, low discipline, high desertion rates, and a seeping warweariness unknown during the war years. Except for the elite divisions guarding the northern border against a second Chinese invasion, the morale of the troops, and their faith in their government have eroded. The government tries to wipe these up by waving the specter of the Chinese colonialists. The Vietnamese who have been under Chinese rule for a thousand years, still regard the Chinese as the most dangerous of all colonial powers. The government's problem, however, is that not one single Chinese soldier can be found on Vietnamese soil, or in Cambodia. The only foreign presence in Vietnam today is that of the

Russians and the Cubans. These presence have an adverse effect on the morale of Hanoi's troops.

Many of the defectors coming to the seminar have participated in the independence struggle since 1945. They will tell us what they fought for during the 30 year war, and whether any of their goals have been achieved during the nine years since victory. Do they see any indication that those goals can be achieved, any hope for change in the future?

These people have invested their lives in the building of Communism in Vietnam. They harbor no ill will against the regime and would be enclined to give it good marks - if they could. Their testimonies at the seminar will give us the most objective and truthful assessment of Vietnam today.

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS (TENTATIVE)

- Mr HOANG VAN HOAN, the 76 year old Politburo member, a companion of Ho Chi Minh since the early 1940s, former Vietnam's ambassador to China, Vice-president of the National Assembly, who defected to China in 1978. Mr Hoan now resides in Peking.
- Mr TRUONG NHU TANG, former minister of justice of the National Liberation Front's Provisory Revolutionary Government. Defected to France in 1980. Now residing in France.
- Dr Dang Kim Anh, and her sister Dr Dang Kim Thu nieces of Truong Chinh Dang Xuan Khu. Dr Dang Kim Anh defected in May 1983 while leading a SRV medical delegation visiting the Netherlands.
- Mr Hoang huu Quynh young communist party member, educated in Moscow, deputy head of a scientific delegation to Europe when he defected in Italy in 1979. Now residing in France.
- Mr Nguyen Duc Yen, former propaganda minister in the prime

minister's office; officer, Foreign press relations Bureau in Hanoi during the war. Fled from Hanoi to Hongkong in 1979.

20 years membership in the communist party. Residing in Switzerland.

- Prof. Tran Van Hieu, Vietnamese scientist, defected in 1980 while on a visiting professorship in a university in Europe. Now residing in France.
- Mr Dang Hoang Xa. Information attache to the SRV's embassy in Paris. Defected in 1982. Now residing in Paris.
- Mr Nguyen Cong Hoan, former congressman of the republic of (S) Vietnam, and of the SRV of (N) Vietnam. Defected to Japan in 1978. Now residing in the U.S.
- Mr Dinh Cong Gieng, a N. Vietnamese Thuong Ta, Lt. Col. 17 year veteran communist party member, who flew to Singapore in an US airplane in 1978 with his pilot instructor. Now residing in the U.S.
- Mr Le Dinh, high ranking intelligence officer. Claimed to be in charge of American POWS. Defected to France in 1980. Now residing in Paris.
- Gold medal champion cyclist Truong Kim Hung. Took the boat to Thailand in the Spring of 1983. Was lately in the Thai Sikew refugee camp.
- Miss Huyen Chau, famed folk-singer of the official Doan Ca Mua (Singing-Dancing Troupe), defected to Hongkong in 1982. Now lives in California.

- Mr Pham Ngoc Thuân, lawyer, 70 year old, Chairman of the Vietminh People's Committee for South-Viêtnam in 1945. Leader of the anti-French Resistance in the South. Communist Party member since the early 1940s. Defected while on an official visit to France in the Fall of 1983. Residing in France.
- Mr Lê Phu Hào, Chief of Vietnam Press, defected in Paris in 1979. Currently residing in Peking where he is chief assistant to Mr. Hoang Van Hoan.
- Dr Thai Quang Trung, Southeast-Asian scholar, author, currently on a research project at the University of Singapore.
- Dr. Nguyen Van Hao, former deputy prime minister of the Republic of Vietnam. Economist. Remained at the service of the communist government after April 1975. Permitted to leave for France with an official passport in 1982. Now residing in France. (Dr Hao is on a three-month assignment in Haiti)
Dr Hao can give us a most authoritative assessment of the Vietnamese economy.
- Gen. Duong Van Minh, former president of the Republic of Vietnam, April 27-30, 1975. Permitted to emigrate to France in 1982. Now residing in France.
- Mr Doan Van Toai, former student leader, NLF sympathizer. Author of "the Vietnam gulag".

SPONSORS

- Professor Robert A. Scalapino, Director, Institute of East-Asian Studies, the University of California at Berkeley.
- Mr Douglas Pike, Editor, Indochina chronology, author, The Vietcong, and History of the Vietnamese Communist Party. Institute of East-Asian Studies, the University of California at Berkeley.

LOCATION: George Washington University campus. Washington D.C.

DATE : First Week of November 1984.

Audio-visual programs:

First evening: Showing of the film 'Boat People'. Description of life in Vietnam today. International Spectra Film, Hongkong.

Second evening: The mime 'A rose for the Fallen' performed by the

Van Tiên Group in Brussels, Belgium. Van Tiên is a Vietnamese Student-Youth organization.

During the seminar, we can exhibit photographs from Vietnam and show other documentaries about Vietnam and the boat people.

Note:(1) A number of persons who left Vietnam can be qualified as defectors, such as Mr Hoang Huu Quynh, Dr Dang Kim Anh and Dr Dang Kim Thu.

Others are revolutionaries, independence fighters who departed to continue their struggle because they felt the current pro-Russian Lê Duân government betrayed the ideals of independence and revolution they had fought for.

They are dissenters rather than deserters.

ASSESSMENT WILL BE MADE ON THE FOLLOWING ASPECTS OF VIETNAM'S LIFE

- Independence and Sovereignty of the Vietnamese nation. For most Vietnamese fighters, this is what the 30 years war was all about.
- Peace and War in Vietnam/^{since}1975, - and in the Indochinese peninsula. Peace and stability in the region since the communist victory in Vietnam.
- THE ECONOMY
 - Vietnamese communist economics.
 - Marxist transformation of the southern economy
 - Collectivisation & elimination of private enterprise. Revision and introduction of the quota system to boost lagging production.
 - Infighting between the orthodoxes and the pragmatists within the communist government.
 - The monetary system. The Import-Export system.
 - Export of human labor to the Soviet bloc.
 - Gift packages and currency transfers from Vietnamese overseas to their families in Vietnam.
 - Vietnam's finance, Balance of payments, Foreign debts.
 - Food production and availability. Food exports. Peasants massive passive resistance in the South.
 - State and availability of public service & Utilities and other basic commodities. Food & Commodity ration system in the South.
 - People's general state of health and nutrition. Child nutrition. Health care.
 - State of the major social ills that plagued the old society: Corruption, black market, inflation, contraband, unemployment, prostitution.
 - State & Quality of family life. Preservation & Enhancement of the cultural heritage.
 - Economy North/South: Comparison.
 - Impact of southern free economy & Values on the rigidly centralized economy of the North.
 - Has the North succeeded in imposing its socialist way of life in the South, or did the southern way of life percolate up North?
 - Today's quality of life of the North-Vietnamese - of the South Vietnamese, compared to the war years.

- State of the Vietnamese's four major religions: Buddhism, Catholicism Cao-Dai and Hoa-Hao-Buddhism.
- The Vietnamese and the Russians: the difficult relationship. The Lethal dependency.
- Hanoi's efforts to win U.S. relations and aid: Objectives, ways and means.
- The Prisoner-of-war and Missing-in-action accounting
- The Refugee exodus: Why do they leave? The Boat People. The Land-People. The pirates. The unaccompanied minors. The Rescue effort.

ADDITIONAL LIST OF PARTICIPANTS (prospective)

- Foreign correspondents and reporters who covered the Vietnam War. A number of those have returned to Vietnam ever since for a fresh look.
- Mr Oliver Todd, Weekly Express, published in Paris.
- Mr Jean Lacouture, Le Monde, France
- Mr Jean Sabatier, Le Matin, France.
- Mr Peter Braestrup, Editor, the Wilson Quarterly.
- Mr William Shawcross, the Sunday Times, London.
- Mr Tiziano Terzani, Der Spiegel, W. Germany.
- Mr Uwe Siemon Netto, TV war correspondent in Vietnam, West Germany.
- Mr Al Santoli, Vietnam veteran, author of "Everything we had", U.S.
- Ms Elisabeth Becker, war correspondent in Cambodia, the Washington Post.
- Former Representative Don Bailey, Vietnam Veteran, U.S.A.
- Mr Thomas Kent Allison, the U.S. Major who led a Office of Strategic Services team which parachuted into Ho Chi Minh's Thai Nguyên guerilla base in N. Vietnam in the Spring of 1945 to help Ho rescue downed allied pilots and to intersect the railroad link between Vietnam and China. An attorney in Lansing, Michigan, U.S.A.

- Mr Nguyễn Văn Lộc, former prime-minister of S. Vietnam. Served in 1967. Imprisoned for 7 1/2 years in "reeducation camps" in N. Vietnam. Escaped by boat to Singapore in the Fall of 1983. Now residing in California.
- Dr Tôn Thất Thiên, University of Quebec at Trois Rivières, Vietnamese scholar.
- Dr Truong Buu Lâm, University of Hawai, author, Patterns of Vietnamese responses to foreign intervention, 1858-1900.
- Stephen Young, Dean, Hamline University School of Law. Author The Law of Property and Elite Privileges Under Vietnam's Lê Dynasty, 1428-1788.
- Mr Nguyễn Thái Sơn, Vietnamese scholar, high-ranking official of the French ministry of Finances. French citizenship. Mr Sơn made several trips to Hanoi and Saigon on behalf of the French government to negotiate Vietnam's debts & compensation to France.

We shall invite a number of generals and officials of the former Republic of Vietnam to participate in the seminar.

We shall ask a Cambodian and a Laotian to make an assessment of nine years of communist rule in Vietnam.

4338

ID# 215832

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

00172

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: MAY 29, 1984

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE NGUYEN VAN LOC

SUBJECT: FORWARDS LECTURE MATERIAL TO GIVE INFORMATION
ABOUT COMMUNIST REGIME IN VIETNAM

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY (STAFF NAME)	ACTION		DISPOSITION	
	ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD
ROBERT C. MCFARLANE REFERRAL NOTE: _____	ORG	84/05/29	NAN	0840531/8
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COMMENTS FORMER PRIME MINISTER OF VIETNAM

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: _____
MI MAIL USER CODES: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

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| *A-APPROPRIATE ACTION | *A-ANSWERED | *TYPE RESP=INITIALS | * |
| *C-COMMENT/RECOM | *B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL | * OF SIGNER | * |
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| *R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY * | | | * |
| *S-FOR-SIGNATURE | | | * |
| *X-INTERIM REPLY | | | * |
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REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE
(ROOM 75, OEOB) EXT. 2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS
MANAGEMENT.

5
NGUYEN VAN LOC
VIETNAMESE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION
3121 N. Classen Blvd
OKLAHOMA CITY Oklahoma OK73118

Oklahoma City, May 24th, 1984

NSA
H.E. PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN
White House
WASHINGTON D.C.

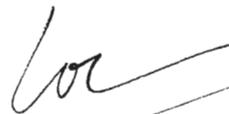
Dear PRESIDENT,

I would like to send you here enclosed some articles of the press and the summary of my lecture to " THE CLUB OF STUDENTS FOR BETTER GOVERNMENT " at The EL RENO Public School in Oklahoma on May 4th, 1984 in order to give you some information about communist regime in Vietnam.

I hope these inclosures could interest you on any point of view.

With my sincere thanks and very best regards.

Truly,



NGUYEN VAN LOC
Former Prime Minister of The R.V.N.

LECTURE

To THE CLUB of " THE STUDENTS FOR BETTER GOVERNMENT " at
THE EL RENO PUBLIC SCHOOL in OKLAHOMA on May 4th, 1984 .

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Mr. The Principal Charles LEIPART,
My dear young friends,

To day, I have the pleasure to talk to you about the situation in Vietnam and share with you a few experiences I had with the communism in my country which was unfortunately taken over by communist forces on April 30, 1975.

First of all, I want to make clear that. I have no intention to make any propaganda for any political regime.

I love the truth and always I am facing the reality of facts.

I love very much the young generation because I believe that you, the young generation is the hope of the world of tomorrow with a better order.

Now let me tell you about Vietnam.

The Peace Conference on Vietnam was held in Paris on January 27, 1973, an agreement was signed by 4 parties: South Vietnam and United States one part, and the other part : North Vietnam and its puppet Government of The National Front of Liberation in South Vietnam.

With the terms of those agreements, the United States could disengage in South Vietnam by the withdrawal of its armed forces, and a National Committee of reconciliation must be put in place with 3 participants: the Nationalist Government of South Vietnam, the Temporary Government of the National Front of Liberation, and the so-called " Third Force" as neutral political group. This National Council had the task to set up a new political regime in south Vietnam.

But according to an affirmation of the Former President Richard Nixon quoted in " The WALL STREET JOURNAL " on May 2nd , 1983, the American military aid to South Vietnam was reduced in the rate of 76%, and meanwhile, the Soviet Union doubled their military aid to North Vietnam. The balance of forces became 1 against 4 in tanks and artilleries on behalf of North Vietnam in 1975.

Therefore, on the night of March 10 th, 1975, North Vietnam launched a very strong attack against the City Banmethout in the central high land , about 200 miles North West of Saigon and took over this city.

After that, all the cities in central Vietnam under the 17 th parallell, successively fell down one by one with the withdrawal of Southern military forces in these cities, following by the panic of the population until the final collapse of Saigon regime .

In 1968, when I was Prime Minister of South Vietnam, I have seen that the fall of SAIGON regime should happen sooner or later, because after the General Communist Offensive TET MAU THAN (New Lunar Year) on almost all the provinces in South Vietnam, following by the Preliminary Peace Conference in Paris between United States and North Vietnam, I felt that the fate of South Vietnam might be decided in an international arrangement and I thought the survival of The Republic of Vietnam would be in jeopardy with or without me. So I preferred to resign as Prime Minister.

People often said that I have taken responsibilities for the failure of the governmental forces, but in fact, we won and easily broke down the two communist attempts to take over South Vietnam at that time. The communist loss in men and in political cadres was very heavy with more than 60.000 casualties, and the total disorganization of their offensive network for many years.

I just talked to you about the situation of Vietnam before 1975, now I would like to talk to you about the prisons network of the Vietnamese communist regime well-known under the so-call "Reeducation camps".

I guess that some of you have already read the best seller book "The Goulag Archipelago" of Solzhenitsyn about the jail system of Soviet Union, but I think the jail network in Vietnam is more horrible because the physical and moral repression on the prisoners is very brutal and barbaric.

I was arrested on August 22, 1975 in a street of SAIGON at 6 P.M. and detained in the jail of the Interior Security Committee for more than 6 months for interrogation.

Every day, the bell rang at 5 A.M. and the door of the cell was opened for washing. At 8 A.M., we had as the first meal of the day, a plastic bowl of red rice and vegetables soup with salt. At 4 P.M. we had almost the same meal. Only the vegetables salt soup changed, but no fish, no meat.

Therefore, after 3 months of detention and with physical or moral tortures, everybody were depressed and our body became a moving skeleton.

People fell down on their way to the restroom and could not stand up without help.

During the night, jail keepers didn't let us sleep by playing a radio tape recorder with blaring music and during the day played ball in the hall of our jail.

After more than 6 months, I was moved to the camp No 15-NV at Thu Duc, about 7 miles north of Saigon, I was stayed there for 6 other months.

Every day, we woke up at 6 P.M. and from 7 A.M. we had a caucus where we read 2 communist newspapers: "The People" and "The Army-people" and many books written by communist leaders. After that, we discussed on those matter under the control of political cadres who made themselves their opinion about our degree of danger for their regime.

In the evening, all the prisoners were forced to watch the television (black and white) and must give their comments by team of 10 about the program.

After 1 year in south Vietnam jails, I was moved again at midnight with 500 cellmates to Tansonnhut airport in Saigon where we were transferred to North Vietnam on 4 cargo-airplanes C130 left behind by American Air Force.

Since August 10th 1976, I was detained at NAM HA camp No 25A at 50 miles south west of Hanoi, in a tremendous region of mountains and unhealthy marshes, infested of leeches which sucked and lived with our reddish blood.

I.- HOW ARE THE FOODS IN OUR CONCENTRATION CAMPS ?

Communist Administration spent just about 15 piastres a month per person for our daily foods.

At that time, the normal change was 1 U.S dollar for 40 piastres. So the alimentary expenses were about 40 U.S cents a month for each prisoner, plus 3 piastres a month for manufactured products as soap, toothpaste, etc, it cost about 8 cents U.S.

In the first months, we ate rice with some vegetables soups, and rarely meat, just 3 or 4 pieces big as the nail of our thumb.

As cereals, we had about 30 pounds every month, it is about 500 grams every day and as food s, only one teaspoon of salt for every meal, it is all for our daily diet.

After 2 or 3 months, we started to eat a kind of sorghum, some thing like hard yellow corn, it's used to feed animals as horses, pigs, etc ... but it must be ground. No more rice, even rottened rice.

So with such a kind of food, people had stomach disease or tooth-

ache because the peel of sorghum is very thick and very hard to be digested.

It is a effective mean to kill prisoners in the long range. We had meat only in the great festivals 4 days a year : on 1st May Labor Day, National Day, Lunar New Year Day and the New Year Day. Therefore, for lot of people, the great problem is the HUNGER. We must look for all the wild vegetables on the fields for stuffing against hunger and many were died for that.

- Former Senator TRAN THE MINH ate about 2 pounds of manioc, a kind of bulb-root. As the manioc was stolen , he dared not to cook. So he ate it raw and he died on the way to Phu Ly hospital, 10 miles from the camp.

- The millionaire banker Ho The Nhu , member of a political party , died of low blood pressure 1 month after release in 1980 because he ate the grasshoppers.

- The captain of Intelligence Service VO VAN SAU find the death by eating 6 big snails got on the rocks.

- The special police officer TIEN took by hand every afternoon the small grains of sorghum in the sewers and ate it after washing and cooking. He became black face man.

- We saw the lieutenant-Colonel PHAM who got some little meat left on the rib of the water-buffaloes rottened and thrown in a garbage dump for many days and he ate it after cooking with salt.

- Personally, I had taken wild vegetables named rau dĩa, rau ngò, in the ditches to eat with sorghum . Some cellmates imitate me to do the same. Unfortunately, the Senator THON DO fell down with the infection of dysentery , it contaminated about 50 prisoners who must be isolated in the room 13 in the camp B for waiting the death because we had no medicine. After this epidemic in 1978 , almost 20 prisoners never came back to the camp A and we had about 30 survivors.

Normally, we had 2 or 3 death every week because of lack of medicine, malnutrition, old age, physical and mental depression.

Once a prisoner died , the jail administration took many pictures with some witnesses among their cellmates and put his corpse in a wooden box for burying . But they never notified the death to his family.

HOW WERE OUR LABORS IN THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS ?

With such a daily kind of foods, we must work 8 hours a day and 6 days a week with 1 sunday of labor so-called The Socialist Sunday for the first sunday of the month.

We were used to classify our works in 3 categories :

1 / NORMAL TASKS :

- It consisted of going to the mountains and forests to cut small trees and burn them. After that, we dug the ground with a pick to grow vegetables.

Sometimes, communist cadres told us : " You have nothing to give you a plot of land , try to garden it well for some vegetables to eat , but you can only do it at breaktime ".

So we all together worked very hard on it. But when came the harvest, jail keepers moved our group to the other place, 2 or 3 miles away and we could not profit our work . Their tricks were very obvious even for small things.

- It consisted of going down in the marshes crowded with thousands and thousands of leeches and snakes , to build big and small dams in order to transform into rice-fields. And we must dig the ground 3 time , using big picks in raining season at the rate of 60 square meters for the first time, 80 square meters for the second and 100 square

re meters for the 3rd time.

After that, we grew rice and we had transformed about one hundred acres of marshes for . . . this horrible task.

When The Republic people's of China launched an attack to the 6 northern provinces of Vietnam in February 1979, camp administration used the evacuated prisoners from northern jails to pull the plough instead of water-buffaloes. It should be seen in the Middle-Age only but we could not believe that and we had protested this savage practice.

- It consisted also to sawing up wood by hand to make furnitures on behalf of the camp administration and to repair the roads in the mountains in the raining season.

the mountains in the raining season.

2.- HARD TASK :

- We must dig about a yard deep hole by hand by team of 3 prisoners in the granite with an iron pick and a ten pound hammer to dynamite the mountain.

After the blast, we carried on our shoulder about 70 rocks a day to the camp located about 1 mile away in order to build our own pavilion and to heighten our enclosures. But we had no cement for the construction, we had only sand and lime. Sometimes, our work collapsed after a heavy rain or storm. We had to rebuild it again.

- We must dig also many *lakes* to raise fish and for it, we had to work 1 cubic yard per person every day.

3 .- TERRIBLE TASKS :

it is not an exaggeration because even now, many buses and cars for public transportation still use charcoal, but no fuel or gazoil.

Thanks to my sickness, twice nearly died with my high blood pressure and asthma crisis, I was released in June 1980 to be kept under house custody in Saigon for another year.

After that, I organized my escape and I succeeded at my 14 attempt after almost 2 years hiding and changing constantly of places in many provinces in South Vietnam.

In the night of May 11th 1983, I was rescued with 32 other boat-people by the French ship Chevalier Valbelle on the China Sea at 10 P.M., after the break down of the engine and gear box of my boat.

At that time only, I knew that I was survived in my dangerous adventure : " God bless me ! ".

I arrived in Singapore on May 13rd and reached Freedom by airplane in Los Angeles on July 21st , 1983.

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Looking back, I thought that is a very harrowing dream. To day, the Communist imposed its rules in my country and the political and economic situation is deplorable.

On the political point of view, all the power belonged to Communist Party. They always said that : " The Party leads, The Administration governs and The people is the boss ".

- It is a funny great lie. All the people is trampled under communist iron heel. Always the jails and concentration camps wait their guests.

No free election. No basic human rights.
States must be chosen by The

... The FRONT of NATION. But The Front of Nation is appointed by the communist party among its members or servants.

For each district of vote, Communist party presented one or two candidates more than the number of seats to provide, and the percentage of suffrage of the candidates elected was decided in advance by the communist administration, always more than 90% of votes.

So the congressman searched something to protest by any negative handed vote, he will be sure that the local people Council of his district make immediately a motion of revocation. After that, he could be sent to prison or to reeducation camps for ever.

Communist party called it a democratic regime, it is funny because the vote is only an appearance which has nothing of the true exercise of political rights by the people who don't know whom they had elected.

In principle, the Congress elect the Government and the President of Nation, but in fact, it has only to give its approval to the proposal of the Politburo.

Therefore many communist leaders stayed in position till their death. Nowhere in the world history, one Prime Minister could be in power almost 40 years as in the so-called Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

On the economic point of view, the old-fashioned rigorous dirigism put Vietnam in a complete poverty, even a black misery.

All the enterprises and corporations became the properties of the State, but communist cadres who know very well to use weapons and grenades, are completely ignorant about the economic gest. In.

It results a terrible bad management, bad production, bad quality, bad distribution of products, enormous waste, defective use of engines in factories, lack of raw materials, etc

Finally, industrial production drops from day to day and can not assure, even the basic needs of the people such as textiles, paper, sugar, medicines,

About agricultural products, almost the countrymen were forced to become cooperative members. They work very hard during the year, but they have no thing to share to assure their family living because the communist cadres with their executive boards search to get money by many obvious cheats.

Moreover, the national administration declared that all the land, included rivers, lakes, forests, mines,, belonged to the Nation. The citizens had only the right to use if they were authorized under conditions.

So all the people reduced to minima their activities and limited their work just to get something to survive.

For the Commerce, the small business is basically repressed. The commercial taxes are very heavy and increased every month, and did not let the people any profit, because communist administration said business is unproductive and must be suppressed on behalf of administrative distribution.

Therefore businessmen couldn't continue their affairs and were considered as the unemployed. They must be sent to the " New Economic Regions ". But those New Economic Regions are only forests, mountains, uncultivable fields, they can not live there, and after a few months, they tried to come back to the cities. Many people lost already their houses, are reduced to live on the side-walks. Many families give birth to babies there, they eat there, they sleep there and get some little money every day by all kind of services.

It is a shame for mankind at the 20th century.

All the products such as cereal, meat, shrimp, sugar, must be sold to Administration, it decides the price and it can confis-

confiscate a great number of products where and when it likes.

Therefore the hate of the people toward the communist regime is now very wide spread. They tacitely sabotage the actual regime and want to change it as soon as possible.

Before the fall of Saigon nationalist regime in 1975, some people believed that communist regime is very clean, very effective to contribute to the happiness of the nation as a kind of paradise.

They frequently organized a lot of demonstration to overthrow the nationalist administration in South Vietnam on the suggestion of communist propaganda.

But now, even those men were detained in concentration camps because communist regime considered them as very dangerous troubles makers. Now they saw that they were wrong, but it is too late.

Now comes the time of slavery for all the people.

The rich men of all kind went out of the concentration camps with two empty hands or they still stayed there. The poor men now are in rags.

Communist cadres always said : " Capitalism is nothing else than an exploitation the man by the man ".

But now the reality of facts proves the contrary.

Now in Vietnam, the the Nation exploits the man without restriction. And the Nation is who ? It is the Communist Party and its cadres who govern and reduce people to deaf and dumb with its enormous prison network all over the country.

The oppression is brutal.

One small nation with more than 50 millions people as Vietnam has now more than 1 million of soldiers and more than 1 million of policemen. That is why the salaries are very low and they can not survive with that.

They have 2 ways to survive : CORRUPTION and ROBBERIES.

They must practice corruption wherever they can and they protect themselves with organisation from top to bottom.

If they can not practice corruption , they search to steal where they can and the public warehouses always are their good targets. After robberies, they have to burn up to destroy clues. It is the cases of a very great incendiary on Hai Phong harbour in North and many public warehouses of fuel and medicines in South Vietnam.

The communist administration went very far until the destruction of many cemeteries in Saigon City as the big Cemetery Mac Dinh Chi by Burial Public Service to confiscate all the gold and precious items in the graves.

So it is not astonished that communist administration is able to retain the bones of the american soldiers died in Vietnam in exchange for money and diplomatic relations with United States.

Such a regime which practice largely corruption, stealing, gamble with all kind of lotteries, and a systematic oppression over the country ; could not be able to bring HAPPINESS to the people and must be destroyed by the people sooner or later .

But in our jails, the communist cadres always repeated : "To love your country is to love communism . Therefore , if you don't love communism, you are traitor to your country ".

They also emphasized :

" The only great problem must be solved clearly is WHO HAS WON between CAPITALISM and COMMUNISM because you have no other alternative ".

On these words of warning repeated everytime by communist

communist cadres, I should like to end my lecture.

But one last word to you : " Never forget the method of World domination by Communist Expansionism. LENINE said : You must always try out with your bayonet , if you find mud, stick ahead. If you find steel, pull out ".

The days before yesterday, it was VIET NAM and ANGOLA Yesterday, NICARAGUA. To day , EL SALVADOR. In 1980's, the consolidation of a Soviet Union in Indochina. In 1990's, the creation of a Soviet Union in South East Asia. Where will be the next? Time will tell.

Fortunately, Marxist GRANADA was disarmed by American Forces . If not, the spot of communist oil will spread quickly on Caribbean Nations which are not too far from The United States. And you would see not only Indochinese boat-people as myself, but the Salvadorian foot-people refugees will be here.

Please remember that there is no legitimate self defense which does not require a little sacrifice.

I am not a hawk and never I could be one.

I was a Paris trained lawyer who had 20 years of practice in Saigon.

I do not know to use weapons till to day.

And I come here to day to speak to you , " The Club of STUDENTS FOR BETTER GOVERNMENT ", it is not for my own interest, but for you. Because I have already lost my native country, and you, you have a very good life in a free Nation.

You must keep in mind the Key Word "FREEDOM".

I always hope I can stay here with you in United States as long as possible in a good friendship and never and never, you will have to suffer as I am now.

" God bless us ! "

Thank you very much for your kind attention .



NGUYEN VAN LOC
Former Prime Minister of The Republic of VN
Former Attorney at Law
Former President of CAO DAI UNIVERSITY

1015 31
Saigon
PM here
as a ^{May 19}₈₃
refugee

Former Prime Minister of Saigon Flees by Sea, Reaches Singapore

Reuters

SINGAPORE — A former prime minister of South Vietnam, now a refugee here awaiting resettlement, said Tuesday he had to abandon his wife and baby as he fled his homeland in a flimsy wooden craft under cover of darkness.

Nguyen Van Loc, 62, prime minister in 1967-68, said that he made the escape May 10 after hiding with his family for nearly 18 months south of Ho Chi Minh City, formerly Saigon. Mr. Loc, with 32 others, was picked up by a French ship May 12.

It was his 14th attempt at flight but his wife and 11-month-old child could not join him as planned because fishermen, demanding

money to keep their departure a secret, stopped them from taking a rowing boat to the refugee craft.

He said he was confident that his wife and child would get out of Vietnam in the near future. Mr. Loc said his wife had saved the money for the trip while he was at a labor camp near Hanoi. He had been there for four years before being released.

"I nearly died in the labor camp where I was kept with about 1,500 others on a near starvation diet. ... They allowed me to return to Saigon in 1980 only after they felt that I was dying," he said.

Mr. Loc said two or three people died of malnutrition or disease every week at the camp.

A FORMER South Vietnamese prime minister was among a boatload of refugees which arrived here, a senior United Nations refugee official told Reuters yesterday.

Mr Nguyen Van Loc, who was Prime Minister for seven months in 1967-68, told the Singapore office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees that he managed to escape from a port in southern Vietnam at his 14th attempt.

Mr Loc, 62, arrived with 32 other boat people on May 13 after being picked by a French cargo ship.

Guarantee

France had given a guarantee to resettle Mr Loc and the others, Singapore UNHCR representative Shashi Tharoor said.

Mr Loc left Ho Chi Minh City (formerly Saigon) six months ago and had since been trying to flee his communist homeland, Mr Tharoor said.

All the Vietnamese, including Mr Loc, are in the Hawkins Road refugee camp, which is housing 362 people.

Why US offered to accept former Viet PM

THE United States has offered to resettle former South Vietnamese Prime Minister Nguyen Van Loc, now at the Hawkins Road refugee camp, in America because of the time he has spent in re-education camps as a result of his past association with the US administration.

Mr Loc, who will be 61 in August, was arrested in South Vietnam soon after the communist takeover in 1975.

He spent five years in re-education camps and another year under house arrest before fleeing by boat last month with 32 others.

"Because of his age, the length of time he spent in re-education camps — in part because he was working closely with high-

ranking US officials in Vietnam — we have offered him resettlement and he has accepted," Mr Daniel Sullivan said here yesterday.

Mr Sullivan is the US refugee co-ordinator for Indonesia and Singapore and was responsible for presenting Mr Loc's case to Washington.

Mr Loc would normally not have qualified for entry into the US because France has guaranteed resettlement for him and the 32 others who arrived here after being picked up by the French vessel, Chevalier Valbelle.

Mr Loc, who is likely to leave for the US in a month, has said he wants to join anti-communist groups in the US.

● Brainwashed: Section 2, Page One.

THE SUNDAY OKLAHOMAN Early Bird Edition

CITY, OK ***

SUNDAY, APRIL 8, 1984

256 PAGES

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de Stories

Former Vietnamese Minister Now Poor, But Free

Local

If the tax-load factory is illustrated of Minnesota Mining Co. to pick Austinneapolis for a expansion.

— Page 28-A

News

Small town" is how Barbara Abrashobo of Marshall, Minn's foremost "Indie" expert on Ok-

Local

ka want to absorb p-roaring turn-of-sh days, they sim-at onetime brash, ie Gateway to the

The Weather

Clearing skies and slightly cooler temperatures are forecast today for Oklahoma. Highs will be in the mid-to upper 60s, and tonight's lows should be mainly in the 40s. — Page 4-A

Oklahoma Report

Nellie Chilton is a survivor. She survived the 1900 Galveston hurricane, the dust bowl days, the Depression and years of running a cattle ranch in southeastern Colorado.

— Page 10-A

Gallup Poll

Gary Hart leads Walter Mondale on matters related to "style," for presenting fresh ideas, speaking for the younger generation, and for injecting excitement into the race for the Democratic nomination. — Page 21-A

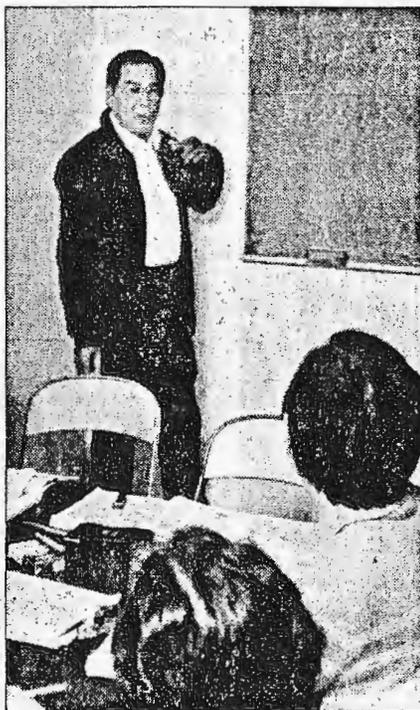
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— Staff Photo by Paul B. Sutherland
Nguyen Van Loc teaches English to other Indo-
chinese refugees.

By Randy Ellis

Sixteen years ago, Nguyen Van Loc was prime minister of South Vietnam. Luxury was something he took for granted.

Then came the fall of Saigon, five brutal years in communist re-education camps and a harrowing escape in which he was forced to leave his wife and baby behind.

"Now I have nothing," Loc said. Poverty is something he has learned to accept.

While the 61-year-old Loc once lived in a prime minister's palace, he now lives in an Oklahoma City crisis center. While he once made decisions that affected policies of his country, he now can be found most weekday evenings teaching other Indochinese refugees how to speak enough English to survive in America.

But if Loc's tumble from power has marred his outlook on life, Loc doesn't show it. It is with surprising calm that he discusses the way things were, the way things are and his hopes for days to come.

"I was very rich before," Loc said. "I lived in the prime minister's palace. ... Now I have nothing. I live at the VAA (Vietnamese American Association) crisis center. I arrived in this

country last July. During the time I was in California and Texas, I had to ask Medicare for assistance."

Loc doesn't ask for sympathy, however.

"If I need a place to stay, a car or money, I just ask my friends at the VAA to help me," Loc said. "I don't need anything else. I need to live now to think about the common cause. I was very rich before. I spent 20 years as a lawyer. I did everything. That is not a dream for me now. I do not consider that to be an important thing for me at the moment."

What is important to Loc? In the immediate future, Loc said he is looking forward to earning his own living in the United States, as other refugees and boat people have learned to do.

"But my principal aim is to unify all the political and religious forces I can against the communist regime," Loc said. "The communists have put my country back 50 years. People do not have even basic human rights. The oppression is brutal. People are worked like animals."

Loc is a survivor. He was prime minister for the Nguyen Van Thieu regime in 1968 when the communists

launched the Tet offensive and the regime began to crumble. Accepting responsibility for the failure of government forces, Loc resigned his position.

Loc didn't go into hiding, however. He bounced back to become founder and president of Cao Dai University in 1971.

Loc was still serving in that position at the time of the fall of Saigon. Many South Vietnamese leaders and former leaders fled, but Loc stayed behind.

"I was founder and director of the university," Loc explained. "I had 1,500 students to graduate."

Loc paid a high price for his determination — five years of hard labor in communist re-education camps.

At one camp, prisoners were forced to build a dam by hand and transform a malaria- and leech-infested marsh into a rice field, he said.

"After a while our blood was no longer red," Loc said. "It changed to a yellowish-orange color."

Prisoners also were taken into the mountains, where they cut trees for huts and used picks to dig yard-deep holes in solid rocks. The rocks then were dynamited. Prisoners placed the re-

See NGUYEN, Page 2-A

This Week

Wednesday

What will demand for oil be in the year 2000? Who will supply it? Find out in Wednesday's Business section.

The A-OK logo is stamped on many products grown, produced or processed in Oklahoma. Whether it's wheat or soybeans, lamb or dairy products, the Oklahoma State Department of Agriculture is in charge of promoting its use. To learn how consumer demand for these products is stimulated, see Wednesday's Food, etc.

Thursday

Elementary school children and teenagers spend hours developing their own style of break dancing as they spin on their backs, "moon walk" and imitate a centipede. For a look at the latest dance trend, read the Women's section Thursday.

Saturday

Bob Thompson of Crockett's Victory Gardens will headline the dedication ceremonies of the Oklahoma City Horticulture Center Sunday. His remarks will be carried on the Saturday garden page.

Beef

From Page 1-A

that enjoys stopping, relaxing and enjoying a leisurely dinner, whereas, the market attracted to McDonald's is looking for quality fast food that can be consumed quickly," Smolley said.

Smolley reported that according to turnpike authority figures, Howard Johnson sales are up this year over last year. As part of their lease agreement, turnpike concessions pay the turnpike authority 6 percent of annual gross sales.

In February, Smolley said, the McDonald's at Bristow reported gross sales of \$87,110 of which the state received \$5,226 and the Howard Johnson Mid-Way Restaurant at Stroud had gross sales for the month of \$46,170 and paid the state \$2,308.

Smolley said travelers are benefiting from cheaper, more competitive prices at turnpike concessions and increased concession sales are helping keep turnpike toll rates lower.

Smolley said that since the Bristow McDonald's opened, business at the Phillips 66 gas station located at the same site has doubled.

Doug Cross of Tulsa, owner and operator of the two turnpike McDonald's, says the businesses are on the Turner to stay.

"We have 20-year leases and business is good. We are doing very well," he said.

Cross said the Turner is one of only three turnpikes in the nation having McDonald's restaurants.

"McDonald's is always looking for untapped markets and turnpikes are one of those markets now being looked at," he added.

He said although McDonald's managers have the right to charge any price they wish for food, he has selected to keep prices on the turnpike comparable with prices of McDonald's in city locations.

"I've always felt people have been ripped off by high prices on turnpikes," Cross said. "And, I believe when word gets around about our prices it will increase our customer volume."

He makes no bones about being in competition with Howard Johnson's. "I don't think they are happy to see us," Cross said of his turnpike competitors. "We are taking away their customers."

"That's the name of the game in business ... getting your competitors' customers," he added. "I understand they are scrambling around to come up with a battle plan to combat us."

Maybe, but they better move fast. A grand opening planned for the near future will include an appearance by Ronald McDonald himself.



Nguyen Van Loc gives Huynh Tran some pointers.

— Staff Photo by Paul B. Southard

Nguyen

From Page 1-A

sulting stones on their shoulders and carried them back to camp, about 1.2 miles away.

"Each prisoner had to carry about 70 rocks every day," Loc said.

He said they used the stones to build their prison house.

"But we had no cement," he said. "After every rain it would collapse and we would build it again."

For food, the prisoners were given a little over a pound of cereal a day, Loc said. It was not cereal as Americans know it, however.

"It is what you would use to feed the horses," he said.

Rarely were prisoners served vegetables, he said. Almost never did they get meat.

Loc said there were more than 3,000 political and military prisoners in one camp where he worked, and said there were many such camps in Vietnam.

Every week, two or three prisoners would die from malnutrition, disease or labor accidents, he said.

Loc recalls one friend who "worked until he could not stand up. After two or three weeks he died."

Loc said he was near death twice — in 1979 and 1980. He said the second time they released him, reasoning

that he was only going to die.

Loc was warned that he would be killed if caught trying to escape the country. Nevertheless, he was determined to try.

Loc said he tried to escape 13 times and 13 times he was unsuccessful.

Escape attempts consisted of paying small boat owners \$800 to \$1,200 in gold in exchange for a promise that they would take them out to sea in the dead of night.

"The boat owners took the money, but at the last moment they would refuse to go," Loc said. "Sometimes they would cheat you for more money. You always took a ring or something so that you would have something to give them to keep them from crying out to the police."

Finally, on his fourteenth attempt, Loc escaped.

He said he had to leave his wife and baby behind, because boat owners were afraid that a baby's cries would bring authorities.

It was nearly a journey to death, Loc recalled. The rickety old boat was slowly sinking in the South China Sea when the French ship Chevalier Valbelle came to the passengers' rescue.

Loc said his wife and baby since have escaped to an Indonesian refugee camp, and he is trying to get them processed into the United States.

While Loc is now free, he said the liberation of his countrymen is always on his mind.

"They said we were corrupt, but now they know the communists are a thousand times more corrupt," Loc said.

He said during the war, the South Vietnamese had American arms, but the North Vietnamese had the people believing that communism was some type of paradise.

"Now they know it is not," he said. "The communists work people like animals. Now the people do not have any arms, but inside themselves they hate. The people will destroy the communist regime. I positively believe it."

Judge Dismisses Defamation Suit

LOS ANGELES (AP) — A judge has thrown out a defamation suit by two policemen against two doctors who claimed that college football player Ron Settles may have died from police chokeholds. The judge dismissed the \$20 million suit Thursday.



Wang: enemies in the KMT.

officials losing their jobs but not their ties with Chiang. One example was the 1978 demotion of Lee Huan, also an old friend and someone who, like Wang, was sometimes called the second most-powerful man on the island.

Lee, who in quick succession lost his posts as head of the department of organisational affairs in the KMT, head of the China Youth Corps and of a party cadre training school, took the blame for election-time riots in Chungli in 1977 and for the KMT's poor showing in the elections. Despite his demotion to president of Sun Yat-sen University in Kaohsiung, Lee reportedly still sees the president regularly.

Although Wang's decline is not traceable to any single event, it may have been due to an accumulation of too much power. As one analyst said, it is dangerous to become too strong a No. 2 figure in Chinese politics of any colour. Wang, who is a somewhat shadowy figure, also suffers from a severe image problem. He symbolises the hardline military-security faction and is one of the most feared people in the country. Reviled by businessmen and intellectuals, Wang has also made enemies in the KMT and the military because of his influence over personnel shuffles.

Cutting Wang down to size may also reflect an attempt to loosen his grip on power before the Chiang era ends. While few analysts see Wang as a serious contender for the post of president, many do fear he may play a role as kingmaker. One important factor in the demotion is Wang's health: he is rumoured to have cancer.

Perhaps the writing was on the wall in late April when Chiang ordered the immediate disbanding of an influential, secret policymaking group chaired by Wang. The group, which included representatives from ministries, the KMT plus military and security agencies, met on a frequent basis to take swift action on pressing issues, particularly regarding relations with the mainland. According to sources, the group threw its weight around too much and symbolised Wang's interference in the government. □

REFUGEES

14th time lucky

A former South Vietnamese premier arrives by boat in Singapore and will seek asylum in the US

By V. G. Kulkarni

Singapore: A former prime minister of South Vietnam arrived in Singapore in a fishing boat with 32 other refugees from Vietnam on May 13. Nguyen Van Loc, who was prime minister for seven months during 1967-68, said in an interview that he had been trying to escape since November 1981; this was his 14th attempt. Loc, aged 60, the first prime minister of the Nguyen Van Thieu regime to have become a boat person from Vietnam, was rescued along with four women, six children and 21 men by a French merchant ship in the South China Sea.

Under arrangements made by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) with the Singapore Government and some Western countries, Vietnamese boat people are normally guaranteed resettlement in the countries to which the rescue ship belongs. In the case of ships with flags of convenience, the UNHCR arranges for resettlement elsewhere before the refugees are allowed into Singapore's single refugee camp. Without such arrangements, Singapore does not accept refugees.

Thus Loc, who is a staunch anti-communist, is assured of entry into France. But he said he intends to go to the United States to organise political and military support to fight against the Hanoi regime.

Loc was to have become the running mate of former air marshal Nguyen Cao Ky in the presidential election of September 1967. But Ky was chosen as the vice-presidential candidate of Thieu, and Loc had to settle for an appointment as Thieu's chief election campaign coordinator. Loc was rewarded with the premiership after the election, but he resigned in June 1968 in the aftermath of the communist Tet offensive, taking responsibility for the failures of the Thieu government's forces.

"We lost the battle for the south in 1968 itself," Loc recalled in Singapore, "because the communist onslaught in two stages shook all the provinces in the south. By 1975 the communists had to push only in a few chosen areas to gain total victory." Loc stated that his resignation also had a lot to do with political differences between Thieu and Ky.

THAILAND

A familiar refrain

Prem sets out his new government's policy — and leaves the door open for possible military influence

By John McBeth

Bangkok: The distinctive thread of military thinking runs through the statement Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanond recently delivered to parliament outlining the policies of his newly formed government. Indeed, it could be argued that the statement effectively institutionalises prime ministerial order No. 66/2523, an enlightened pronouncement issued in 1980 which placed politics ahead of military action in combating communist insurgency and which also laid down guidelines for strengthening the country's political and social fabric.

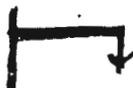
Minister in the Prime Minister's Office Kamol Thongthammachart is understood to have been the chief architect of Prem's new policy document. Kamol is one of 10 appointees in the 44-member cabinet chosen by Prem irrespective of party affiliation. He was apparently thus selected to avoid differences of opinion and emphasis among the four parties making up the ruling coalition. Kamol, former dean of Chulalongkorn University's political sci-

ence faculty, served as the premier's personal adviser on foreign policy before being given his current portfolio.

The statement did not require a vote of confidence, but the opposition Chart Thai party — still smarting over its failure to secure a place in the government benches — staged a mass walkout after party leader and former deputy premier Pramarn Adireksarn complained that MPs had only been given a day to absorb it. Chart Thai representatives left the chamber shortly before Prem rose to make his presentation.

Perhaps the most significant paragraph is one in the section dealing with politics and administration which says: "The armed forces will play an important role in the defence of the country, national independence and the democratic system under the monarchy." The last phrase is seen by analysts as a clear sign of the legitimacy now being given to the army's future involvement in the political process.

Linkage to order No. 66/2523 appears in a



Out of government. Loc went in 1969 to France, where he still owns property and has two sons who have since married French citizens. By 1970 he was back in Saigon, to practise law. He later founded Cao Dai University in Tay Ninh. Essentially a synthesis of Buddhism, Christianity and the teachings of Confucius and Lao-tze, the Cao Dai sect, which had a following of some 2 million until the mid-1970s, was anti-colonial as well as anti-communist.

Although by early 1975 a communist takeover was clearly imminent, Loc claimed he remained as rector of the university because he wanted to conduct the final examinations of the graduating class. He was arrested in August 1975 and kept in police custody before being moved to an internment camp on the outskirts of Ho Chi Minh City in March 1976. By August of that year he and some 400 other high-ranking officials of the old regime were flown to another prison camp near Hanoi where Loc was to stay for the next four years.

After interrogation, Loc was sent to Ho Chi Minh City in June 1980, but was kept under house surveillance for more than a year. By November 1981 he had disappeared and had begun arranging his escape. He failed 13 times before this final attempt, paying three taels of gold (at today's price, about US\$1,500) for each aborted boat trip.

Loc said Cao Dai University, like all other private and religious institutions of



Loc in Singapore: 'I must carry on the struggle.'

higher learning, has been closed, but many teachers have been given jobs in state-run schools. Loc added that all the education ministers of the pre-communist regimes of the south have been rehabilitated. Loc's brother, Nguyen Van Truong, who was education minister under two administrations in the 1960s, is now a university professor under the Hanoi regime.

Explaining his desire to go to the US, where he also has relatives, Loc said: "If I wanted a cushy life I could easily go to France and settle down with my sons. But

by religion I am anti-communist. I must carry on the struggle, and the US is the best place."

Loc held a high-ranking position in the Cao Dai sect, which is organised along the lines of the Roman Catholic Church, complete with a Holy See of its own in Tay Ninh — he was the equivalent of a cardinal, he said. Loc said he was aware that support for the Vietnamese anti-communist cause had dwindled in the US, but he wanted to team up with Ky's and other expatriate Vietnamese groups in North America against Hanoi.

succeeding sentence stating the government intends "to place politics before military [force] in the fight against communist insurgency and to create solidarity among the people and to gather all Thai people with divergent views to help develop the country."

In the first of two white papers issued at the time the army was openly supporting constitutional amendments seeking to preserve the legislative powers of the appointed upper house and allow military and civilian officials to hold cabinet posts, senior brass pointed out that the order gave the military the duty of becoming actively involved in politics. The amendments were subsequently defeated in a parliamentary vote, but political observers believe it will be only a matter of time before they are re-introduced and some officers have even said as much.

Another interesting passage in the statement expresses a determination to promote the establishment of a political party system and other political institutions conducive to the development of democracy. It says the government will "support fuller participation in politics" and will "take every step possible to create confidence and faith in the parliamentary system as a means of solving problems and of building national unity."

Analysts noting the connection drawn between the political system and national

security, feel this again reflects army attitudes. Influential officers have been strongly critical of the calibre of many MPs and the way they are seen to represent vested interests rather than their electorates. Given the extent of vote-buying and influence-peddling in Thai elections, it could be considered a convincing argument.

In line with the aim of implanting a greater understanding of the democratic system, the government also pledges to bring about reforms in the administrative system to make it more responsive. It discusses decentralisation of power and the need to upgrade local administration, factors widely recognised as important to economic growth, and it talks of an "unswerving determination" to upgrade living standards, eliminate poverty and create more job opportunities.

The document as a whole represents a conscious commitment to remove the conditions under which communist insurgency and internal unrest are permitted to grow, an acknowledgment that though the government may have the Communist Party of Thailand contained, if not beaten, it does not intend to rest on its laurels.

For the moment, however, these are only words and Prem has studiously — and wisely — avoided setting the sort of deadlines for achievement of targets that his predecessors have tended to favour to gain short-term popularity.

Taking the bait

Special Branch officers arrest a Soviet official with classified documents

Bangkok: It had all the hallmarks of a carefully planned set-up, but as one Asian diplomat put it: "It's the fish which opens its mouth that gets caught." Soviet trade official Viktor Barychev was properly hooked when he emerged from a Bangkok hotel coffee-shop on May 19 carrying some embarrassing bait in his pocket: documents containing classified information on Thai military installations along the Cambodian border.

Detained by waiting Special Branch agents, Barychev was seen aboard an Air Vietnam flight to Hanoi the day following his arrest after being given 48 hours to leave the country. It was the first public espionage scandal to hit Thailand since 1971 and followed the expulsions of five alleged Soviet agents from Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia over the past 18 months. Thai authorities identified Barychev, 47, as a lieutenant-colonel in the GRU, the Soviet military intelligence agency, and claimed they had kept watch on his activities since he arrived with his wife and

SECTION TWO

BRAINWASHED

The Vietnamese do it with newspapers, books, TV and hard labour



A former prime minister of what was previously South Vietnam tells our Diplomatic Correspondent TAN LIAN CHOO how he suffered five years of communist attempts to "re-educate" him in special camps. He says the brainwashing sessions were

thorough and regimented, the physical work was very hard and the food was minimal. Now the 60-year-old refugee, successful on his 14th escape attempt, is awaiting departure for the United States, which has agreed to re-settle him.

Nguyen Van Loc ... he did not know that his wife and daughter were not on board the boat.

ON THE night of May 9 in the coastal town of Baria, about 100 km north-east of Ho Chi Minh City, Nguyen Van Loc had exactly 30 minutes to prepare for his 14th attempt to flee from Vietnam.

His 40-year-old wife and 11-month-old daughter were with him. For each attempt to escape communist rule, they had to pay two or three taels of gold each. After 10 tries, they had run out of family gold and were now relying on friends.

"That night, I was staying with a friend in Baria," the 60-year-old Loc recounted. "Just after dinner, a friend said there was to be a departure that night. If I wanted to leave, I had to be ready in 30 minutes." It was then 8 p.m.

He was to join the 12-metre-long fishing boat, moored at the waterfront, immediately. By midnight, it would be some distance from shore.

His wife and baby would join him then, along with other women and children because crying babies were a problem. They would come on board by a sampan powered by a small outboard motor.

"I left as I was, wearing a short-sleeved cotton shirt, a pair of trousers and plastic flip-flops. The guide brought me to the 'agent'. They put me immediately in the hold.

"I waited there till next morning. When we set sail at 10 a.m., I still hadn't realised that my wife and daughter had not joined us. They told me only much later," Loc said.

Yes, he would have gone back for them, he said, but he knew it would have been impossible. Others on the boat would have stopped him.

The following night, the boat's engine broke

down, followed by the gear box and the pumps. Water started seeping in. Loc and the 32 others on board scooped it up with pails.

"There was very little drinking water left, the food supplies were shrinking and we were quite sure of sinking that night." As on the other occasions when he came close to death, his thoughts were of God.

They were saved that night by a French ship, Chevalier Vaibelle.

At the Hawkins Road refugee camp last week, Loc showed me his "liberation certificate", dated May 23, 1980, and signed by the head of the Nam Ha re-education camp in Hanam Ninh province, about 70 km from Hanoi.

In Vietnamese, it said his crime was to have been prime minister of the former regime. His collaboration with the former leaders amounted to a crime of treason.

It certified him as having completed the necessary forced labour in re-education camps,

and that he had been in a "re-education class each year, he had to turn up every Saturday at the neighbourhood police station and record everything he had done that week.

A major part of his record was "the evolution of his thoughts" as noted in his articles, opinions and comments freed from house arrest in November 1975 and his wife tried to escape from various parts of the country. This was Loc's second marriage and she was three months pregnant when she first attempted to flee.

Loc was Prime Minister of South Vietnam from Nov 1, 1967, to July 1968. He was a successful 45-year-old member of the South Vietnamese elite but he belonged to no political party at the time he was chosen as a

compromise candidate following rivalry between the two generals, Nguyen Van Thieu and Nguyen Cao Ky.

He resigned nearly seven months later, unable to accept preliminary American negotiations with North Vietnam over the fate of the south.

Following the communist-led Tet offensive in February 1968, he believed the communists wanted to gain time by stalling negotiations so that they could win more of the battleground.

He gave up a palatial residence, in which he had been served by 50 people and guarded by 20 police officers and 100 soldiers.

In 1971, after being converted to Cao Daiism (a popular religious sect which appointed its leaders through spiritual rites), Loc founded the Cao Dai University in Tay Minh, 100 km north of Saigon. As rector, he stayed through the April of 1975 to sign diplomas for his 1,500 students.

Why did he not go on the US airlift that brought his former colleagues out of Vietnam?

"Because the others in the Cao Dai sect chose to stay and it would have weighed heavily on my conscience," Loc replied quietly.

On April 30, South Vietnam surrendered to the communists.

About four months later, Loc was detained in a cell at the Rue Votanh premises of the former Special Branch of the South Vietnamese police.

Daily, he woke at 5 a.m. when the cell was opened for detainees to go to the toilets. Breakfast was brought in a small dish — boiled rice, and either bland soup with vegetables or three bananas.

The same meal was repeated at 4 p.m., and although the lights went out at 6 p.m., he could not sleep because of jarring music from the cell guards. He spoke to no one but his cellmate, Nguyen Xuan Oanh, a former deputy prime minister.

Loc suffered an attack of vertigo after three months and lost consciousness briefly. There were no doctors but the guards gave him some tablets.

There were three interrogation sessions, each spaced two months apart. He said he was hit during one, when the interrogator said he had been a "valet" of the Americans and Loc retorted that he in turn was the Soviets' lackey.

Each interrogator asked him the same questions. What did he do as Prime Minister? What were his activities as a Cao Daiist? What did he do at the university in Tay Minh?

Loc was eventually sent to a re-education camp in Thu Duc, a suburb 12 km north of Ho Chi Minh City. The camp was once a women's prison. Loc was driven there alone.

The detainees were divided into four groups

Forced labour for all except those certified unfit

★ From Page One

— former intelligence officers, former policemen, former members of "reactionary" political parties and former senior civil servants. Loc estimated there were about 1,000 detainees when he entered. He was put with the ex-civil servants.

They had to wake up each morning at 6 a.m. and do 10 minutes' exercise. They were free till 7 a.m., when two official newspapers, Nhan Dan (The People) and Guan Doi Nhan Dan (The People's Army), were read aloud for an hour by a daily nominee before the 100 ex-civil servants.

After that, each had to give his opinions on the reports. Everyone, according to Loc, said only good things, thus avoiding punishment.

Free from 10 a.m. to 12 p.m., they organised their own lunch and ate together in the open yard.

At 2 p.m. sharp, the daily re-education recommenced. One of the group would read from books by Ho Chi Minh, Pham Van Dong (the Vietnamese Prime Minister), Truong Chinh (the Vietnamese President) and Le Duan (secretary-general of the Communist Party).

Discussion on the thoughts of these "revolutionary leaders" ended at 4 p.m. Two hours later, the detainees were forced to watch television and asked to comment on the programmes.

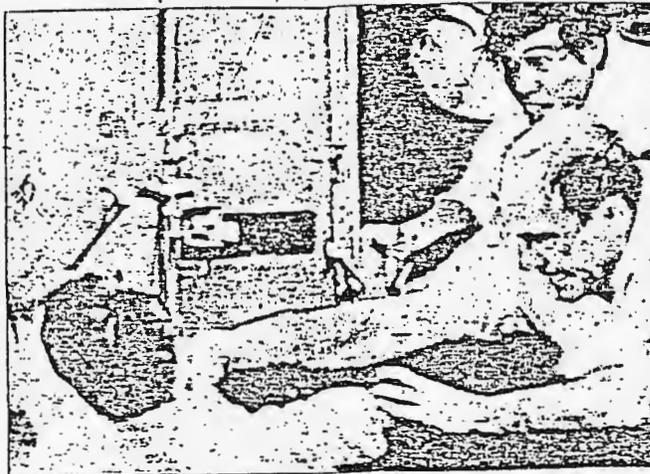
On Aug 11, 1976, Loc's group was asked to gather in the middle of the night in the main yard. A lorry took them to the Tan Son Nhut airport, where four C-130 transport planes waited to fly them to the Nam Ha Camp near Hanoi.

About 400 spent the first month there cleaning the camp and sleeping in overcrowded dormitories. Loc described the 50 cm of concrete floor space each had for sleeping in the bug-infested rooms. "You could see the bugs moving in rows like tanks," he joked.

They were all asked to write year-by-year accounts of their lives, dating from birth. These were submitted to the cadres every night. Corrections and gaps to be filled were asked for the next day. The exercise lasted five months.

In their sixth month at Nam Ha, each detainee was asked for a "denunciation list", naming all the "reac-

When prisoners replace buffaloes



An American official punching a man in the face in an attempt to prevent him from boarding an already overloaded evacuation plane before the south fell in 1975 — UPI picture.

“In their sixth month at Nam Ha, each detainee was asked for a “denunciation list”, naming all the “reactionary people” inside and outside Vietnam. Loc said his conscience is clear on this because he gave names of those he knew were dead or abroad — nearly 100, including Nguyen Van Thieu and Nguyen Cao Ky.

tionary people” inside and outside Vietnam.

Loc said his conscience is clear on this because he gave names of those he knew were dead or abroad — nearly 100, including Nguyen Van Thieu and Nguyen Cao Ky.

Forced labour started soon after. Teams of 30 to 40 people were formed. Loc's team was sent to the nearby hilly for-

est to cut down trees and clear the land for planting peanuts, sugar cane and maize.

The day started at 5 a.m. The sick were examined by doctors and could stay behind only when certified unfit. Hard work was relieved by a 15-minute break during the day for a meal cooked from rations by two team members.

In his second year there, Loc was made to work on the marsh. Each man had to collect one cubic metre a day of clay and mud, as part of a move to transform the area into padi fields.

The mud was packed into bunds three metres high, and additional lime deposits had to be brought in to mix with the dugged clay.

“Each man worked with his cuoc (canghul), and the rate of productivity was expected to rise with each successive till.

A man was expected to turn up 60 sq m at his first till, 80 sq m at the second, and 100 sq m at the third.

Loc said when the Chinese “taught Vietnam a lesson” in 1979 by attacking Vietnamese installations along the Sino-Vietnamese border, there was a sudden influx into the Nam Ha camp, because the Hanoi authorities had to evacuate other camps in the north.

Because of the increased camp population, the camp commanders forced the workers to use the place of water buffaloes. Three at a time were harnessed at the waist and made to draw a plough.

“We protested with some kind of boycott. After that rainy season, they stopped the practice,” Loc recalled.

Nam Ha detainees also worked at the quarry. Teams of three had to dig one metre into granite. Someone would then place a dynamite in the hole. After the blast, the men would carry the pieces of rock back to camp, about two km away. The granite was raw material for construction work. There was a sawmill in the camp.

“When I arrived, there were five pavilions. By the time I left, there were nine,” Loc said.

Other detainees were made to repair roads, harvest rice and clear a nearby jungle. They were all stung constantly by leeches which, Loc said, showed their blood to be orange in colour.

People died every week. Nobody knew what they died of. It was old age or malnutrition. They were buried in make-shift coffins after their photographs had been taken. Their families were never informed.

Loc himself became seriously ill. He was bedridden for three months in 1979, and in a relapse the following year, fell into a coma.

“While I was in bed, rapidly losing consciousness, my group mates said we were being freed.”

He survived, and was put on a train 15 days later for Ho Chi Minh City. At the station there, walking feebly, Loc collected his liberation certificate from the cadre who had accompanied them from Nam Ha.

RECEIVED 30 MAY 84 10

TO PRESIDENT

FROM NGUYEN VAN LOC

DOCDATE 24 MAY 84

KEYWORDS VIETNAM

MP

SUBJECT. FORMER PM FWDS ARTICLES & LECTURES RE VIETNAM

ACTION. ANY ACTION NECESSARY

DUE: 04 JUN 84 STATUS S

FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

CHILDRESS

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No action required

COMMENTS

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	<i>C 5/31</i>	<i>No action required per Childress</i>		

DISPATCH

W/ATTCH FILE (C)

WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

C 0172

O - OUTGOING

H - INTERNAL

I - INCOMING

8421348

Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 84 10 7 25

Name of Correspondent: Mr. Mrs. Miss Roger P. Winter

MI Mail Report

User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

Subject: Seeks the President's intervention to get prisoners in Vietnam released.

ROUTE TO:

ACTION

DISPOSITION

Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
CoCoza	ORIGINATOR	84 10 7 25		R 84 10 8 13
99 205	R	84 10 7 27		A 84 10 8 13
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ACTION CODES:

- A - Appropriate Action
- C - Comment/Recommendation
- D - Draft Response
- F - Furnish Fact Sheet to be used as Enclosure

- I - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary
- R - Direct Reply w/Copy
- S - For Signature
- X - Interim Reply

DISPOSITION CODES:

- A - Answered
- B - Non-Special Referral
- C - Completed
- S - Suspended

FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:

- Type of Response = Initials of Signer
- Code = "A"
- Completion Date = Date of Outgoing

Comments:

Keep this worksheet attached to the original incoming letter.
 Send all routing updates to Central Reference (Room 75, OEOB).
 Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files.
 Refer questions about the correspondence tracking system to Central Reference, ext. 2590.

RECORDS MANAGEMENT ONLY

CLASSIFICATION SECTION

No. of Additional Correspondents: _____ Media: L Individual Codes: 4800 _____

Prime Subject Code: C0172 Secondary Subject Codes: JL 000 _____

PRESIDENTIAL REPLY

Code	Date	Comment	Form
C	_____	Time: _____	P- _____
DSP	_____	Time: _____	Media: _____

SIGNATURE CODES:

CPn - Presidential Correspondence

- n - 0 - Unknown
- n - 1 - Ronald Wilson Reagan
- n - 2 - Ronald Reagan
- n - 3 - Ron
- n - 4 - Dutch
- n - 5 - Ron Reagan
- n - 6 - Ronald
- n - 7 - Ronnie

CLn - First Lady's Correspondence

- n - 0 - Unknown
- n - 1 - Nancy Reagan
- n - 2 - Nancy
- n - 3 - Mrs. Ronald Reagan

CBn - Presidential & First Lady's Correspondence

- n - 1 - Ronald Reagan - Nancy Reagan
- n - 2 - Ron - Nancy

MEDIA CODES:

- B - Box/package
- C - Copy
- D - Official document
- G - Message
- H - Handcarried
- L - Letter
- M - Mailgram
- O - Memo
- P - Photo
- R - Report
- S - Sealed
- T - Telegram
- V - Telephone
- X - Miscellaneous
- Y - Study

UNCLASSIFIED
CLASSIFICATION

S/S # 8421348

Date August 10, 1984

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

FOR : Mr. Robert C. McFarlane
National Security Council
The White House

REFERENCE:

TO: President Reagan FROM: Roger Winter
DATE: July 23, 1984 SUBJECT: Release of Vietnamese
Prisoners

WHITE HOUSE REFERRAL DATED: 7/27 NSC # 243430

THE ATTACHED ITEM WAS SENT DIRECTLY
TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION TAKEN:

- A draft reply is attached
- A draft reply will be forwarded
- A translation is attached
- An information copy of a direct reply is attached
- We believe no response is necessary for the reason cited below
- Other

REMARKS:

for *J. L. Berry*
Charles Hill
Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED

CLASSIFICATION



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

Mr. Roger P. Winter, Director
United States Committee for Refugees
815 Fifteenth Street, N.W., Suite 610
Washington, D.C. 20005

Dear Mr. Winter:

Thank you for your letter of July 3. I have read it and the enclosures with interest, and I have discussed the issues involved with colleagues in the Bureau for Refugee Programs. This also responds to your letter to the President of July 23, which was referred to the Department of State for reply.

As I believe you are aware, we have made absolutely clear to Vietnam, both directly and through the UNHCR, that the United States is prepared to receive past and present "re-education camp" political prisoners, as well as more Asian-Americans and a continuing large number of family reunification cases, through the UNHCR's Orderly Departure Program.

Indeed, at the UNHCR-sponsored meeting on the Orderly Departure Program in Geneva in October 1983, the United States representative submitted to the Vietnamese Vice Foreign Minister a list of almost 2,000 special humanitarian cases, including names of political prisoners and their families and requested their immediate release. Since that time we have repeatedly urged the Vietnamese to begin releasing prisoners.

We continue to hope that the Vietnamese authorities will allow the International Committee of the Red Cross access to the "re-education camp" prisoners. This access would not only ascertain their total number and identity but also, of equal importance, could hopefully lead to the Vietnamese improving the deplorable conditions in these prisons. On the basis of such a reliable census of the prison population, we would be able to submit to Vietnam a list of prisoners (and their families) of special humanitarian interest to the United States. Although we have not made Red Cross inspection of the prisons a pre-condition for our resettling political prisoners, we continue to believe that it is a humane and important first step to a regularized program.

The Vietnamese are fully aware of our willingness -- indeed, our eagerness -- to expand the Orderly Departure Program to accommodate these "re-education camp" prisoners. We are continuing to explore ways of persuading the Vietnamese authorities to cooperate with the international community in making prisoners and their families available for resettlement. We have communicated directly, through other governments and through international organizations. If the Vietnamese authorities would demonstrate a willingness to meet our reasonable procedural needs -- as they have done and are doing for the thousands of other persons they have allowed to leave under the UNHCR Orderly Departure Program -- we are confident that the Congress will readily authorize as many admission numbers as we need.

Securing the release of these political prisoners, who are being persecuted and cruelly punished in Vietnamese prisons because of their past association with the United States, is one of the foremost goals of the U.S. refugee program. It is for this reason that we appreciate your interest and support in persuading the Vietnamese to begin freeing those who would be eligible for resettlement in the United States.

Sincerely,

Paul D. Wolfowitz
Assistant Secretary of State
for East Asian and Pacific Affairs

8421348

T H E W H I T E H O U S E O F F I C E

REFERRAL

JULY 27, 1984

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED:
DIRECT REPLY, FURNISH INFO COPY

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 243430
MEDIA: LETTER, DATED JULY 23, 1984
TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN
FROM: MR. ROGER P. WINTER
DIRECTOR
UNITED STATES COMMITTEE FOR
REFUGEES
815 FIFTEENTH STREET, NW
SUITE 610
WASHINGTON DC 20005

SUBJECT: SEEKS THE PRESIDENT'S INTERVENTION TO GET
PRISONERS IN VIETNAM RELEASED

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN
TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE
UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE
(OR DRAFT) TO:
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE

SALLY KELLEY
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

*Received in 5/5-I
7/27 at 10:02 Am (S)*



**UNITED STATES
COMMITTEE
FOR REFUGEES**

815 Fifteenth Street NW, Suite 610
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 667-0782

8421348

243430

Informing the public since 1958

July 23, 1984

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Mr. President:

There are men and women in prison in Vietnam because they are identified with the United States role in that country prior to 1975. In many cases these political prisoners have been incarcerated for over nine years, yet the government you head has done little to obtain their release. Our nation's limited initiatives on their behalf have been indecisive and shallow. We hope you will intervene and precipitate a breakthrough in this tragedy.

For two years representatives of the government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam have publically indicated they would release persons in reeducation camps in Vietnam if the United States would take them. It is estimated that the number involved who would be "of interest" to the United States is about 9,000. Recent discussions with Vietnamese authorities by knowledgeable Americans yield the judgement that the Vietnamese offer is real.

We urge you to break through the impotence that has characterized U.S. actions on this matter. Within the next two weeks your Administration will be consulting with the Congress to determine the number of refugees to be admitted to the United States in FY 1985. We believe that the Administration proposal to the Congress should include a dedicated set of admissions numbers, over and above those provided in connection with existing refugee admissions efforts, to demonstrate our resolve to rescue these particular persons. It seems clear that the Congress would support such a proposal.

Mr. President, it also seems clear that without your intervention men and women who were "with us" in Vietnam will soon reach their tenth anniversary in prison. We urge you to keep faith with them now and to move unambiguously to obtain their release.

Sincerely,

Roger P. Winter
Director

RPW/gl