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Personal

Alisa Kaufman
Box 4937 Wesleyan Station
Middletown, CT 06457
(203) 346-9092

March 23, 1988

Mr. Max Green
Office of Liason
The Old Executive Building
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Green:

Thank you very much for finding time to meet with me last Thursday, March 17th. It was interesting for me to ~~hear about~~ your job and the operations of our government. My visit to Washington was both exciting and educational. Now I understand why my grandfather so much enjoys working with you.

Once again, thank you for your time and consideration; I learned a great deal from speaking with you.

Sincerely,

Alisa Kaufman

Alisa Kaufman

RESUME OF
SUSAN WITTENBERG LIEBELER

Personal

ADDRESS: 2031 Franklin Cluster Court
Falls Church, Virginia 22043
(703) 237-6877 (Home)
(202) 523-0133 (Office)

30373 Morning View Drive
Malibu, California 90265
(213) 457-2926

EDUCATION: 1960-1963 University of Michigan
B.A., Political Science 1963
University of Michigan Law School
1963-1964 (first year only)

1964-1966 UCLA Law School
LL.B., June 1966
Class Rank: 4th out of 214
Law Review (Senior Editor)
Order of the Coif
Stein Scholar

EMPLOYMENT: Chairman (6/17/86 - present)
Vice Chairman (6/84 - 6/86)
Commissioner (April 1984 - present)
U.S. International Trade Commission
500 E Street, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20436

1973 to 1985
Professor of Law, Loyola Law School
1441 West Olympic Boulevard
Los Angeles, California 90015
Courses taught: Corporations, Securities
Regulations, Financial Institutions, Corporate
Finance, Business and Tax Planning, Legal Ethics,
advanced seminars in corporate and securities laws.

Summer 1982
Visiting Professor
University of Texas Law School
727 East 26th Street
Austin, Texas 78705

August 1981 to July 1982
Special Counsel to
Honorable John S. R. Shad, Chairman
Securities and Exchange Commission
Washington, D.C. 20549

1972-1973
General Counsel
Verit Industries
Beverly Hills, California

1971-1972
Practiced law in Brattleboro, Vermont

1970-1971
Associate General Counsel
Republic Corporation
Los Angeles, California

1968-1970
Associate Attorney
Greenberg, Bernhard, Weiss & Karma
Los Angeles, California

1967-1968
Associate Attorney
Gang, Tyre & Brown
Los Angeles, California

1966-1967
Law Clerk to Honorable Gordon L. Files
Presiding Justice
California Court of Appeals
Los Angeles, California

CONSULTING: December 1980 to January 1981
Consultant to Office of Policy
Coordination
Office of the President-Elect

Spring 1975
U.S. Railway Association
Washington, D.C.
Fall 1974
Environmental Protection Agency
Washington, D.C.

Winter 1972
U.S. Price Commission
Washington, D.C.

BAR MEMBERSHIPS & PROFESSIONAL
ACTIVITIES: Admitted to practice in California and
Vermont. Inactive member of State Bar of
California; Los Angeles County Bar
Association.

Summer 1977
8th Annual Economics Institute for Law
Professors at University of Miami Center
for Law and Economics.

Liaison Member, Administrative Conference of the
United States.

PUBLICATIONS: "A Proposal to Rescind the Shareholder Proposal
Rule," 18 Georgia Law Review 425 (1984),
reprinted in 17 Securities L. Rev. 51 (1985).

"Pensions and the Cost of Securities Law Protection
-- The Implications of Daniel v. International
Brotherhood of Teamsters," 11 Loyola Law Review 709
(1978).

13 UCLA Law Review 167 (1966) "A Charitable
Armageddon: Commissioner v. Clay B. Brown."

13 UCLA Law Review 503 (1966) Book Review, Jones,
The Courts, the Public and the Law Explosion

PERSONAL
INFORMATION

Born: July 3, 1942
New Castle, Pennsylvania

Married: Wesley J. Liebeler
Professor of Law
UCLA Law School
Three children

Susan Liebeler, Only Woman Named To Federal Appeals Court
in 1987

Senator Leahy and others have consistently raised the issue of the need for more women to be appointed to the federal bench. Yet the President's nomination of Susan Liebeler, a highly qualified woman, to the federal appeals bench has not been moved expeditiously.

Susan Liebeler is an honors graduate of UCLA Law School who has gone on to have a very distinguished legal career in private practice, public service, and teaching law. For over a decade she was a professor at Loyola Law School in Los Angeles, and more recently has served as Commissioner, Vice Chairman, and Chairman of the U.S. International Trade Commission. In March 1987 she was nominated by President Reagan to a seat on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit, the only woman to be nominated to a federal appeals court this year. Yet after two separate days of hearings, her nomination still has not been voted on by the Senate Judiciary Committee.

There have been absolutely no questions raised concerning Ms. Liebeler's integrity or her intellectual capacity to serve on the federal bench. The only criticism that has been raised concerns her judicial "temperament". For example, in written questions Ms. Liebeler was asked about her alleged use of profanity in a post office, and her alleged impatience in a line at a stationery store. One has to wonder whether a male nominee would be subjected to the same type of questions.

Ms. Liebeler is a very bright, candid, and assertive woman. More women of her intelligence and ability are needed on the federal bench. Her nomination deserves expeditious approval by the Senate Judiciary Committee and the full Senate.

Nomination of Susan Liebler to the Federal Circuit (CAFC)

Susan Liebler is particularly well suited for appointment to the CAFC which, unlike other circuit courts, has a specific subject matter jurisdiction. She has more than 20 years experience in private practice, government service and law school teaching and possesses an unusually broad background in several important areas of the court's jurisdiction.

1. Ms. Liebler has considerable expertise in trade law; as a Commissioner of the International Trade Commission (ITC) she has issued opinions in approximately 200 cases arising under the antidumping and subsidy laws. ITC decisions in these cases are reviewable by the Court of International Trade and the CAFC. No other CAFC judge has a background in trade law.
2. Ms. Liebler has substantial expertise in intellectual property law. As an ITC Commissioner she has participated and issued opinions in more than 100 cases arising under 19 U.S.C. 1337. Holders of domestic intellectual property rights seek relief from the ITC under this statute when their patents, trademarks and copyrights are infringed by imports. ITC decisions under this section are reviewable in the CAFC. The CAFC has exclusive jurisdiction over appeals from patent cases in any U.S. District Court and also hears appeals from the Board of Appeals and the Board of Patent Interferences of the Patent and Trademark Office, the Commissioner of Patents and Trademarks and the Trademark Trial and Appeal Board.
3. Ms. Liebler has significant experience in administrative law which she acquired as a private practitioner, as Special Counsel to the Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, as Chairman and a Commissioner of the ITC, and as a member of the Administrative Conference of the United States. The CAFC hears appeals from final decisions of several federal agencies, including the ITC and the Merit Systems Protection Board.
4. Ms. Liebler has significant experience in tax matters. As a law professor she taught Business and Tax Planning and as a private practitioner she frequently dealt with tax matters. Many appeals from the Claims Court to the CAFC involve tax matters.
5. In private practice Ms. Liebler had substantial experience in contract law. She is also knowledgeable in government contract law because of her duties as ITC Chairman. The CAFC hears appeals from boards of contract appeals.
6. As agency head Ms. Liebler has been responsible for many personnel matters and has acquired experience in federal personnel law. The CAFC hears appeals from the Merit Systems Protection Board.
7. Ms. Liebler has considerable experience in reviewing the decisions of administrative law judges. ITC intellectual property cases are first heard by administrative law judges and then reviewed by the Commission.

CHAIRMAN LIEBELER HAS BEEN ACCUSED OF NOT HAVING THE JUDICIAL TEMPERAMENT TO BE A JUDGE:

In fact, Chairman Liebeler has been described by attorneys and others who have appeared before her during Commission proceedings to be

"scrupulously impartial",

and have "the intellect, character and judicial temperament to be an exceptionally fine appellate judge."

In testimony submitted to the Judiciary Committee, Richard O. Cunningham, a nationally respected Washington trade attorney with the lawfirm of Steptoe & Johnson, stated:

"The fact is that Susan Liebeler is eminently qualified to serve on the Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit. She will bring to that Court intelligence, international trade law experience, fairness and impartiality. I urge that she be confirmed.

John Greenwald, a partner in the law firm of Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering, a former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Import Administration and Deputy General Counsel in the Office of the United States Trade Representative stated in his testimony:

"...I have found her to be (1) highly intelligent, (2) very interested in the arguments of both law and fact presented by the parties, (3) probing in her own analysis of the issues of fact and law that arise in a case, and (4) committed to development of a coherent conceptual framework within which to decide the issues presented to her."

Mr. Greenwald further states:

"On the basis of her performance at the ITC, I believe that Ms. Liebeler is very well-qualified for appointment to the Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit and, indeed, has the capability to become an outstanding member of that court."

SUSAN LIEBELER HAS BEEN ACCUSED OF BEING AN IDEOLOGUE, IGNORING THE STATUTORY FRAMEWORK OF THE TRADE LAWS AND SUBSTITUTING HER OWN ANALYTICAL STRUCTURE FOR THAT PROVIDED BY CONGRESS IN THE LAW:

In fact, Mrs. Liebeler's methodology has been supported by many practicing trade attorneys and other trade professionals, including trade law professors, in testimony submitted in support of her nomination.

In fact, as Mr. Cunningham writes in his testimony,

"... both the statutes and their legislative history make it clear that the Commissioners are not limited to consideration of statutorily-enumerated economic factors, but rather they should consider all other economic factors relevant to the case at hand."

Mr. Greenwald states:

"...I think that her efforts to develop a clear and coherent approach in this area of the law should be applauded. There is certainly no basis for concluding that her Title VII decisions cast doubt on her qualification for the bench."

Mr. Greenwald further states with regard to Chairman Liebeler's Title VII decisions:

"...While her views of these laws and their purposes are at odds with my own views and those held by many other practitioners in the field, it is wrong to characterize them as contrary to the law. As an ITC Commissioner, Ms. Liebeler is bound to consider "all relevant economic factors," including several enumerated in the statute, when reviewing injury allegations in Title VII cases.

And finally, Mr. Greenwald states:

"... while the statute directs the ITC to "consider" the full range of factors in determining material injury and causation, the individual ITC commissioners are, in the final analysis, given flexibility to determine which factors they believe to be relevant.

THE CUSTOMS AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE BAR ASSOCIATION (CITBA) SUBMITTED TO THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE A REPORT WHICH FOUND CHAIRMAN LIEBELER "NOT QUALIFIED" FOR THE POSITION.

CITBA is a very small association representing approximately 400 trial attorneys.

The CITBA report contained significant factual errors, including drawing an incorrect and damaging conclusion concerning one of Mrs. Liebeler's opinions as a result of incorrectly reading the date of the issuance of that opinion.

In fact, as Mr. Cunningham of Steptoe and Johnson states, the CITBA report

"...shows a rather fundamental misunderstanding of how the trade laws work."

According to Mr. Cunningham,

"...CITBA's attack on Commissioner Liebeler's trade case opinions shows, upon even the most cursory examination, no instance in which she has disregarded statutory criteria or statutorily-enumerated economic factors."

"In short, Commissioner Liebeler scrupulously adhered to the statute, but weighed the evidence differently than CITBA seems to have wanted."

The CITBA report presented quotes of derogatory remarks by "an unstated number of people" whom the CITBA Board claimed to have "interviewed", though none of the "interviewees" is named, no context for the quoted responses is provided, nor did CITBA provide any of the questions asked.

Mr. Cunningham goes on to say concerning the "interviews" of unnamed persons,

"This denies Commissioner Liebeler even the rudiments of fair play. One has to go back to hearings in the early 1950s by a very different Senate Committee to find a submission that stoops to such a level."

Vice Chairman Brunsdale of the ITC, whom CITBA claims to have interviewed, has written to the Committee to advise them that

"I do not know how extensive CITBA's "interviews" of other persons might have been, but I do know that my "interview" consisted only of a brief telephone conversation lasting roughly five minutes....I was asked very few questions. I was not asked to respond to criticisms that might have been leveled at Susan Liebeler, and I was not asked to comment in any detail on my working relationship with her."

**The Jarkow Institute
for Latin America**

of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

per. unnel

February 8, 1988



Dear Max,

I am enclosing a letter I received from a young man whom I have known since he was very young. I do so because I hope that you can help him get the summer job.

He is very bright and personable and will surely do a good job.

Also enclosed is our latest report. Best wishes,

Rabbi Morton M. Rosenthal
Executive Director

January 31, 1988

Dear Morton,

I realize it has been a long time since we have spoken. I am doing well. I hope the same is true for you.

My reason for writing is quite simple. I applied for a summer position with the Office of the Vice President and I took the liberty of using your name as a reference.

I am not certain if someone from the office will contact you. But I did want you to be forewarned and prepared. Well, consider yourself forewarned. I have enclosed my resume just to let you see what I have been up to.

Please give my best to everyone. Thanks alot.

Yours fondly,
Mitch

MITCHELL T. LINNICK

182 Caldecott Lane
Oakland, CA 94618
(415) 540-6102

169 Greenfield Avenue
Los Angeles, CA 90049
(213) 476-7457

EDUCATION

University of California, Berkeley
Bachelor of Arts Candidate, 1988
Political Economy of Industrial Societies Major
Overall G.P.A. : Approximately 3.5
G.P.A. (Major) : 3.73

Campus Activities

Participant in the P.E.I.S. Senior Honors
Thesis Seminar
Student tutor at Willard Junior High School
Member of Zeta Beta Tau Fraternity
Interfraternity Council Rush Counselor
Spirit of Giving Representative

SUMMER WORK EXPERIENCE

6/87 - 8/87

Field Staff Member/Advance Person
Biden for President Campaign *Des Moines, IA*
Performed campaign advancework; addressed Democratic Central
Committees throughout Iowa on behalf of Senator Biden (D-DE);
accompanied the Senator on speaking engagements; and coordinated
activities of Iowa volunteers.

6/86 - 8/86

Congressional Intern
Honorable Meldon Levine (D-CA) *Washington, D.C.*
Researched and drafted memoranda on current bills and issues;
responded to constituent mail; and attended House Committee
Hearings.

6/85 - 9/85

Camp Counselor

6/84 - 9/84

Olympic Boys & Girls Club

Los Angeles, CA

Supervised twenty-two children and two junior counselors.

PART TIME WORK EXPERIENCE

9/86 - 12/86

Security Guard

Event Management, Inc.

Foster City, CA

Conducted crowd-control and insured the protection of private
property at Bay Area sporting and entertainment events.

9/86 - 2/87

Curatorial Assistant to Museum Registrar

University Art Museum

Berkeley, CA

Prepared shipping, damage, and insurance reports on museum
holdings and conducted elementary research.

12/85 - 1/86

Valet

Royal Valet, inc.

Los Angeles, CA

Parked cars at private parties.

PERSONAL INTERESTS

Running, Basketball, Skiing, Travelling, and Computer Familiarity.

From the desk of
JERRY HOMER



9-21-87

Max Green
196 DEOB
White House

per [unclear]

Enclosed is my vita, per
our telephone conversation on Monday
9-21. I will make several
calls on behalf of Judge Bork's
nomination. I appreciate any help
you can extend on my behalf
at the White House personnel
office.

Sincerely,
Jerry Homer

53 Greens Road
Hollywood, Florida 33021
(305) 961-5177

As indicated in the enclosed profile, I am a business executive with formidable credentials in community betterment, political action and related civic and cultural programs.

The focus of my business experience has been in the role of a market development specialist in the homefurnishings, entertainment and fast food industries...underscored by extensive college training in international studies and other areas to the Ph.D. candidate level.

The thrust of my community and political involvement has been in fund raising and speechmaking activities...and in helping to manage campaigns for elective office. I have carried out assignments for government agencies, including the United States Information Agency in Hong Kong.

I am available for consultation, teaching, marketing or government assignments where my unique blend of management and educational skills can be put to productive use in the context of your specific project.

Sincerely,

Jerome B. Homer

BIOGRAPHICAL PROFILE

JEROME B. HOMER
53 Greens Road
Hollywood, Florida 33021
(305) 961-5177

=====
Highly successful businessman...scholar of Chinese history...
driving force on national level in the Anti-Defamation League...
political activist...sports club organizer...fund raiser...
operatic tenor.

All these activities form part of a busy and productive life. A resident of Florida since 1973, pursues business efforts as franchise holder of four Burger King operations in the area, along with serious vocation as a key figure in the Anti-Defamation League as Treasurer of the Executive Southeast Regional Board and as a member of several of its national committees.

=====

ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

FOOD SERVICE: Entered the food franchise field in 1978 with the purchase of first Burger King franchise, subsequently buying four more and selling one in Miami Beach in 1982, consolidating efforts in Broward County. Attesting to business acumen is the fact that each of the operations experienced between 60% and 100% increases overall under his aegis. This feat was accomplished with innovative advertising...marketing...publicity campaigns blending restaurant operations with community events, sports clinics...celebrity appearances...tie-ins with major current movies such as "Return of the Jedi." Directs overall operation as president of J & M Management Company.

ENTERTAINMENT: Prior to 1978, was a partner in the operation of two twin movie theaters in Hollywood and in Fort Lauderdale, and after two years of successful operation, sold his interest at a substantial profit in 1975.

HOMEFURNISHINGS: Founded Steven's Bedding Company in 1956 and in 13 years built it into the largest retail bedding chain in the Chicago area. Accomplishments include:

- o Creation of an annual sales volume from 0 to \$6 million
- o Building profits from \$40,000 to \$150,000
- o Increasing net worth from \$8,000 to \$350,000
- o Opening a total of nine stores
- o Contracting close to \$1 million of advertising yearly
- o Increasing staff from 2 to 100 employees

The marketing and merchandising innovations introduced resulted in setting important trends in the area. An important factor in the success of the business was the strong personal relationships established with employees, suppliers and advertising media.

Hired in 1951 as Manager of Homer Brothers Furniture Company, a retail furniture chain, where in six years progressed to merchandising and advertising manager. Within a short time, was responsible for opening a new store, hiring and training the staff with a resulting profitable operation of \$800,000 sales volume within the first year.

CONTRIBUTIONS IN GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC SERVICE

- o Performed special assignment for U.S. Information Agency in Hong Kong, an inspection tour of the U.S. Information Agency posts in that area of the world. On the basis of findings and performance, was offered a 5-year contract for similar services for the government.
- o Associated with Anti-Defamation League for past four years. Presently Treasurer of the Executive Southeast Regional Board. In addition, serves on various committees such as the Community Service Committee, Education Committee, on a national level.
- o Chairman of Homefurnishings Division of Jewish United Fund for 5 years; and for 2 years, chairman of the Israel Bond Drive.
- o Acted as research director for the Concerned Democrats for Nixon in 1972. Gave talks, debated congressmen, was part of a speakers' bureau, primarily with senators and congressmen, for the Greater Chicago area.
- o Actively participated in political campaigns for Broward County Republicans...member of the Executive Committee of Broward County Republican Party.
- o Headed up a task force for establishing a speakers' bureau to disseminate information on issues vital to the community, the state and the nation.

JEROME B. HOMER

- o President of South Florida Golf League...organized the league and was its president. Sponsored club tournaments during the summer months in the Southeastern Florida area. Also past president of 350-member Emerald Hills Country Club Men's Golf Association.
- o Member of the Miami Opera Company...participated in the Family Opera Singers Group which performed at condominiums and clubs.

PROFESSIONAL TRAINING

- o Recently spent a year at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), pursuing studies toward Ph.D. in International Relations.
- o M.A. Degree, June 1972, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois.
Oral examination based on Chinese History - 1600 A.D. to present.
Major: Chinese History. Scholastic attainment qualified for honors program. Assisted in teaching seminars.
- o B.A. Degree, Northwestern University, June 1971.
Earlier undergraduate work was completed in 1941-43 and 1945-46.
Major: Economics, Social Science, Chinese History, Asian World Politics.
- o Summer Courses, 1970 - University of Upsala, Sweden.
Structure of Swedish Social Welfare State.
- o Special Training: 3 years study of Chinese language.

I sold my five Burger King restaurants thus enabling me to pursue my interests in community service and political affairs.

I have been appointed National Chairman for Development for the Anti-Defamation League. I am also a National Commissioner of the A.D.L. and serve on its International and National Community Service Committees. In addition I am Chairman of A.D.L.'s Society of Fellows for the State of Florida.

I am a member of the Board of Directors of the National Jewish Coalition, and oversee their Florida activities.

Over the past few years I have lectured at Nova University on China and Indo-Chinese international relations.

Recently, I joined Sherriff Nick Navarro's Advisory Board. The board will be creating many important programs such as After School and Summer Youth Activities, Drug Abuse Education, Senior Citizen Protection, and many other programs designed to make our community a better place to live.

Finally, I serve on the board of directors of the executive committee of the Republican Party of Broward County. I also organized and chair the board's Media Task Force which supervises our speaker's bureau, letters to the editor, and electronic media activities.

SEEKING GOD'S PRESENCE

By Rabbi Arnold E. Resnicoff
Chaplain, U.S. Navy

NOTE: At the time of the 23 October 1983 Beirut truck-bomb attack Rabbi Arnold Resnicoff was ashore with the marines. The following report, submitted by Chaplain Resnicoff at the request of the White House, was read by President Reagan to a crowd of some 20,000 Baptist ministers, at "Baptist Fundamentalist '84" -- a meeting chaired by the Reverend Jerry Falwell, and held in April of 1984 at the Washington, DC, convention center. The bracketed portion was omitted by the President. The remainder of the article was read in full.

* * *

[There is a story about a man caught in his home during a flood. As the waters rose, he waved off two friends who offered help as they came by in rowboats, and one police rescue team which flew overhead in a helicopter. He refused to leave, calling out that, "The Lord will provide." But, the waters continued to rise, and he was swept away.

Later, up in Heaven, this man complained bitterly to the angels. "I trusted in God," he told them, "and He forsook me!" Suddenly, the Divine voice was heard from above: "What do you mean, 'forsook' you?," God demanded. "Didn't I send two boats and a helicopter?"]

* * *

When I found myself staring at the horror of the truck bomb explosion that day in Beirut, there was an impulse to cry out that we had, indeed, been forsaken. One of the first to reach the building after the blast, I -- along with Lieutenant Commander George ("Pooch") Pucciarelli, the Catholic Chaplain attached to the marine unit -- faced a scene almost too terrible to describe. Bodies, and pieces of bodies, were everywhere. Screams of those injured or trapped were barely audible at first, as our minds struggled to grapple with the reality before us: a massive four-story building reduced to a pile of rubble; dust, mixing with smoke and fire, obscuring the view of the little that was left.

Because we had thought that the sound of the explosion was still related to a single rocket or shell, most of the marines had run toward the foxholes and bunkers, while we -- the chaplains -- had gone to the scene of the noise, "just in case" someone had been wounded. Now, as news spread quickly throughout the camp -- news of the magnitude of the tragedy; news of the need for others to run to the aid of those comrades who might still be alive -- marines came from all directions.

There was a sense of God's presence that day in the small miracles of life which we encountered in each body that, despite all odds, still had a breath within. But there was more of His presence, more to keep our faith alive, in the heroism -- and in the humanity -- of the men who responded to the cries for help.

We saw marines risk their own lives again and again, as they went into the smoke and the fire to try to pull someone out, or as they worked to uncover friends, all the while knowing that further collapse of huge pieces of concrete, precariously perched like dominoes, could easily crush the rescuers.

There was humanity at its best that day, and a reminder not to give up the hope and dreams of what the world could be, in the tears that could still be shed by these men, regardless of how cynical they had pretended to be before; regardless of how much they might have seen before.

Certain images will stay with me, always. Sometimes we read of looting during tragedies. That day I remember a marine who found a wad of money amidst the rubble. He held it at arm's length as if it were dirty, and cried out for a match or a lighter so that it could be burned. No one that day wanted to profit from the suffering of the catastrophe. Later, the chaplains would put the word out that the money should be collected and given to us, for we were sure that a fund for widows and orphans would ultimately be established. But, at that moment, I was hypnotized with the rest of the men, and watched as the money was burned.

Working with the wounded -- sometimes comforting, and simply letting them know help was on the way; sometimes trying to pull and carry those whose injuries appeared less dangerous in an immediate sense than the approaching fire or the smothering smoke -- my kippa was lost. The last I remember it, I had used it to mop someone's brow. Fr. Pucciarelli, the Catholic chaplain, cut a circle out of his cap, a piece of camouflage cloth which would become my temporary head-covering. Somehow we wanted those marines to know not just that we were chaplains, but that he was Christian and that I was Jewish. Somehow, we both wanted to shout the message in a land where peoples were killing each other at least partially based on the differences in religion among them that we -- we Americans -- still believed that we could be proud of our particular religions, and yet work side by side when the time came to help others, to comfort, and to ease pain.

Fr. Pucciarelli and I worked that day as brothers. The words from the prophet Malachi kept recurring to me, words he had uttered some 2500 years ago as he had looked around at fighting and cruelty and pain: "Have we not all one Father?" he had asked. "Has not one God created us all?" It was painfully obvious, tragically obvious, that our world still could not show that we had learned to answer "yes." Still, I thought, perhaps some of us can keep the question alive. Some of us can cry out -- as the marines did that day -- that we believe the answer is "yes."

Before the bombing, "Pooch" and I had been in a building perhaps a hundred yards away. There had been one other chaplain, LT Danny Wheeler, a Protestant minister, who had spent the night in the building which was attacked. Pooch and

I were so sure that he was dead that we had promised each other that, when the day came to return to the States, we would visit his wife together. Suddenly, Pooch noticed Danny's stole -- what we used to call his "Protestant tallit." Because it was far from the area Danny was supposed to have been in, there was cautious hope that perhaps he had been thrown clear; that perhaps he had survived.

Later, Danny would tell the story of his terror. He was under the rubble, alive, not knowing what had happened, and not knowing how badly he was hurt. The first voices he had heard upon awakening were Labanese -- voices of the volunteers who had come to help our troops during the rescue attempt. For him, however, their voices were frightening: perhaps these were enemy troops who had overrun our camp.

He was afraid to cry out, he later told us. If these were enemy soldiers, perhaps they would shoot him. Then -- and this statement of his gives me an inkling of the terror which filled him -- he began to think that perhaps being shot was preferable to any other alternative at that time: preferable to dying slowly in such terrifying isolation.

Before he had to make a choice, American voices came through. These were the voices of the marines searching near his stole, and his cry for help at that time was answered with digging which lasted four hours before he was dragged out alive.

Danny told me later that I treated him like a new-born baby when he came out: that I counted fingers and toes, trying to see that he was whole. I didn't realize that I was so obvious, but the truth is that we could not believe that he was in one piece.

And, as I hugged him as they brought over a stretcher, I can still hear his first words. Racked with pain, still unsure of his own condition, he asked how his clerk was. Like so many of the men we would save that day, he asked first about others. These men, the survivors, still had no idea of the extent of the damage; they still thought that perhaps they had been in the one area of the building hit by rocket or mortar. We would wait until later to sit with these men and tell them the truth, to share with them the magnitude of the tragedy.

After the living were taken out, there was much more work to be done. With the wounded, with those who had survived, there was the strange job of trying to ease a gnawing feeling of guilt that would slowly surface: guilt that they had somehow let down their comrades by not dying with them. So, our job was to tell them how every life saved was important to us: how their survival was important to our faith, and our hope. They had to give thanks -- with us -- that they still had the gift, and the responsibility, of life which would go on.

With others, the marines who stayed behind to continue the job of digging -- a terrible, horrifying job of collecting human parts for identification and for eventual burial -- there was the job of comforting them as they mourned. Thankfully, the self-defense mechanism within us took over from time to time, and we were able to work without reacting to each and every horror we would encounter.

But, suddenly, something would trigger our emotions, something would touch our humanity in a way impossible to avoid.

For some, it would be the finding of a friend's body, someone filled with life only days before. For others, it would be a scrap of paper or a simple belonging - - a birthday card, or a picture of someone's children - - which would remind them that this was no abstract "body count" of two hundred and forty military casualties. This was a tragedy of people, where each was unique, and each had a story. Each had a past, and each had been cheated of a future. As the Mishnah puts it, each was a world. We were not digging up "two hundred and forty." We were digging up one, plus one, plus one

I have a personal memory of two "things" which brought to my mind images of life: images which haunt me still. One was a packet of three envelopes, tied together with a rubber band. On top, under the band, was a note which read, "To be mailed in case of death." The other was a Red Cross message, delivered the next morning. The American Red Cross is the agency used by Navy families to communicate medical news from home. This message was a birth announcement: a baby had been born, and we were to deliver the good news. Only now there was no father whom we could congratulate; no father to whom the news could be conveyed.

That message stayed on the chaplain's desk for days. Somehow, we couldn't throw it away. And, yet, we didn't know what to do with it. So it stayed on the desk. And, without mentioning it, we all seemed to avoid that desk....

I stayed in Beirut for four more days, before finally returning to Italy, and to my family. During those days, as the work went on, a marine here or there would send a silent signal that he wanted me - - that is, a chaplain - - near. Sometimes it was to talk. Sometimes it was so that he could shrug his shoulders or lift his eyes in despair. Sometimes it was just to feel that I was near - - for, despite the struggles I might be feeling on a personal level, I was a chaplain, and therefore a symbol that there was room for hope, and for dreams, even at the worst of times.

In Jewish tradition, of course, when we visit the home of a mourner during shiva, the first week following the death of a loved one, visitors follow a simple rule. If the mourner initiates the conversation, the visitor responds. Otherwise, you sit in silence, communicating concern through your very presence, even without words. Somehow, I applied the rules of shiva during these days of digging. When a soldier or sailor said something, I responded; otherwise, I stood by.

During all of my visits to Beirut, I, along with the other chaplains, spent much time simply speaking with the men. Informal discussions, whether going on while crouched in a foxhole or strolling toward the tent set up for chow, were just as important as anything formal we might set up. I remember the first time I jumped in a foxhole, the first time the shells actually fell within the U.S. area. Looking around at the others in there with me, I made the remark that we probably had set up the only "interfaith foxholes" in Beirut! The Druze, Muslims, Christians, all had theirs. The Jewish forces in the Israeli Army had theirs. But we were together. I made the comment then that perhaps, if the world had more interfaith foxholes, there might be less of a need for foxholes altogether.

To understand the role of the chaplain - - Jewish, Catholic, or Protestant - - is to understand that we try to remind others, and perhaps ourselves as well, to cling to our humanity, even in the worst of times. We bring with us the wisdom of men and women whose faith has kept alive their dreams in ages past. We bring with us the images of what the world could be, of what we ourselves might be, drawn from the visions of prophets and the promises of our holy books. We bring with us the truth that faith not only reminds us of the Holy in Heaven, but also of the holiness we can create here on earth. It brings not only a message of what is Divine, but also of what it means to be truly human.

It is too easy to give in to despair in a world sometimes seemingly filled with cruelty and brutality. But, we must remember not just the depths to which humans might sink, but also the heights to which they may aspire.

That October day in Beirut saw men reach heroic heights, indeed: heights of physical endurance and courage, to be sure; but heights of sacrifice, of compassion, of kindness, and of simple human decency, as well. And - - even if the admission might bring a blush to the cheeks of a few of the marines - - heights of love.

Long ago, the Rabbis offered one interpretation of the Biblical verse which tells us that we are created "in the image of God." It does not refer to physical likeness, they explained, but to spiritual potential. We have within us the power to reflect as God's creatures the highest values of our Creator. As God is forgiving and merciful, so can we be. As He is caring and kind, so must we strive to be. As He is filled with love, so must we be.

Because of the actions I witnessed during that Hell in Beirut, I glimpsed at least a fleeting image of Heaven. For, in the hearts and hands of men who chose to act as brothers, I glimpsed God's hand as well. I did not stand alone to face a world forsaken by God; I felt I was part of one created with infinite care, and wonderful - - awesome - - potential.

We live in a world where it is not hard to find cause for despair. The chaplain has the challenge to bring to those who often see terror at its worst some reason for hope.

We need to keep faith, and to keep searching, even during the worst of times. Only then may we find strength enough to keep believing that the best of times still might be.

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SANTA BARBARA • SANTA CRUZ

Doan Van Toai
Research Associate
INSTITUTE OF EAST ASIAN STUDIES

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94720

Fresno, Sept 13, 1986

Mr. Max Green
Associate Director
Office of Public Liaison
THE WHITE HOUSE
Washington, D.C.

personnel

*MATT - gull
+ make necessary
arrangements for
16th*

Dear Mr. Max Green :

Thank you very much for your note of Sept 5, 1986. Enclosed are some documents that you may need to help arrange a speaking tour for me.

I'm invited to speak before a panel on Myths and Realities in the Vietnam Debate, sponsored by American Bar Association and Center For Law and National Security in Charlottesville on October 17 (together with Bill Moyers and Norman Podhoretz). I would like to meet with you on October 16 if you have time.

In 1982, Mr. Robert ~~Robert~~ Ralleiy , a former Heritage Foundation fellow who was then director of the Special Program of U.S Information Agency tried to arrange for me a speaking tour in some third world countries, but he faced a governmental regulation that does not allow to use the governmental funds giving to a non-American citizen. I have still that proposal -- speaking tour around the U.S.A university campus and in some third world countries where has been facing a Communist revolution. If you are interested in considering this proposal, I'm glad to send you.

I am the one who influenced over Joan Baez to change her position on Vietnam in 1979 and then was accused by Jane Fonda as a ' C.I.A lackey'. Enclosed is also a copy of Los Angeles Times reporting this scandal for your reading. Since my flight to the West in 1978 after suffering over 2 years in the Communist jails, I have written numerous articles appeared in major publications including the New York Times Magazine and The New Republic., and given over 200 lectures around the U.S campuses , private organisations including the Lion Club, French Academy and two times appeared in the hearings before the Senate and the House (U.S.).

In early 1960s, public opinion still supported the war and therefore Nixon still won election and the anti-war movement was still weak. I think that the conservative groups had not any program or plan to educate the people about why we were in Vietnam, and left the field free for the other side propaganda. It was why the anti-war was growing and the youth was hypnotised by the Communist revolution. Vietnam war must be used as a sample, a unique lesson that should be learnt by all of us to avoid another Vietnam, in which we were all deceived by the Marxists whom we thought naively that they were good ones.

Sincerely yours,

Doan Van Toai

Doan Van Toai

925 W Harvard ave

062-

Fresno CA.93705 (209)-268-8256

9-14-46

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

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Turning a Nation Into a Jail

By PETER R. KANN

We've been privileged to watch some mighty fine melodrama in recent months.

First, Baby Doc slunk off to Paris, leaving happy Haitians dancing in the streets. Then we tuned our TV sets to Manila and watched the Philippine people, aided and abetted by bishops, generals, politicians, businessmen and U.S. congressmen, rid their country of the massively corrupt and mildly repressive Marcos regime.

Tin-pot dictatorships are like that. They come and go, though never soon enough. Their departures always are worth celebrating—at least in the short run.

But, on the heels of these happy events, it's also worth looking across the South China Sea to another Southeast Asian country where businessmen, churchmen, congressmen and seamen all are powerless to affect events, where there are no such loudspeakers to amplify the muffled cries of a muzzled people. This is the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. There are no happy endings here.

For any who doubt the difference between the common, venal dictatorships littering the Third World landscape and true totalitarianism, who think it some semantic distinction of the Kristols and Kirkpatricks, let them pick up a copy of "The Vietnamese Gulag" (Simon & Schuster, 351 pages, \$18.95) by Doan Van Toai and David Chanoff, translated from the original French. It's nothing more than the memoir of one man's imprisonment in postwar Vietnam. It's nothing less than the saga of a society's enslavement.

If Mr. Toai is not quite up there among such chroniclers of terror as Arthur Koestler and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, he has written the very best Vietnam book that this Vietnam-watcher has read in many years. It constitutes a chilling closing chapter on the Vietnam War. And if anyone is still wondering what that war was all about and why it is a tragedy that we lost, the answer is here in Mr. Toai's cry from the gulag.

Mr. Toai was a child of rural South Vietnam who went on to become a student protest leader in wartime Saigon. Like many South Vietnamese, he felt trapped between a "melange of communism and nationalism on the one hand and the Americans and their servitors on the other. I and others like me supported the communists. At least they were Vietnamese."

Opposition to the Thieu regime landed Mr. Toai briefly in jail, but he was a communist sympathizer, not a communist cadre, and Thieu types could be pressured by friends, journalists, politicians. "Being a prisoner under Thieu was like being a celebrity," Mr. Toai recalls later on from his communist cell.

When the communists took Saigon in April 1975, Mr. Toai stayed on to help build the new society. Three months later, sitting in a Saigon theater, he was arrested. Without charges. Without cause. The bulk of the book recounts Mr. Toai's struggle for survival and search for sanity in the Orwellian prison system of a party that

promised to "turn the jails into schools" and instead turned the nation into a jail. No longer were there laws for a Thieu to twist or his opponents to protest. There was now only the party, its power, and its paranoia.

Locked in a sewage-filled cell where 70 half-naked men are packed in so close they cannot lie on their backs, half-starved, trussed in chains, brutalized, forced to watch friends beaten to death with canes for minor infractions of the rules, Mr. Toai sustains the will to live and to bear witness to the betrayal of his revolution.

"I now see that Duyet is not a 'prison' in the usual sense. . . . An ordinary prison is part of a system of justice; it exists for punishment or correction or rehabilitation. Each of these rationales accords the prisoner a certain dignity. He is a human being worth punishment or correction or rehabilitation. But Duyet cedes nothing to its inmates . . . it is simply a storehouse, a place where inconvenient bodies can be stacked for an indeterminate duration."

A year without charges or trial or sentence gives way to two. Slowly, the author realizes that, "The writers, the artists, the bar, the scholars—the entire generation that embodied South Vietnam's culture has been smashed and the remnants are slowly dying in the revolution's gulag of jails and hard labor camps."

The West hears little of this, and heeds less: "A rumor here, a refugee report there, were not much to dispel the conviction among Western activists that the right



Bookshelf

"The Vietnamese Gulag"
By Doan Van Toai
and David Chanoff

side had won, or the relief among others that at least it was over. . . . in the sweat-boxes of Le Van Duyet . . . we think otherwise."

Mr. Toai blames us, but also himself. With millions of other "passionate idealists" he had fellow-traveled a trail "at whose unforeseen end lay terror and destitution for the nation."

After 22 months in the gulag, Mr. Toai is released in the same sudden, arbitrary manner in which he had been arrested. "I was arrested for nothing and released for the same reason." In some ways he feels lucky: "Hundreds of thousands are imprisoned even more for even less."

Mr. Toai eventually manages to leave Vietnam and reach America. He marvels at the liberty of this society and at our license to take it for granted. "Perhaps it is the immigrants' function from generation to generation to remind [Americans] of what a treasure it is they own," Mr. Toai tells us. For such reminders we owe Mr. Toai and many thousands of Vietnamese now among us a powerful debt.

Mr. Kann is the Journal's associate publisher.

THE NATION'S NEWSPAPER

USA TODAY

PUBLISHED BY GANNETT

BOOKS: Views of Vietnam: William Broyles Jr. returns to Vietnam to see the other side in *Brothers in Arms: A Journey From War to Peace*. ■ *The Vietnamese Gulag* by Doan Van Toal and David Chanoff traces Toal's life then and now. ■ Magazines. 4D

FRI./SAT./SUN., JULY 4-6, 1986

How a nationalist's dream died in the 'Gulag'

The Vietnamese Gulag
By Doan Van Toal
and David Chanoff
Simon & Schuster
351 pp., \$18.95

By Marc Leepson
Special for USA TODAY

Nationalism vs. communism. That's been one of the festering debates — at least in the West — about Ho Chi Minh and his wars against the French, Americans and South Vietnamese. Those who take Ho at his word believe he and his successors' true aim was to gain an independent, united Vietnam. Those who distrusted Ho's pronouncements believed

that he cynically used nationalism as an excuse to gain non-Communist support in the South and abroad and that the true aim was to build a Marxist state in Vietnam.

Doan Van Toal once believed that the North Vietnamese were nationalists first. Toal, born in South Vietnam in 1945, grew up in a family that distrusted the dictatorial, corrupt governments in the South. When Toal came of political age in the 1960s he became a passionate nationalist and actively opposed the government of Nguyen Van Thieu.

Toal never officially joined the Communist-led National Liberation Front (a.k.a. the Vietcong), but nevertheless

wound up in jail on several occasions for his anti-Thieu activities. When Saigon fell to the Communists in 1975 Toal decided to stay in Vietnam. He soon found out that the conquering North Vietnamese had used nationalism as a pretext to institute a strict Communist regime.

Toal tells his story in an affecting memoir, *The Vietnamese Gulag*, written with David Chanoff. Toal's book is a stinging condemnation of Vietnam's Communist rulers. The authors have covered similar ground before, with last year's *A Vietcong Memoir*, which they wrote with former NLF leader Truong Nhu Tang.

In the new book, Toal tells

his life story, concentrating on his student days and culminating in the 2½ years he spent in Communist prisons — a Kafkaesque nightmare during which Toal never was officially charged with any crime. He learned the hard way that Communist prisons could make most of Thieu's jails look like resort hotels.

The Vietnamese Gulag seems to be an honest attempt to re-create the events of Toal's life. There is no way for a Westerner even to try to corroborate the facts as Toal presents them. But everything Toal relates about his personal life rings true and jibes with most of the reports that have come out of Communist-controlled Vietnam.

His sketchy recitation of the post-1945 political history of Vietnam is, for the most part, on target. He is right in castigating the corrupt regimes of the South and the French colonialists and blaming U.S. indecision and ignorance for propping up the unpopular authoritarian South Vietnamese leaders. And he correctly saves most of his scorn for the North Vietnamese Communists, who destroyed his ideals and replaced them with bitter, ironic disillusionment.

Marc Leepson served in Vietnam with the U.S. Army. He is books editor and columnist for *The Veteran* magazine.

Los Angeles Times

4,660 SUNDAY

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1979

"AEZ-FONDA CONTROVERSY"

Ex-Vietnam Prisoner in Middle of Feud

BY PATT MORRISON

Times Staff Writer

He helped to ignite the controversy between the two leading ladies of the American Left, Joan Baez and Jane Fonda, in the most stimulating debate on Indochina since the fall of Saigon.

And now Doan Van Toai—described as a persecuted political prisoner by one side and as a "CIA lackey" by the other—is in the United States to defend not only his charges of human rights violations in Vietnam, but his own credibility as well.

Toai was one of those who supplied singer Joan Baez with the evidence that led her to write an open letter of protest to the Vietnamese government, asking international inspection of prisons there after charges of torture and inhuman conditions.

It was a letter signed by some prominent liberals, and notable for her absence from their ranks was Jane Fonda. The actress chastised Miss Baez in a two-page letter for her "iconoclastic" stand and questioned both her definitions and the reliability of her sources.

One of those sources was Toai, a man who spent 28 months in a Vietnamese prison and who says he brought to the West the names and pleas of some of his fellow prisoners, hoping to find some support for his cause.

He found it, first in his wife's native France, then from Miss Baez and others. But he found himself also caught in a political crossfire intended, he believes, to discredit his reports of the horrors and repressions he has experienced.

"I am one of many witnesses, but my case was special because I was never anti-Communist until now," he explained in an interview in the Los Angeles apartment of an acquaintance.

As a student in Saigon in the early 1970s, says Toai, he was pro-National Liberation Front—the Communist guerrilla movement—and was arrested a half-dozen times by the Thieu-Ky governments.

As a student government official, he even made a speaking tour of several California college campuses in 1970, to drum up support for the students antiwar movement in Vietnam, Toai said.



Doan Van Toai

Times photo by Cal Meacham

And after what he calls the "liberation of Saigon" in 1975, he was asked to work for the new regime's finance committee—a task which went well, he said, until he and other members had a falling-out over the extent of confiscation of personal property.

"That's when they arrested me," Toai said. He insists he was not, as his detractors say, a corrupt student official and a CIA agent whose arrests earlier by the old Thieu-Ky government were to preserve his anti-Thieu cover.

The man who claims that, under the letterhead of the American Friends Service Committee, Inc., was one of Toai's old university associates, Huynh Tan Mam. Toai believes Mam came out against him to aid his own political reputation after Toai's initial declarations last year about human rights violations.

"He was the man who introduced me to the finance committee after the liberation, too," says Toai wonderingly.

"He says I am a CIA agent. I am the man who told my friends and relatives not to flee just before the liberation. I said, 'Why are you leaving? We have freedom, and I can accept hard conditions to rebuild my country.' Now the regime has betrayed that."

It saddens him, he says, to oppose his own country's government, "but the aspirations of the people are betrayed by the new leadership. Compare the promise and the reality. I think they are quite different."

The 28 months he spent in prison, with as many as 40 to 100 other men in a cell about 12 by 15 feet, were worse than his briefer stays in the jails of the Thieu-Ky days, he said.

Instead of prisoners' names posted outside, as in the old days, there is only a quotation from Ho Chi Minh: "Nothing is more precious than independence and liberty." Prisoners are known only by their numbers; friends and relatives cannot even know they are there, he says.

When visitors were coming to inspect the place, any unruly prisoners were sent off, replaced by soldiers in prison garb, "so they are happy and welcome the visitors," added Toai.

Rare correspondence was limited to three statements—"I am very well," although prisoners were often sick; "the regime of the prison is very good," although he said it was not, "and please cooperate with the local government."

Toai got out of prison in late 1977 and got his visa, thanks to his French-born wife, friends in government and a few bribes.

Of the reluctance of Miss Fonda and others to give credence to tales of torture and repression, Toai says, "It is very difficult for those who have never suffered so to believe those who have, like Solzhenitsyn."

"Jane Fonda's husband is a political man and because his role is political, she would like to work to the advance of his political role, not the human rights role."

Miss Fonda feels "very close to the Hanoi regime," because of her antiwar work, "and it is difficult for her to change her point of view," he said.

Toai believes his detractors practice a new kind of McCarthyism in saying that those who are progressive should support communism, and those who do not are CIA agents.

"They never answer. They accuse me of being the CIA, but they don't answer me about human rights violations," he said.

SUNDAY 23 JULY 1978

THE OBSERVER

8 St Andrew's Hill, London EC4V 5JA. 01-236 0202

WORLD THIS WEEK

'If you can't help us to live, help us to die'

from ROBIN SMYTH in Paris

DOAN VAN TOAI is 32, with a wife, three children, no job and a head too full of memories and names of people on the far side of the world to give his whole attention to the urgent task of finding work.

Still weighing on his mind is the text of a long cry of protest and despair, which he committed to memory in the suffocating heat of a crowded prison cell north of Saigon. He memorised, too, the names of the 49 prisoners who wanted to be publicly associated with this 'testament of Patriotic Prisoners in Vietnam,' in spite of the reprisals that would certainly follow its publication in the free world.

Labour 'gulags'

Doan Van Toai, who had his first taste of jail when he was vice-president of the Saigon Students Union under the American-backed Government of Nguyen Van Thieu, reached Paris a few weeks ago. With him came the testament and its string of names which could now be read out loud at a Paris press conference.

The testament is a remarkable document which charges that Hanoi is holding 800,000 prisoners in conditions of unprecedented cruelty. Half of these, it says, are soldiers and civil servants of the former regime confined in hard labour 'gulags' called re-education centres.

The other half, crammed into jails filled to over five times their capacity, are people who either had no connection with the Thieu Government or 'achieved a certain notoriety among the people' for the past struggle for peace.

In the last lines of the testament, the 49 captives say that if the world is too frightened of Communism to intervene, then the International Red Cross and other humanitarian organisations should urgently send each of them a dose of cyanide.

'We want to die at once,' declare the prisoners. 'Help us to do this. We shall be eternally grateful to you.'

The 49 names—Buddhist monks, Catholic priests, writers, lawyers, journalists—are a cross-section of those who opposed Thieu in the neutral 'third force,' but also include some members of the Communist South Vietnamese National Liberation Front (NLF). Among them is a woman novelist, Chu Vi Thuy, the 82-year-old pacifist Phan Vo Ky, who was jailed 11 times under the French and the American-sponsored Governments that followed, and the NLF military area commander Mai Van So, whose brother Mai Van Bo was the North Vietnamese Ambassador in Paris.

The Catholic priests in the list did not approve of the suicide resolve in the last paragraph, but were over-

ruled and decided to add their names nevertheless.

Doan Van Toai, who worked in a Saigon bank, was opposed to Communism but co-operated with the NLF against the Thieu Government. 'I was arrested shortly after the fall of Saigon in 1975,' he says. 'I was never told the charges against me. There was, of course, no defence and no trial. Even interrogations of prisoners are rare—once every six months. Some of my cell-mates went two years without being questioned. But there were constant self-criticism sessions in which we had to confess our faults and denounce those of our companions.'

40 in cell

'Ours was not one of the worst prisons, but there were 40 people crushed into a single cell with only a square yard of space for each. We had to take it in turns to sleep lying on our sides. And in the sweltering heat we took it in turns to snatch a few breaths of fresher air in front of the narrow window.'

'The ration was a bowl of rice a day mixed with sand. The sand was there, so our guards said, to remind us of our faults. There was no medicine or relief for the sick. Every disease had to run its course. I have watched people die at my feet in the crowded cell.'

ARTICLES AND BOOKS

by

Doan Van Toai and David Chanoff

THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE :

' *LAMENT FOR VIETNAM* ' 29 March 1981. Enter into **Congressional Record** and reprinted in newspapers and magazines in **Canada, Australia, West Germany and South Korea.**

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL :

' *THE VIETNAM PAYS ITS BILLS* ' 8 March 1984.
' *VIETNAM PARALLELS* ' 20 September 1983
' *REWRITING HO CHI MINH* ' 24 November 1982
' *WHAT'S BECOME OF VIETNAM* ' 24 March 1982
Entered into **Congressional Record.**

THE NEW REPUBLIC :

' *VIETNAM'S OPPOSITION TODAY* ' 29 April 1985
' *TERMS OF ENSLAVEMENT* ' December 31 1983
' *NOW SOVIETNAM* ' November 15 1982

THE NEW YORK REVIEW OF BOOKS :

' *MYTH OF A LIBERATION* ' (with Truong nhu Tang), October 21 1982. Reprinted in newspapers and magazines through out Europe and Asia and entered into the proceedings of the **United Nations General Assembly.**

LOS ANGELES TIMES :

' *VIETNAMESE INSURGENTS* ', August 9 1983. Reprinted in the **International Herald Tribune.**

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR :

' *MANILA ISN'T MUNICH* ' February 29 1984

NEWSDAY :

' *VIETNAM AND THE PHILIPPINES* ' February 29 1984

ENCOUNTER :

' *THE PATTERN OF LIBERATION MOVEMENTS* ' September 1982

THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR :

' *STANLEY KARNOW'S VIETNAM* " January 1984
' *CHINA, THE U.S AND VIETNAM* ' April 1983 . Reprinted in the **Australian Weekly.**

THE WASHINGTON QUARTERLY :

ELSALVADOR AND VIETNAM : Learning From Experience, Fall 1984

A Vietcong Memoir (With Truong Nhu Tang), *Harcourt Brace Jovanovich*, April 1985, reviewed by almost all major publications including *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times* and *Chicago Tribune*. Excerpted in *The New York Times Magazine* March 31 1985 Reprinted in England and in France 1986.

Portrait of Enemy, *Random House* 1986 .

Vietnamese Gulag , *Simon & Schuster* Spring 1986

**ADDITIONAL ARTICLES and BOOKS by
DOAN VAN TOAI**

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL :

" *The Refugees and Silence* " April 14 1981. Entered into *The Congressional Record*.
" *In Vietnam's Gulag* " August 21 1980

THE NATIONAL REVIEW :

" *And Baby Makes Three* " October 1 1982

THE NEW BOSTON REVIEW :

" *An Exile's Report* " June 1981

ASIAN AFFAIRS :

" *The Fate of The National Liberation Front -- NLF* " April 1981

LE GOULAG VIETNAMIEN , Robert Laffont ,France 1981; *Spectrum* , Holland 1981 ,
Kippenhuer and Witsch , West Germany 1981.

**ADDITIONAL ARTICLES by
David Chanoff**

THE PHI DELTA KAPPAN :

" *When Play Is Learning* "(with Peter Gray) May 1984

THE HIGH SCHOOL JOURNAL

" *Democratic Schooling* " January 1981

THE AMERICAN BENEDICTINE REVIEW :

" *John Donne's Sonnet on the Church* " December 1980

RECUSANT HISTORY

" *John Donne's Anglicanism* " Spring 1980

RUNNER'S WORLD :

" *Running in the Land of Viren* " November 1976.

May 5, 1981

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—Extensions of Remarks

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VIETNAM: WHO WILL SPEAK OUT NOW FOR HUMAN RIGHTS?

HON. JACK KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

• Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, last weekend some 25,000 demonstrators, protesting a wide variety of causes, marched on the Pentagon, promoting more than one commentator to draw parallels with anti-Vietnam marches in years gone by.

Doan Van Toai spend a good deal of time on America's campuses in the late 1960's and early 1970's, speaking on behalf of the Vietcong, championing their cause. And when it was over, and America pulled out, Doan Van Toai went home.

But Doan Van Toai was not a Communist. In a Communist controlled Vietnam, Doan Van Toai was put in a concentration camp. There he stayed nearly 4 years, giving him ample time to reflect upon what had happened in his country, and his own role in bringing those changes about.

Now he has returned to the United States, bringing a far different message about what Vietnam is today. Again, he is appealing to the liberals in the American political spectrum looking to them to denounce the brutality and repression that has been visited upon his country by the Communist aggressors. He wonders why they are silent in the face of such a massive violation of human rights.

What Doan Van Toai has to say needs to be heard. For in understanding what Vietnam has become, we begin to understand what America was fighting to prevent. The following article by Mr. Toai appeared in the Wall Street Journal, May 3, 1981.

VIETNAM: REFUGEES AND SILENCE
(By Doan Van Toai)

Six years ago this month, the United States ended its 20-year involvement in Vietnam by withdrawing its troops. Thus one might have assumed that the friends Vietnam seemed to have made throughout the world in those years would now be celebrating the sixth triumphant anniversary of their victory.

But this past February, while Hanoi was celebrating poor, humble Vietnam's sixth year of unification, the people continued to vote against the regime by fleeing the country.

The Sixth National Assembly of the Vietnamese Communists has recently approved a new constitution, which is only a copy of the Soviet constitution. They will create a new organ, the State Council, and its chairman will probably be Mr. Le Duan, who is now secretary general of the party. The new assembly is scheduled to be voted on this weekend, and it will form the new government. This will present the best opportunity for Le Duan and Le Duc Tho to strengthen their powers and tighten their ties with the Soviets.

Hoang Van Hoang, a close associate of Ho Chi Minh's and a former member of the party politburo who escaped to China in

1978, says that "Vietnam was so totally dependent on the Soviet Union that it had to do whatever Moscow asked." These words have been affirmed by Soviet leader Brezhnev, who has said, "Vietnam is now a solid outpost of our socialist camp."

STALIN IS REVERED

Vietnam regards Stalin as a figure of reverence. His writings are widely sold and his portrait appears in public places and in classrooms throughout the country. A poem by To Huu, a member of the politburo, is taught in high schools: "Vietnam has Uncle Ho, the world has Stalin/When Vietnam has peace, the world will have liberty."

It is all so different from the first days of victory six years ago, when the Vietnamese Communist leaders proudly declared, "We defeated the French colonialists, the Japanese invaders and then the American imperialists. We will successfully build our new country. We shall accomplish all obligations, overcome all difficulties and defeat all new enemies."

Le Duan, successor to Ho Chi Minh as party leader, also stated before the first meeting of the first Unified Assembly in June 1978: "We shall build our country ten times bigger and ten times more beautiful." He is partially truthful: He occupied Laos, invaded Cambodia and attacked Thailand.

Vietnam is not more beautiful. It is one of the 20 poorest countries in the world. It has 1.6 million soldiers in its active army, the fifth largest army in the world. On March 13, the government promulgated an order to draft into the army all able-bodied youths reaching 18 years of age for "the cause of building the country and defending the socialist fatherland."

Poverty in Vietnam today is as bad as it has ever been. The food shortages are the worst since 1945, when a famine killed two million people.

The country's first five-year plan predicted the production of 21 million tons of rice each year, but this country of 55 million people harvested only 10 million tons in 1980, two million less than in 1979. Rations of rice given to the cadres have fallen off. Some boat people who left Vietnam recently told me mockingly, "No one died of hunger in Saigon, but some have died of hunger in Ho Chi Minh City."

Vietnamese officials cite bad weather, bureaucratic muddling and corrupt officials as the reasons for the growing shortage of food. But the root cause of this problem is their own actions: depending on the Soviet Union, acting the role of Cuba in Southeast Asia, invading Cambodia and imposing Marxist-Leninist ideology over the whole country.

Vietnam's former revolutionaries have today come to be regarded by Western public opinion as invaders in their region. But the Northern Vietnamese Communists have been invaders for a long time. In the spring of 1975, the Northern Vietnamese Communist army conquered South Vietnam in a classic invasion with Soviet tanks, planes and weapons. They not only eliminated the South Vietnamese government but brutally eliminated the National Liberation Front, or Viet Cong, who had been called by the Communists and their Western supporters "the sole genuine representative organ of the South Vietnamese people."

One should recall that in the 1960s, many of the anti-war activists did not believe that any of this could possibly come to pass. Tom Hayden, husband of Jane Fonda, after returning from Hanoi in 1968, released a statement repeating the words of Pham Van Dong, prime minister of North Vietnam, that "the presence of the North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam is a sheer fabrication of the U.S. government." And Tom Hayden instructed the American leftists with his comment, "We think that this denial has not previously been made in such absolute terms by the highest government

authorities."

May the author pose a question to Tom Hayden: Don't the highest government authorities of the Communists know how to lie and to deceive the West? Le Duc Tho, the man who negotiated with Dr. Kissinger on the Paris peace agreement, deceived the West in his Paris news conference of May 1972 by saying, "Since I have returned to Paris, this is the fifth time we have declared clearly that the DRG government (Hanoi) and the PRG (Viet Cong) have never wished to force a Communist government on South Vietnam."

Le Duc Tho is now one of the most powerful leaders of the Vietnamese Communist Party. He has three brothers who are all members of the central committee of the party and hold important positions. One brother is secretary general of the trade union, another is mayor of Ho Chi Minh City and chief of security forces in South Vietnam and the last brother is a three-star general and minister of transportation.

In democratic countries, citizens use their votes to express their opposition to or their support for their government. In bogus democratic countries like South Korea, Chile, South Africa or South Vietnam before the Communists took over, the people often employed illegal demonstrations or strikes to protest against their dictatorial governments. But today there are only two ways for the Vietnamese to vote against the current regime: either be expelled to the New Economic Zones in the far jungle and be imprisoned in the giant gulag throughout the country, or risk their lives fleeing the country.

A VIET CONG FEELS SORRY

Truong Nhu Tang recently formed in Paris a front called the National Salvation Council to gather all Vietnamese to fight the current Communist regime in Vietnam. Truong Nhu Tang, one of the founders of the National Liberation Front (Viet Cong) and a former justice minister of the provisional revolutionary government, fled the country in a tiny boat in 1979. Truong Nhu Tang says he feels sorrow about his past naïveté and wishes to continue to fight for the independence and freedom of his compatriots.

Despite overwhelming evidence of the brutality of the Communist dictatorship in Vietnam, those who told us that such a dictatorship is what the Vietnamese people wanted are curiously silent. Some of the anti-war authors wrote many books and articles saying during the war years that the Viet Cong were really independent from the Hanoi Communists and that Hanoi did not want to impose Communism on South Vietnam.

I am not angry with these people about their past anti-war activity if they did it for the interests of the people and not for a small group of Vietnamese Communists. But do they feel sorrow today that the Communists deceived them? Why do they keep silent about the present tragedies in Indochina? This amnesia is criminal. Their silence damages the reputation of the left.

American linguist Noam Chomsky said categorically that there has been no bloodbath in Vietnam. But there are many ways to kill people without shedding a drop of blood. There is technically no bloodbath in Vietnam, but who can say how many silent deaths have occurred on the high seas? How many have died hidden in the Vietnamese gulag?

While former anti-war activist still protest war by America, they keep silent about Soviet invasions. While they raise their voices to denounce South Korea and El Salvador, they keep silent about the tragedies in Vietnam, where the people must support the insupportable and suffer the insufferable.®

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

In Vietnam's Gulag, The Captives Die A Slow Death

By DOAN VAN TOAI

One evening about five years ago I was at a concert in Saigon given by the National Concert Orchestra of North Vietnam. Suddenly, down the aisle marched Communist secret police, all carrying guns. They came up to me, and said: "Let's go outside."

They led me into an office of the theater. They said: "Are you Mr. Doan Van Toai?" and I answered: "Yes." They didn't say anything more but forced me to stand there for about an hour. Later they took me to police headquarters and said: "We are arresting you." I asked: "Why are you arresting me, what have I done?" but they only replied: "The best thing is for you to think and remember. It is for you to work out."

I was taken to a small cell. It was very dark—the only light coming from a small hole in the wall through which I could breathe fresh air. The first night I slept easily as I was still optimistic because I knew I hadn't done anything.

Each day I made a notch on the wall and soon I had been there for seven weeks. My only visitor was another prisoner—a girl who every morning would bring me a bowl of rice.

The first day she came I was very hungry and began to gulp the rice down but I soon realized they must have mixed some sand with it. It was impossible to eat. When they finally called me for questioning I asked the official why they had put sand in my rice. "So you remember what you have done wrong in the past," he said.

They made me write an account of my life and every morning would take me to their office where the air was very fresh. I wrote pages and pages so as to postpone the time when I would once more be shut up all day long.

I had first become involved in politics when I was a pharmacy student at Saigon University in the 1960s. At that time I believed Thieu was head of nothing but a puppet government in the hands of the Americans. I became interested in the struggle for peace at Saigon University and was elected vice president of the student union. When the student union president was arrested, I organized student demonstrations all over Vietnam against the Thieu government. For this as well as other activities, I was arrested and imprisoned many times by that government.

During these years the National Liberation Front had approached me to join

them. But I refused, preferring to support their goals independently through the student union. At the end of the war in May 1975, I was asked to join the finance committee of the provisional revolutionary government. I agreed, but in a split over policy I soon resigned. (Although the Communists never told me this, I believe that my resignation was the cause of my arrest.)

After I finished my account I was taken to Le Van Duyet prison in the center of Saigon where I stayed for over two years.

I was put in a small cell with 50 others. People died every day through lack of medical attention and in the evening you could hear the voices call out: "Warden, this is room number three, someone has just died."

I was worried about my French wife and three sons and was anxious for them to leave Vietnam. I knew there could be reprisals against them and through one of the prison wardens—a former friend—I sent a letter to my wife saying not to wait for my release but to take the children to France. And if she had to write a letter to the authorities denying my existence, then she must.

When she finally left for France in June 1977, I felt easier. Then I heard the news of my mother's death. She had been denied medical treatment because she had one son in prison and another who had left with the Americans. I was very sad and very angry and through my friend again sent a letter to the chief of the secret police in Saigon saying: "You are responsible for my mother's death. I have now been in prison for 27 months and I still don't know what I have done to oppose the Communists. If you find out nothing then you must release me." More important, I had my friend bribe an important official.

Later I was called to the prison commandant's office and was told I was released. He said that the government needed me to cooperate with them. "If we give you an exit visa you must tell the West how wonderful everything is here. And how well we treat our prisoners." I agreed with them, but only I knew what I would really tell the West.

I was given an exit visa but didn't leave Vietnam immediately. In prison I had given up hope for a free Vietnam. I had become very angry and very ashamed to have ever supported the NLF. I wanted to get rid of the Communist regime. But then I said to myself: "I think this because I have been in prison for over two years. Before I leave I must find out if the rest of the country feels the same way."

I discovered that everyone hated the regime because they were always hungry and were even less free than they had been under President Thieu. In Vietnam today there are over 800,000 people in prison and in so-called re-education camps. In Cambodia the political prisoners were exterminated

THURSDAY, AUGUST 21, 1980

nated quickly but in Vietnam they die slowly.

When I was released my friends still in prison asked me to tell the world what is happening and, if no one will stand up to the Vietnamese Communists, to send them cyanide to put an end to their agony. "Help us to die quickly," they said.

In Vietnam nobody dares to protest for fear of arrest. Few people abroad speak because they fear for the safety of their families still in Vietnam.

But even if it means the death of myself and my family, I must do something for the thousands of prisoners who die each year and the millions of people who have to support the unsupportable and accept the unacceptable.

Doan Van Toai is doing research at Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy on a book about Vietnam.

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THURSDAY, MARCH 8, 1984

Vietnam Turns to Narcotics to Pay Its Bills

By DOAN VAN TOAI
And DAVID CHANOFF

Hard evidence has surfaced recently that Vietnam is growing opium to help cover its debts. An agricultural policy document smuggled out of the country and made public by former Politburo member Hoang Van Hoan discloses that in 1982 the Central Committee decided that opium production should be used to raise badly needed foreign currency.

The northern provinces of Ha Tuyen, Lai Chau, Hoang Lien Son, Cao Bang and Lang Son, where soil and climate conditions favor poppy cultivation, are involved in the program. According to the document, 430 acres were planted in nearby Dong Van district in 1982, while farms in Ha Tuyen sold the government 500 kilos of raw opium. In 1983, the government ordered farmers in Ha Tuyen to supply one kilo each, and several districts in Hoang Lien Son have a quota of one-half kilo per farm. Surpluses will belong to the farmers, and local government organs are told to provide cut-rate rice and meat to those who sell above their requirements.

The smuggled document, numbered 11TT/SN, is signed by Ly Xi Po, assistant director of agriculture for Dong Van district, and dated Oct. 10, 1982. It deals largely with regulations for fulfilling the requirements for opium production established by the People's Council of Dong Van at a 1982 meeting, and urges compliance with procedures for cultivation.

Opium production is not a new business in Vietnam. Alfred McCoy in his 1972 book, "The Politics of Opium," related how drug traffic from the Golden Triangle area was controlled during the war by a number of senior South Vietnamese generals and political figures. According to Mr. McCoy, drug money was used not only for private enrichment, but also to support governmental organs such as the secret police that had large funding requirements and were not particular about their source of support. This trade, though apparently carried on at the highest levels, was still surreptitious. What the Dong Van document points to is an official government program for the production of illegal drugs

that can only be aimed at the international market.

At first glance, it is surprising that Vietnam's government, which is struggling to achieve international legitimacy, would undertake such a potentially damaging course of action. Cuba was hurt badly last year by the exposure of the Castro regime's involvement in narcotics smuggling. And quasi-official drug dealing has been a large factor in creating an international gangster image for North Korea. But in fact, Vietnam's decision to enter the illicit heroin business is quite understandable given its subsistence economy and current foreign-policy goals.

It is sometimes difficult for Americans to view communist Vietnam, which fought the U.S. to a standstill in the 1960s and early '70s, as the poverty-wracked country it is. But according to the World Bank, Vietnam's per capita yearly income of approximately \$160 places it among the earth's 20 poorest nations. With a foreign debt in the neighborhood of \$5 billion and very little export capacity, Hanoi's hard-currency position is desperate. Domestically, Vietnam's economic crisis is reflected starkly in high unemployment, widespread corruption and the absence of many necessities. According to recent refugee reports, Ho Chi Minh City is without electricity except for two hours a day, five days a week. A doctor's weekly salary can buy 2½ pounds of meat on the black market. As Premier Pham Van Dong put it, "Waging a war is easy, but running a country is very difficult."

Against this background, Vietnam's leaders have implemented several bizarre plans for raising money. In 1979, at the time of the Sino-Vietnamese border war, much of the ethnic Chinese population was expelled from the country. During this process, the refugees' property was confiscated and they were forced to pay a departure tax variously reported as from four to 10 ounces of gold per head. Later, refugee privileges were extended to ethnic Vietnamese at the same rates.

Another device is the overseas Vietnamese business. Special companies have been set up in the West to allow Vietna-

mes living abroad to send goods to their relatives in Vietnam, who are then allowed to privately resell these "gifts." At each stage, the government takes a cut. It has also been reported that part of the salaries of those Vietnamese workers sent to Eastern bloc countries is withheld by their host countries in partial repayment of Vietnam's debts, while part goes directly to the Vietnamese treasury.

Given a history of such unorthodox financial expedients, Vietnam's decision to engage in opium production is less than astonishing. It does, however, point up the desperation with which party leaders view the current situation. Since 1978, Vietnam has found itself increasingly dependent on Soviet support. But the U.S.S.R., while happy enough to underwrite the cost of Vietnam's occupation of Cambodia and Laos (some \$4 million to \$6 million a day), has been less than generous in providing domestic aid. To move its economy toward the kind of productivity enjoyed by other Southeast Asian nations, Vietnam badly needs Western development money and Western technology. These, however, will not be forthcoming as long as Hanoi pursues its plans for a permanent Indochinese hegemony.

Vietnamese leaders are thus on the horns of a dilemma. To maintain their military occupation of Cambodia and Laos, they must continue their dependency on the U.S.S.R., together with the domestic impoverishment that the alliance with the Soviets has led to. Opening significant trade and development avenues to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and the West means forgoing the long-held dream of a Vietnamese-dominated Indochina. The desperation with which the current party leadership is casting around for financial props is a strong indication that the aging leadership of Le Duan, Le Duc Tho and company is either unwilling or unable to move out of the Soviet embrace.

Mr. Doan, author of "The Vietnamese Gulag," is visiting scholar at the University of California, Berkeley, and director of the Institute for Southeast Asian Policy Analysis. David Chanoff teaches at Harvard and is a free-lance writer.

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What now for Cambodia?

By Doan Van Toai and David Chanoff

WHAT will Cambodia's future be? This country [now known as Kampuchea] that so recently underwent a genocidal holocaust is presently a nation in limbo. It hosts a Vietnamese occupation army of 150,000 to 170,000 troops and is governed as a protectorate of Vietnam. Vietnamese political cadres are a ubiquitous presence, and according to Westerners who have visited, Hanoi's ideological goals have clear priority over economic and social reconstruction. Mandatory study sessions, surprise educational retreats, and indoctrinational trips are a regular and frustrating fact of life for Cambodian officials and managers, disrupting work on all levels. Experts seem to agree that Hanoi's military dominance is as secure as her political control.

Though the six-year-old occupation seems tighter than ever, Cambodia's eventual fate is still undecided. Only 20 countries have officially recognized the Vietnamese-controlled Heng Samrin regime, and the opposition Cambodian Coalition Government still retains the country's United Nations seat. Nevertheless, Hanoi's leaders are confident that eventually the community of nations will accept Vietnam's Indochina hegemony. As Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach put it, "If the UN does not unseat Pol Pot this year, then they will over the next several years, or the next 10 years. We have the patience to wait." But so far China, ASEAN, and the United States have continued to demand Vietnamese withdrawal.

Complicating the picture is that support for the coalition means support for the Khmer Rouge, still the dominant force in the unlikely tripartnership between Pol Pot, Prince Sihanouk, and nationalist leader Son Sann. China and (to a lesser extent) Singapore are at present aiding the coalition, but the Khmer Rouge has kept other potential donors away in droves. "Intractable" is the word used by analysts to describe present-day Indochina, a place where the Soviets threaten the Chinese who threaten the Vietnamese who threaten the Cambodians.

Vietnam's public position has been that it will stay in Cambodia "as long as there is a Chinese threat." But Foreign Minister Thach has also stated that Hanoi will eventually withdraw all its forces. Given that China has

been perceived as a threat for most of Vietnam's 2,000-year history, Thach's "eventually" has a distant ring to it. More to the point, Vietnam shows no signs of waiting for some kind of future regional accommodation to decide on the kind of permanent relationship it wants to have with Cambodia.

One telling sign of Hanoi's intentions for its devastated neighbor can be seen in an immigration policy decision promulgated by the subservient Phnom Penh government in 1982. Reported only briefly in the Western press, Central Committee Decree No. 240 has been facilitating large-scale Vietnamese settlement in population-depleted Cambodia. Vietnamese who lived in the country before 1969 are being resettled, and Vietnamese who followed the occupation army in after 1978 are now being given official immigration privileges. So too are Vietnamese citizens who live and work in the border region. Significantly, Decree No. 240 stipulates that Vietnamese "who betray the revolution or who make illegal livings by infringing on state laws" are to be dealt with by Vietnamese, not Cambodian, authorities. That is, Vietnamese lawbreakers in Cambodia are to be judged by Vietnamese courts, an echo of the neocolonial treaties imposed by the ascendant Western powers on various Asian nations in the 19th century. Finally, the decree urges Cambodian administrators to work with Vietnamese advisers to "rapidly expand the movement of Vietnamese people [into Cambodia]."

With Cambodia's reduced population there is little question that an influx of even several hundred thousand Vietnamese is creating a major impact on the population makeup of Cambodia. Two hundred and fifty thousand Vietnamese settlers (this is the US State Department's estimate; Cambodian Coalition sources claim 400,000 to 600,000) is the equivalent of some 12 million to 13 million aliens coming into the United States. Vietnamese population movement into Cambodia on this scale is an impressive step toward de facto annexation and the eventual absorption of the Khmer people. This, it seems, may well be Hanoi's long-term solution to the Indochina impasse.

Doan Van Toai, a visiting scholar at University of California, Berkeley and David Chanoff, a teacher at Harvard are writing a book on the Viet Cong.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 17, 1986

Dear Mark,

I have enclosed a copy of the letter and materials Doan Van Toai sent me. I am meeting with him next Wednesday. I would be very appreciative if you could get an indication of interest in his proposal (for foreign travel only) before then.

Thanks so much.

Best,

Max Green
Associate Director
Office of Public Liaison

Dr. Mark Blitz
Associate Director
United States Information Agency
Room 849
301 4th Street, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20547

Congressman Jack Kemp, Congressman John McCain and Congressman John Murtha

cordially invite you to join them for a

**Capitol Forum
Reception**

Honoring **Doan Van Toai**, author of
The Vietnamese Gulag



Doan Van Toai
author
“The Vietnamese Gulag”

A Revolution Betrayed — The shocking first-person chronicle of a former supporter of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam who survived his country's descent into totalitarianism.

Date: Wednesday, June 4th
Time: 5:30–7:00 p.m.
Place: Rayburn House Office Building
Room B-369
Reception 5:30

Sponsored by The Fund for an American Renaissance

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Turning a Nation Into a Jail

By PETER R. KANN

We've been privileged to watch some mighty fine melodrama in recent months.

First, Baby Doc slunk off to Paris, leaving happy Haitians dancing in the streets. Then we tuned our TV sets to Manila and watched the Philippine people, aided and abetted by bishops, generals, politicians, businessmen and U.S. congressmen, rid their country of the massively corrupt and mildly repressive Marcos regime.

Tin-pot dictatorships are like that. They come and go, though never soon enough. Their departures always are worth celebrating—at least in the short run.

But, on the heels of these happy events, it's also worth looking across the South China Sea to another Southeast Asian country where businessmen, churchmen, congressmen and anchormen all are powerless to affect events, where there are no such loudspeakers to amplify the muffled cries of a muzzled people. This is the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. There are no happy endings here.

For any who doubt the difference between the common, venal dictatorships littering the Third World landscape and true totalitarianism, who think it some semantic distinction of the Kristols and Kirkpatrick's, let them pick up a copy of "The Vietnamese Gulag" (Simon & Schuster, 351 pages, \$18.95) by Doan Van Toai and David Chanoff, translated from the original French. It's nothing more than the memoir of one man's imprisonment in postwar Vietnam. It's nothing less than the saga of a society's enslavement.

If Mr. Toai is not quite up there among such chroniclers of terror as Arthur Koestler and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, he has written the very best Vietnam book that this Vietnam-watcher has read in many years. It constitutes a chilling closing chapter on the Vietnam War. And if anyone is still wondering what that war was all about and why it is a tragedy that we lost, the answer is here in Mr. Toai's cry from the gulag.

Mr. Toai was a child of rural South Vietnam who went on to become a student protest leader in wartime Saigon. Like many South Vietnamese, he felt trapped between a "melange of communism and nationalism on the one hand and the Americans and their servitors on the other. I and others like me supported the communists. At least they were Vietnamese."

Opposition to the Thieu regime landed Mr. Toai briefly in jail, but he was a communist sympathizer, not a communist cadre, and Thieu types could be pressured by friends, journalists, politicians. "Being a prisoner under Thieu was like being a celebrity," Mr. Toai recalls later on from his communist cell.

When the communists took Saigon in April 1975, Mr. Toai stayed on to help build the new society. Three months later, sitting in a Saigon theater, he was arrested. Without charges. Without cause. The bulk of the book recounts Mr. Toai's struggle for survival and search for sanity in the Orwellian prison system of a party that

promised to "turn the jails into schools" and instead turned the nation into a jail. No longer were there laws for a Thieu to twist or his opponents to protest. There was now only the party, its power, and its paranoia.

Locked in a sewage-filled cell where 70 half-naked men are packed in so close they cannot lie on their backs, half-starved, trussed in chains, brutalized, forced to watch friends beaten to death with canes for minor infractions of the rules, Mr. Toai sustains the will to live and to bear witness to the betrayal of his revolution.

"I now see that Duyet is not a 'prison' in the usual sense. . . . An ordinary prison is part of a system of justice; it exists for punishment or correction or rehabilitation. Each of these rationales accords the prisoner a certain dignity. He is a human being worth punishment or correction or rehabilitation. But Duyet *cedes nothing* to its inmates. . . . It is simply a storehouse, a place where inconvenient bodies can be stacked for an indeterminate duration."

A year without charges or trial or sentence gives way to two. Slowly, the author realizes that, "The writers, the artists, the bar, the scholars—the entire generation that embodied South Vietnam's culture has been smashed and the remnants are slowly dying in the revolution's gulag of jails and hard labor camps."

The West hears little of this, and heeds less: "A rumor here, a refugee report there, were not much to dispel the conviction among Western activists that the right



Bookshelf

"The Vietnamese Gulag"

By Doan Van Toai
and David Chanoff

side had won, or the relief among others that at least it was over. . . . in the sweat-boxes of Le Van Duyet. . . . we think otherwise."

Mr. Toai blames us, but also himself. With millions of other "passionate idealists" he had fellow-traveled a trail "at whose unforeseen end lay terror and destitution for the nation."

After 22 months in the gulag, Mr. Toai is released in the same sudden, arbitrary manner in which he had been arrested. "I was arrested for nothing and released for the same reason." In some ways he feels lucky: "Hundreds of thousands are imprisoned even more for even less."

Mr. Toai eventually manages to leave Vietnam and reach America. He marvels at the liberty of this society and at our license to take it for granted. "Perhaps it is the immigrants' function from generation to generation to remind [Americans] of what a treasure it is they own," Mr. Toai tells us. For such reminders we owe Mr. Toai and many thousands of Vietnamese now among us a powerful debt.

Mr. Kann is the Journal's associate publisher.



Doan Van Toai
Research Associate
INSTITUTE OF EAST ASIAN STUDIES

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94720

Sept 29, 1986

Mr. Max Green
Associate Director
Office Of Public Affairs
THE WHITE HOUSE
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Max Green :

Enclosed are my proposals for a speaking tour as you suggested over telephone. I hope that you may find out a way to funding it. If a governmental agency could not fund to a private person, I can arrange through an institution either the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy where I was a research Associate for 3 years or the U.C Berkeley's Institute Of East Asian Studies where I am currently a Visiting scholar or my own think tank : The Institute For Southeast Asian Policy Analysis. Many other institutions are interested in doing so such as the Freedom House, the I.R.C and the Institute Of educational Affairs.

And if a governmental agency could not finance it, please feel free to send it to any private foundations like Olin, Scaife or Bradley.

As you may agree, at the time when the American troops landed into Vietnam, President Nixon - a Hawk candidate still won the election and the anti-war movement was very weak. Overtime, however, domestic opposition grew and became very strong because, in my opinion we gave the field freely to the pro-communist liberals' propaganda, there were not enough efforts to counterbalancing them from the conservative bloc. We should today use the lessons of Vietnam to teach the innocent people in the third world countries and the liberals in the West what is happening today in Vietnam is far different from what the liberals ever hoped, believed and struggled for in the 1960s. My strategy is not to convince the conservatives who already knew how bad communists are, but to convince the liberals who were hypnotized by the mythologies of Communists and forgot the realities. I was from the left, so I think that I know and use their language effectively.

I am looking forward to hearing from you and wish you a very enjoyable autumn in the capital.

Sincerely yours,

Doan Van Toai
(209)-268-8256

mailing address : 925 W Harvard Ave
Fresno Ca. 93705

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Visiting Scholar, U.C Berkeley's Institute Of East Asian Studies
Director Of THE INSTITUTE FOR SOUTHEAST ASIAN POLICY ANALYSIS
Contact : 925 West Harvard ave
FRESNO, CA.93705
TEL: (209) - 268-8256 / 233-7377

INTRODUCTION :

In order to divert public opinion and innocent people attention away from their *international duty and international revolution* the Communists present themselves as the “ *liberators, revolutionaries* ” who can free the people from the dictatorship or from the foreign domination. Particularly the youth and intellectual who grew up and lived with the conviction that only self-serving reactionaries could be anti-communists while those who were progressive and committed to social amelioration would support leftist and Communist causes. Vietnam was a significant exemple.

In an effort to suppress the truth of Communist invasion of South Vietnam, VietCong had attempted to picture itself as a non-Communist revolutionary organization. The intellectuals, Students , Religious leaders including the speaker himself in Vietnam and in Westercountries were therfore hypnotized by the political program of the National Liberation Front-Vietcong. The Communist program during the Vietnam war , did not mention at all any reference of Marxist Leninist ideology, but much of nationalist , patriotism and especially appeal the people to struggle for the independence and liberty only. Many of us, therefore believed at that time that we could live in peace and compromise with the Communists when the country gained independence and peace.

A similar process is underway now, not a few former pro-Vietcong in the West have established contact with the media, lobbies the U.S Congressmen , speaking around the campus.. to discredit and disturb the U.S 's political strategy of containing Communism, chiefly in Latin America. While Soviet Union freely produces and emplaces its nuclear weapons, invades other countries, supports the Communist guerrillas in some third world countries, the anti-American movement is growing up whose aim is to attack and discredit American efforts to counter Soviet moves. Under the guise of objectivity and morality mass anti-American demonstration are held. But there is no counterbalancing public movement to protest Soviet missile deployment , the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia, occupation of Laos or the Soviet forces in Africa. These liberal intellectuals and youths seem not to learn the lesson of Vietnam.

Because people think that *if we feed the bears, thebears will not bite us* But the truth of Communists are much different, and the Vietnamese Communists are the best lessons.

After the Vietnam war ended in April 1975, there has been no more foreign troops and what is happing in Vietnam is not what is the people, especially the anti-war activists ever hoped, and struggled for during the 1960s and 70s. Not only thousands of former regimes civilians, soldiers, officers..but also many third force activists, anti-American movement leaders, Vietcong sympatizers and even many former Communist cadres, have been imprisoned in the Soviet-typed Gulags. Among hundreds of

thousands of boat people are not only pro-American people, but also Vietcong members who did not escape their country during war, but from the communist regime during peace.

Despite overwhelming evidences of the brutality of the Marxist regimes before Vietnam : China, Soviet, Western European countries...But people still suspected those tragedies. Today, it seems that still a number of people do not learn the lessons of Vietnam, especially the fate of non-communist progressive elements in a Communist front. Still pro-communist movements in South Korea, El-Salvador, and still pro-communist liberals in the United States exist.

Certainly there are conservative groups or rightist activists who have addressed this problem, but these people are immediately discredited by the liberals as *C.I.A lackeys or reactionaries*

This proposal is a special one. The main speaker , **Doan Van Toai** is not a former conservative, but in contrast he was a radical student leader in Saigon. He was arrested many times by the pro-American regimes of South Vietnam and he was also a Vietcong sympathizer whose progressive credential has largely been recognized. The left could not discredit him as *reactionary or imperialist lackey*. In contrast they must learn from his own experiences. His flight got to the West only after being experienced Communism first hand to have the necessary standing to educate opinion.

Joan Baez six years ago, **Susan Sontag** recently have surely done more to provoke objectivity and self-awareness within the American left than the most convincing conservative arguments ever could. One reason that the American anti-war movement is reluctant to look back at that period is not simply that the post-war history of Vietnam has been so tragic, it is that people do not relish acknowledging their own gullibility. **Harrison Salisbury, Staughton Lynd, Tom Hayden, David Schoenbrun**, among others, all found themselves popularising in the West Hanoi's position on such themes as the *absence* of Northern troop infiltration into the South, the *independence* of the N.L.F Vietcong, and Northern innocence of plans to *annex the South*. Intensified education is in order , not to divert the left from its social ideals, but to divorce it from its thoughtless support of Communist-led or Soviet-sponsored movements. As trade used to follow the flag, Gulag follows th *final contest*

OBJECTIVES :

The main purposes of this proposals are :

- to support the U.S policy containing Communism, namely in El-Salvador, Southeast Asia and else where.
- to educate people regarding Soviet Expansionism , especially the tragedy of a Communist revolution in any Third World Countries.
- to counteract and attenuate pro-communist intellectuals or propagandists in colleges or in third world countries.

Besides his own research, first hand information and documents, speaker **Doan Van Toai** will use his own experiences and historical documents of the Vietnam war and the Vietnames Communists for his lectures. The based documents are his three major articles :

- **Learning From Vietnam**, published in **Encounter**, London
- **A Lament for Vietnam**, published by **The New York Times** magazine, inserted in the **Congressional Record** by Congressman **Robert Michell**.

- **Vietnam : The Refugees and Silence**, published by **The Wall Street Journal** , reprinted in **Congressional Record** by Congressman Jack Kemp.

SPEAKING TOUR :

A temporary office will be set up to arrange the speaking tour , administer the budget and handle other technical matters.

- Set up a national wide program of lectures on approximately 100 major colleges such as Harvard , Tufts, Kennedy School, Boston College, MIT, Cornell, Columbia, Wisconsin, Berkeley, Los Angeles ... The tour will be interested in the liberal campus and where the anti-American movement is growing.
- Debate publicly with pro-communist activists or anti-American speakers.

THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES :

- a press conference first to mobilize public opinion, and then informal discussing with different groups including liberal, intellectual, religious and worker leaders. Finally giving lecture for public. More effectively if a speaking includes a debate with a local opponent.

Suggested countries : Southeast Asia : South Korea, Thailand, Indonesia, and Philippines. South America : Argentina, Tahiti, El-Salvador, Brazil ,Columbia, Chile, Venezuela.

European countries : Germany, Northern Europe and Turkey, Spain and Portugal.

BUDGET :

The budget can be administered by any institution of the funder . The speaker, however suggest that the budget can also be administered by either The Fletcher School of Law And Diplomacy where he was a researcher, or the U,C Berkeley's Institute Of Eastasian Studies where he is currently a visiting scholar or The Institute Of Southeast Asian Policy Analysis whose director is the speaker himself.

Followings are only outlines of the budget :

- A temporary office to arrange the lecture tour, publicize the program and make the schedule : \$6,000.00 for a fiscal year.
- Salary of the speaker (70% of time) , approximately honorium is 500.00/each lecture : \$20,000.00 for a fiscal year.
- document printings, pamphlets, publicity, telephone, fliers and ect. : \$5,000.00/ for whole program.
- transportation, hotels and foods for a tour around the U.S campuses only : \$5,000.00

For the third world countries tour, the cost of airfare, hotel and organizing is high. The speaker will discuss with the funder to make an accurate budget.

REFERENCES :

- Prof. John Roche, Academic Dean of The Fletcher School of Law & Diplomacy, Boston.
- Prof. Robert Scalapino, Director of the U,C Berkeley's Institute For East Asian Studies,

Berkeley.

- Mr. Carl Gershman, President of The National Endowment For Democracy, Washington D.C.

Mr. Gershman is instrumental in bringing him to the United States in 1980, and Dr. Scalapino is currently his supervisor at the U.C Berkeley.

On June 4, 1986, three U.S. Congressmen including Jack Kemp sponsored a Congressional reception honoring his memoir **The Vietnamese Gulag** which has been translated into many languages and acclaimed as the works of **Garcin, Kafka, Orwell, Arthur Koestler and Solzinytchin.**

Lecturer : Doan Van Toai, Author.

Doan Van Toai was a student activist in Vietnam during the Thieu period and was a founding editor and writer for the journal **Tu Quyet**. (Self-Determination). After the war he worked briefly for the **Provisional Revolutionary Government's Financial Committee**, then was arrested and imprisoned for over two and a half years without benefit of charges, trial, or sentence. In 1978 **Toai** fled from Vietnam for Paris. A year later he was invited to the United States as a researcher in Asian Studies at the Fletcher School Of Law and Diplomacy. Presently he is research associate at the Institute For East Asian Studies at the University of California, Berkeley.

Since his arrival in the West Doan van Toai has devoted himself to speaking and writing on Southeast Asian Affairs, human rights, and related issues in American foreign Policy. His more than thirty five articles have appeared in such publications as **the Washington Quarterly, Encounter, The New York Review Of Books, the New York Times Magazine, Commentary, and the Christian Science Monitor** and have been read into the **Congressional Record** and proceedings of the United Nations General Assembly. Toai is the author or co-author of four books on Vietnam, most recently, **The Vietnamese Gulag (Simon & Schuster, June 1986).**

With the publication of **The Vietnamese Gulag** Doan Van Toai will be established as the most visible and articulate survivor of Vietnam's post-war police state. Prior to publication, was accorded a congressional reception and an excerpt (published in **Commentary**) was read into the congressional Record. A combined French-American documentary television film based on his experiences and those of other political refugees who figure in his books is also underway.

As a chronicler of Vietnam's revolution and a leading spokesman for Vietnamese human rights, Doan Van Toai is uniquely placed to elucidate both the techniques and social consequences of **national liberation** wars. Because he was a well-known radical student leader in Nguyen Van Thieu's Vietnam and a political prisoner of the revolutionary regime, he can speak from his own experiences about the relationship between right-wing authoritarian governments and left-wing totalitarian ones.

Vietnam remains *the* case study of modern day people's war and social revolution. What happened there is a subject of substantial importance to those concerned with similar events in Latin America and elsewhere. This proposal is for support for a lecture tour to approximately 100 colleges and political organizations to take place during this coming academic year. The purpose is to further general knowledge of the Vietnamese revolution and especially its aftermath, and to foster understanding of the significance of these events for present day American foreign policy.

The New York Times Magazine

229 West 43d St., N.Y. 10036

March 29, 1981

Doan Van Toai

64 A Lament for Vietnam

A former South Vietnamese dissenter tells of his disillusionment with the victorious Communists, his imprisonment at their hands, and of the new tyranny that North Vietnam has brought to his country since the war's end.

A LAMENT FOR VIETNAM

A former South Vietnamese dissenter tells in a personal memoir of his disillusionment with the victorious Communists, his imprisonment at their hands, and the new tyranny that North Vietnam has brought to his country.

By Doan Van Toai

When the Communists took over North Vietnam in 1954, a million refugees fled to the South. I personally heard stories of their incredible suffering. But, along with other South Vietnamese, I refused to believe them. A generation later, I could not believe Solzhenitsyn's book "The Gulag Archipelago," either. I dismissed it as anti-Communist propaganda. But by 1979, I had published my own book, "The Vietnamese Gulag." Can those who have suffered the horror of Communism ever convince those who have not experienced it?

Doan Van Toai is writing a book about Vietnam called "Neither Peace Nor Honor" at Tufts University.

From 1945, when I was born in the village of Caivon in Vinh Long province, 100 miles south of Saigon, until I left Vietnam in May 1978, I never enjoyed peace. My family's house was burned three times in the war against the French. To escape the fighting, my parents moved from one village to another throughout my youth. Like the majority of Vietnamese patriots, they joined the resistance forces fighting the French. As I grew up, I myself saw how the peasants were oppressed by the local officials of the successive Saigon regimes, how they were victimized by the French bombardments. I learned the history of my country's thousand-year struggle against Chinese occupation and its century-long effort against Western domination. With this background, my compatriots and I grew up with a hatred of foreign intervention.

When the students at Saigon University elected me vice

president of the Saigon Student Union in 1969 and 1970, I participated in the different peace efforts, leading student demonstrations against the Thieu regime and against American involvement. I published a magazine called Self-Determination, and traveled in January 1971 to California to give antiwar lectures at Berkeley and Stanford. For my activities, I was arrested and jailed many times by the Thieu Government.

During that period, I believed that I was fulfilling my commitment to peace and the independence of my country. I had faith, too, in the program of the National Liberation Front (N.L.F.), which led the revolutionary resistance in South Vietnam. I hated Saigon's rulers, men like Gen. Nguyen Van Thieu, Gen. Nguyen Cao Ky, Gen. Dang Van Quang — former soldiers of the French colonial army. These were the men whom the French had recruited in the

1940's to help destroy the Vietnamese resistance. They had risen over the years to become leaders themselves, but they commanded no respect from the people. Because of their lack of popular support, they were predisposed to rely on foreign forces.

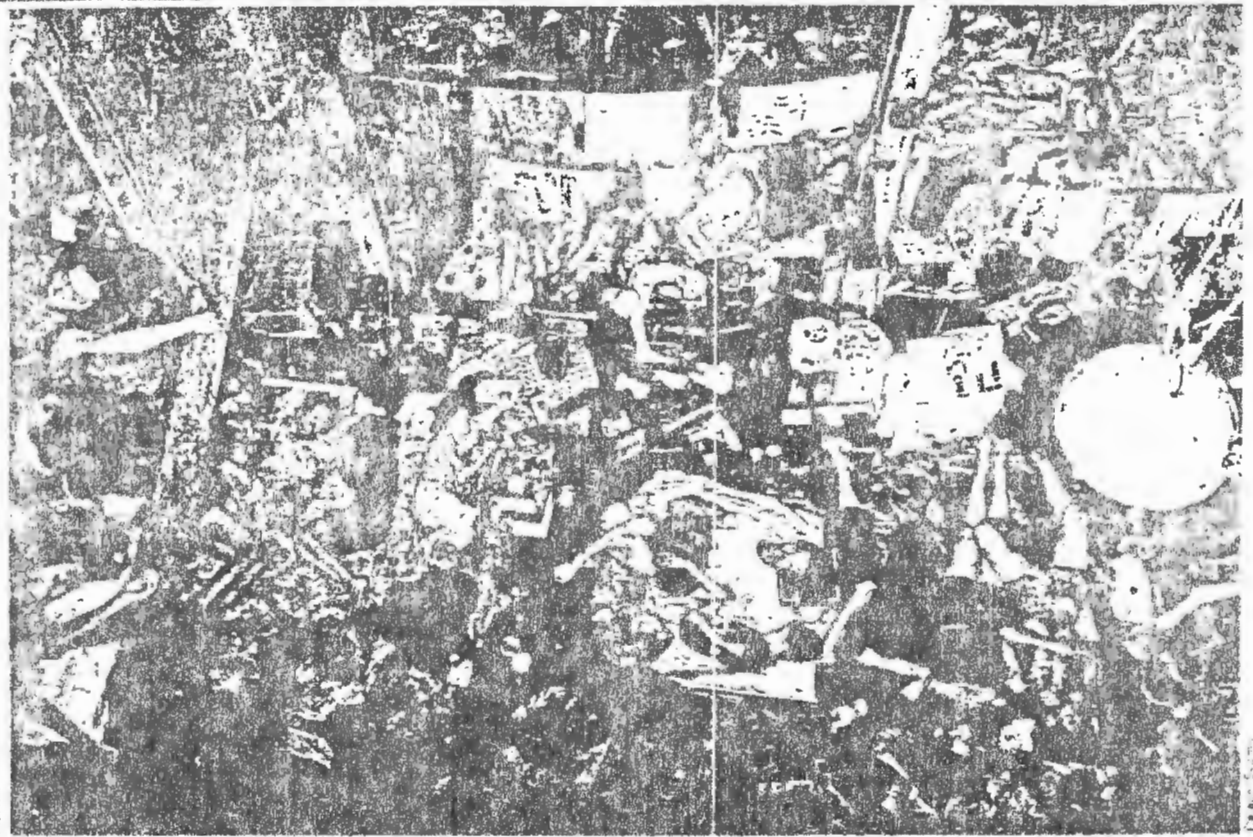
As a student leader, I felt I had to pursue the aspiration of the Vietnamese people for democracy, freedom and peace. Naïvely, I believed that the Hanoi regime at least had the virtue of being Vietnamese, while the Americans were foreign invaders like the French before them. Like others in the South Vietnamese opposition movements, I believed that our Communist compatriots in the North would be more amenable to compromise and easier to work with than the Americans. Moreover, I was hypnotized by the personal sacrifices and devotion the Communist leaders had demonstrated. Ton Duc Thang, former President

of North Vietnam, for example, had been imprisoned for 17 years in a French jail. I was hypnotized also by the political programs advocated by the N.L.F., which included a domestic policy of national reconciliation, without risk of reprisal, and a foreign policy of nonalignment. Finally, I was influenced by progressive movements throughout the world and by the most

prestigious intellectuals in the West. My impression was that during the 1960's and early 70's the leaders of the American peace movement shared my convictions.

These convictions endured through the signing of the 1973 Paris peace accords and the subsequent collapse of the South Vietnamese Government two years later. When liberation was

imminent, I was the one who told friends and relatives not to flee. "Why do you want to leave?" I asked. "Why are you afraid of the Communists?" I accepted the prospect of enduring hardships to rebuild my country and I decided to stay in Vietnam and continue working as a branch manager at a Saigon bank, where I had been for more than four years, writing secret



Boat people in 1978. Says the author: "The measure of popular hatred for the Communists is that thousands have left their land."

reports about the economic situation in South Vietnam for the N.L.F. (After leaving the university, I had not been drafted by the South Vietnamese Government because I was ^{considered a} ~~was~~ the only son in my family. And I had not joined the Vietcong because the N.L.F. felt I could serve a more useful role providing financial reports from the bank.)

Several days after Saigon fell, the Provisional Revolutionary Government, formed by the N.L.F., asked me to join the finance committee, a group of intellectuals whose job it was to advise the Government on matters of economic policy. I complied willingly, taking a pay cut of 90 percent. My first assignment was to help draw up a plan for confiscating all the private property in South Vietnam. Shocked, I proposed that we should

expropriate only the property of those who had cooperated with the former regime and those who had used the war to become rich, and that we distribute it in some fashion to the poor and to the victims of the war, Communist and non-Communist alike. My proposals, of course, were rejected. I was naive enough to think that the local cadres were mistaken, that they misunderstood the good intentions of the Communist Party leaders. I had many fights with them, believing as I did Hanoi's previous statement that "the situation in the South is very special and different from that of North Vietnam." A few months before the liberation of Saigon, Le Duan, the First Secretary of the Communist Party, had said, "The South needs its own policy."

In the end, I could not obey the order

to help arrange the confiscation of all private property, a plan that was subsequently carried out. Such a scheme had nothing to do with fulfilling the aspirations of the South Vietnamese, and it went against my conscience. I decided to resign. But no one resigns in a Communist regime. The implication of nonconformity is intolerable to Communists. When I submitted my resignation, the chief of the finance committee warned me that my action "would only serve as propaganda to excite the people; here we never do it that way." Several days later, while I was attending a concert at the great National Theater (formerly the National Assembly Hall, which my fellow students and I had occupied so many times under the Thieu regime), I was arrested. No charges were made, no reasons were given.

After the fall of Saigon, many progressive intellectuals and former antiwar-movement leaders believed that the new Vietnamese regime would bring internal democracy and freedom from foreign domination. They believed that the new regime would pursue the best interests of the people, honoring its promise to carry out a policy of national reconciliation without fear of reprisal. Far from adhering to their promises, the Vietnamese rulers have arrested hundreds of thousands of individuals — not only those who had cooperated with the Thieu regime but even those who had not, including religious leaders and former members of the N.L.F.

Vietnam today is a country without any law other than the arbitrary directives of those in power. There is no civil code. Individuals are imprisoned without charges and without trial. Once in jail, prisoners are taught that their behavior, attitude and "good will" are the key factors in determining when they may be released — whatever crimes they may have committed. As a consequence, prisoners often obey the guards blindly, hoping for an early release. In fact, they never know when they may be released — or when their sentences may be extended.

How many political prisoners there in Vietnam today? And many of them have died in prisons during the first six years of Communist rule? Nobody can know the exact numbers. The United States Department of State has said there are from 150,000 to 200,000 prisoners; Vietnamese refugees estimate about one million. Hoang Huu Quynh, an intellectual, a graduate of Moscow University, who served as a director of a technical school in Ho Chi Minh City (formerly Saigon), recently defected to France during his Government-sponsored tour of European countries. He told the French press: "There are at least 700,000 prisoners in Vietnam today." Another witness, Nguyen Cong Hoan, a former member of the reunified National Assembly, which was elected in 1976, who escaped by boat in 1978, said that he himself knew "about 300 cases of executions" in his own province of Phu Yen. In 1977, officials in Hanoi insisted that only 50,000 people, who posed the greatest threat to national security, had been arrested. But Prime Minister Pham Van Dong said, in the French magazine *Paris Match*, on Sept. 22, 1978, "In over three years, I released more than one million

prisoners from the camps." One wonders how it is possible to release more than a million after having arrested only 50,000.

When I was arrested, I was thrown into a three-foot-by-six-foot cell with my left hand chained to my right foot and my right hand chained to my left foot. My food was rice mixed with sand. When I complained about the sand, the guards explained that sand is added to the rice to remind prisoners of their crimes. I discovered that pouring water in the rice bowl would make the sand separate from the rice and sink to the bottom. But the water ration was only one liter a day for drinking and bathing, and I had to husband it carefully.

After two months in solitary confinement, I was transferred to a collective cell, a room 15 feet wide and 25 feet long, where at different times anywhere from 40 to 100 prisoners were crushed together. Here we had to take turns lying down to sleep, and most of the younger, stronger prisoners slept sitting up. In the sweltering heat, we also took turns snatching a few breaths of fresh air in front of the narrow opening that was the cell's only window. Every day I watched my friends die at my feet.

In March 1976, when a group of Western reporters visited my prison, the Communist officials moved out the prisoners and substituted North Vietnamese soldiers. In front of the prisons, one sees no barbed wire, no watchtowers, only a few policemen and a large sign above the entrance that proclaims Ho Chi Minh's best-known slogan: "Nothing Is More Precious Than Liberty and Independence." Only those detained inside and those who guard them know what kind of place is hidden behind that sign. And every prisoner knows that if he is suspected of planning to escape, his fellow inmates and relatives at home will be punished rather than he himself.

We will never know precisely the number of dead prisoners, but we do know about the deaths of many well-known prisoners who, in the past, never cooperated with President Thieu or the Americans: for example, Thich Thien Minh, the strategist of all the Buddhist peace movements in Sai-

gon, an antiwar activist who was sentenced to 10 years in jail by the Thieu regime, then released after an outpouring of protest from Vietnamese and antiwar protesters around the world. Thien Minh died in Ham Tan prison after six

months of detention in 1979. Another silent death was that of the lawyer Tran Van Tuyen, a leader of the opposition bloc in the Saigon Assembly under President Thieu. This well-known activist died in Communist hands in 1976, although as late as April 1977, Prime Minister Pham Van Dong was telling French reporters that Tuyen was alive and well in a re-education camp. One of the greatest losses has been that of the famous Vietnamese philosopher Ho Huu Tuong. Tuong, a classmate of Jean-Paul Sartre's in Paris in the 1930's, was perhaps the leading intellectual in South Vietnam. He died in Ham Tan prison on June 26, 1980. These men were arrested, along with many others among the most prominent and respected South Vietnamese, in order to pre-empt any possible opposition to the Communists.

Some American supporters of Hanoi have ignored or rationalized these deaths, as they have the countless other tragedies that have befallen Vietnam since 1975. It is more than likely that they will continue to maintain their silence in order to avoid the profound disillusionment that accepting about Vietnam means them. Yet if liberty and democracy are worth struggling for in the Philippines, in Chile, in South Korea or in South Africa, they are no less worth defending in Communist countries like Vietnam. Everyone remembers the numerous demonstrations protesting United States involvement in Vietnam and the war crimes of the Thieu regime. But some of those people who were then so passionately committed to democratic principles and human rights have developed a strange indifference now that these same principles are under assault in Communist Vietnam. For example, one antiwar activist, William Kunstler, refused to sign a May 1979 open letter to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in which many former antiwar activists, including Joan Baez, protested Hanoi's violations of human rights. Kunstler said, "I don't believe in criticizing socialist governments publicly, even if there are human-rights violations," and, "The entire Baez campaign may be a C.I.A. plot." This statement reminds me of

the argument used by the Thieu regime to suppress opposition: "The peace movements and the opposition activists are all the Communists' lackeys."

There are other illusions about the current regime in Vietnam about which people should be disabused. Many people believed that Ho Chi Minh was primarily a nationalist and that the Vietnamese Communists were and are independent of the Soviet Union. I believed the same before they took over South Vietnam. But portraits of Soviet leaders now adorn public buildings, schools and administrative offices throughout "independent Vietnam." In contrast, one never saw pictures of American leaders even during the so-called puppet regime of President Thieu. The degree of subordination the present Government feels toward its Soviet patron is suggested by a famous poem by the well-known Vietnamese poet To Huu, a member of the Politburo and president of the Communist Party Committee of Culture. Here we have an opportunity to listen to a high-ranking Vietnamese weep on the occasion of Stalin's death:

*Oh, Stalin! Oh, Stalin!
The love I bear my father,
my mother, my wife,
myself
It's nothing beside the love
I bear you,
Oh, Stalin! Oh, Stalin!
What remains of the earth
and of the sky!
Now that you are dead.*

It may seem incredible that such a poem could have been written in Vietnam, which is known for the strength of its family traditions and its feeling for filial piety. Yet this poem occupied a prominent place in a major anthology of contemporary Vietnamese poetry recently published in Hanoi.

Moreover, Le Duan, First Secretary of the Communist Party, said in his political report to the reunified National Assembly in 1976: "The Vietnamese revolution is to fulfill the internationalist duty and the international obligation," and to do so, in the words of the 1971 party platform, "under the leadership of the Soviet

Union." The glorification of Soviet life is, in fact, a major goal of Communist Vietnam's censorship policy.

Immediately after the fall of Saigon, the Government closed all bookshops and theaters. All books published under the former regimes were confiscated or burned. Cultural

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VIETNAM

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literature was not exempt, including translations of Jean-Paul Sartre, Albert Camus and Dale Carnegie. Margaret Mitchell's "Gone With the Wind" was on the list of decadent literature as well. The new regime replaced such books with literature designed to indoctrinate children and adults with the idea that the "Soviet Union is a paradise of the socialist world."

Another argument made at times by Western apologists has to do with freedom of religion in Vietnam. One article in the new Constitution of Vietnam, adopted this year, declares that "the regime respects the liberty of the believers and also the liberty of the nonbelievers." In regard to this article, Le Duan has repeatedly proclaimed: "Our present regime is a million times more democratic than any other in the world." The reality, though, is suggested by an incident involving the desecration of a Buddhist pagoda, in which a nude woman, on orders from the Government, entered the pagoda during a worship service. When Thich Man Giac, a prominent Buddhist leader, protested, the Government used the opportunity to try to discredit the Buddhists as enemies of democracy — specifically, of the freedom to disbelieve. Thich Man Giac, who had served as liaison between the Buddhists and the Communist Government, escaped Vietnam by boat in 1977 and is now living in Los Angeles.



All of those who supported the N.L.F. in its struggle should be aware of how they were betrayed and deceived. When Harrison Salisbury of The New York Times visited Hanoi in December 1966, the leaders in Hanoi told him: "The direction of the struggle in the South is by the South and not by the North." Pham Van Dong, Prime Minister, said to Salisbury: "No one in the North had this stupid, criminal idea in mind" that the North wanted to annex the South.

Yet in a victory-day celebration speech made on May 19, 1975, Le Duan said, "Our party is the unique and single leader that organized, controlled and governed the entire struggle of the Vietnamese people from the first day of the revolution." In his political report to the reunified National Assembly in Hanoi on June 26, 1976, Le Duan said: "The strategic task of the revolution in our country in the new stage is to achieve the reunification of our homeland and to take the whole country rapidly, vigorously and steadily to socialism, and Communism."

In 1976, the Provisional Revolutionary Government formed by the N.L.F. was abolished, and South and North Vietnam were reunified under Communist rule. Today, among 17 members of the Politburo and 134 members of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Communist Party, not a single one is from the N.L.F. (there are several members who had been North Vietnam Communist Party representatives with the N.L.F.). Even Nguyen Huu Tho, former chairman of the N.L.F., holds only the post of acting President of State, a ceremonial position that involves greeting visitors and participating in festivals. But his position will be abolished under the new Constitution.

Listen to Truong Nhu Tang, 57 years old, a founder of the N.L.F., former Justice Minister of the Provisional Revolutionary Government, more recently one of the boat people. Tang escaped in November 1979 and is now living in Paris. He told reporters of his experience in a news conference in Paris in June 1980. Twelve years earlier, he said, when he had been jailed by the Thieu regime for his Communist activities, his father came to visit. "Why," he asked Tang, "have you abandoned everything — a good job, a rich family — to join the Communists? Don't you know that the Communists will betray you and persecute you, and when you finally understand, it will be too late to wake up?" Tang, an intellectual, answered his father: "You would do bet-

ter to keep quiet and accept the sacrifice of one of your sons for democracy and our country's independence. . . ."

After the Tet offensive in 1968, Tang was exchanged for three American colonels who had been prisoners of war held by the Vietcong; then he vanished into the jungle with the N.L.F. He had visited many Communist and third-world countries on behalf of the N.L.F. during the war. Tang said in his news conference: "I was well aware that the N.L.F. was a Communist-dominated national united front and I was naive enough to believe that Ho Chi Minh and his party would place national interests above ideology and would place the interest of the Vietnamese people above the party's. But the people and I were wrong."

Truong Nhu Tang told of his own knowledge of the way Communist ruling circles operate: "The Communists are expert in the arts of seduction and will go to any length to woo you over to their side, as long as they don't control the Government. But once they are in power they suddenly become harsh, ungrateful, cynical and brutal." Tang summarized current conditions in Vietnam: "The family is divided, society is divided, even the party is divided."

Looking back now on the Vietnam war, I feel nothing but sorrow for my own naiveté in believing that the Communists were revolutionaries worthy of support. In fact, they betrayed the Vietnamese people and deceived progressives throughout the world. The responsibility for the tragedies that have engulfed my compatriots is mine. And now I can only bear witness to this truth so that all former supporters of the Vietcong may share their responsibility with me.

While I was in jail, Mai Chi Tho, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, addressed a selected group of political prisoners. He told us: "Ho Chi Minh may have been an evil man; Nixon may have been a great man. The Americans may have had the just cause; we may not have had the just cause. But we won and the Americans were defeated because we convinced the people that Ho Chi Minh is the great man, that Nixon is a murderer and the Americans are the invaders." He concluded that "the key factor is how to control people and their opinions. Only Marxism-Leninism can do that. None of you ever see resistance to the Communist regime, so don't think about it. Forget it. Between you — the bright intellectuals — and me, I tell you the truth."

And he did tell us the truth. Since 1978, the Vietnamese Communists have occupied Laos, invaded Cambodia and attacked Thailand, while the Soviet

Union has invaded Afghanistan. In each of these depredations, the Communists have portrayed themselves, incredibly, as liberators, saviors and bulwarks against foreign aggression. And each time, world opinion has remained relatively quiescent.

But in Vietnam, people often remark: "Don't believe what the Communists say, look instead at what they have done." One South Vietnamese Communist, Nguyen Van Tang, who was detained 15 years by the French, eight years by Diem, six years by Thieu, and who is still in jail today, this time in a Communist prison, told me: "In order to understand the Communists, one must first live under a Communist regime." One rainy evening in Saigon's Le Van Duyet prison, he told me: "My dream now is not to be released; it is not to see my family. My dream is that

I could be back in a French prison 30 years ago." This is the one wish of a 60-year-old man who has spent his entire adult life in and out of prison fighting for the freedom and the independence of his country. At this moment, he may already have died in his cell or have been executed by the new rulers.

The Vietnamese people wish to achieve the real revolution; they do not want Communism. The measure of popular hatred for the Communists is that thousands of Vietnamese have abandoned their historical attachment to the land. Under French colonial domination, throughout the long war years, even during the catastrophic famine of 1945 when two million starved to death, Vietnamese simply did not willingly leave their homeland — the land of their ancestors' graves. The recent outpouring of refugees is a direct result of the terror of the present regime. Listen to another refugee, Nguyen Cong Hoan, former N.L.F. agent and member of the new unified Assembly elected in 1976: "This current regime is the most inhuman and oppressive [Vietnam] has ever known." Hoan escaped by boat in 1977, after abandoning his position in the Communist Assembly. "The Assembly," he declared, "is a puppet, the members know only how to say yes, never how to say no."

Among the boat people who survived, including those who were raped by pirates and those who suffered in the refugee camps, nobody regrets his escape from the present regime. I am confident that the truth about Vietnam will eventually emerge. It is already available to those who wish to know it. As Solzhenitsyn has said, "Truth weighs as heavy as the world." And Vietnam is a lesson in truth. ■

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

—Extensions of Remarks

April 2, 1981

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after being told of the available alternatives.

There are also accounts of instances in which the advice of rights has been followed by what Mr. Steiner termed "mental coercion." "They're told if they want a hearing or asylum they'll have to stay in jail, or that their relatives will be arrested," he said.

"You'll get an overzealous border guard who says, 'You either go back or we'll lock you away for the rest of your life,'" Mr. Arnold said. "So the poor fellow elects to go back." ●

A LAMENT FOR VIETNAM

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 2, 1981

● Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, those who worked to see to it that the South Vietnamese Government was finally conquered by the tanks of the Communist North Vietnamese Army have much to answer for. Despite overwhelming evidence of the brutality of Communist dictatorship in Vietnam today, those who told us that such a dictatorship was what the Vietnamese people wanted are curiously silent about their terrible error.

I commend to their attention an article appearing in the New York Times Sunday Magazine, entitled "A Lament for Vietnam."

At this time I insert "A Lament for Vietnam" by Doan Van Toai, the Sunday New York Times Magazine, March 31, 1981.

A LAMENT FOR VIETNAM

(By Doan Van Toai)

When the Communists took over North Vietnam in 1954, a million refugees fled to the South. I personally heard stories of their incredible suffering. But, along with other South Vietnamese, I refused to believe them. A generation later, I could not believe Solzhenitsyn's book "The Gulag Archipelago," either. I dismissed it as anti-Communist propaganda. But by 1978, I had published my own book, "The Vietnamese Gulag." Can those who have suffered the horror of Communism ever convince those

The Washington Star

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY Jr.

Vietnam's Gulag Is Too Familiar to Absorb

The New York Times has shown courage and integrity in publishing an article ("A Lament for Vietnam," New York Times Magazine, March 29) by a South Vietnamese (Doan Van Toai) now affiliated with Tufts University, where he is writing a book about his experiences. They are illuminating, and tragic.

Toai was a South Vietnamese dissident - one of those Vietnamese the American peace movement cheered along as they deplored American intervention in Vietnam, denounced the regime of President Thieu and confidently urged their countrymen to cooperate with the insurgents and the liberating armies of Ho Chi Minh, secure in the knowledge that when Western forces were finally extruded, peace, freedom, democracy and harmony would come again, after 300 years, to Indochina.

When the North Vietnamese tanks rolled in, Toai was a member of the cheering section and because he had had banking experience, was assigned the job of helping to expropriate "all private property." Surely you don't mean *all* private property, he asked. Surely you mean only the property of those who cooperated with Thieu and the Americans, and those who got rich off the war?

Not The Metropolitan Club

When he was directed to confiscate the land even of indigent peasants he balked, and resigned from the Communist Party. He did not know that resigning from the Communist Party in a Communist country is different from resigning from the Metropolitan Club.

So: the old, hauntingly familiar story - how many tales of Gulag can we absorb? Albert Jay Nock once wrote that the difficulty with pornography is that copulative fancies are finite. So, really, are tales of torture. I give, therefore, only the first three sentences of his account of his ordeal. "When I was arrested, I was thrown into a 3-foot-by-6-foot cell with my left hand chained to my right foot and my right hand chained to my left foot. My food was rice mixed with sand. When I complained about the sand, the guards explained that sand is added to the rice to remind prisoners of their crimes." You can take it from there.

Or, you can go the macro route. How many political prisoners like Toai are there today in South Vietnam? The State Department estimates 150,000 to 200,000. Vietnamese refugees estimate one million. A re-

cent Moscow-trained defector, an academic who served as a director of a technical school, says "at least 700,000." In 1977, Hanoi insisted that the figure was (a mere) 50,000. But Prime Minister Pham Van Dong said, in the magazine *Paris Match* in 1978, "In over three years, I released more than 1 million prisoners from the camps." Toai comments: "One wonders how it is possible to release more than a million after having arrested only 50,000."

One wonders about other things. The figures quoted above, to convey reality to Americans, should be multiplied by 10 for comparison. If you take the figures of the defecting intellectual, which lie at roughly midpoint between the refugees' figures and the State Department's, you have the equivalent of 7 million Americans in concentration camps.

Had enough?

Not Toai. He doesn't understand American apathy now, contrasted with American excitement when the (relatively) trivial derelictions of Thieu (fighting a civil war) were exposed. He finds little interest, in America, in the ideological thoroughness of the Vietnamese revolution, very little curiosity about the utter disappearance of Vietnamese sovereignty. Such is their vassalage to the Soviet Union that a national struggle for liberation from foreign control is symbolized by the dirge composed by the new poet laureate To Huu, president of the Communist Party Committee of Culture, who celebrates the anniversary of Stalin's death with the words:

Oh, Stalin! Oh, Stalin!

*The love I bear my father,
 my mother, my wife,
 myself*

*It's nothing beside the love
 I bear for you.*

Oh, Stalin! Oh, Stalin!

*What remains of the earth and of
 the sky!*

Now that you are dead.

I don't know about the earth and the sky, but can infer that much has happened to Vietnamese poetry since the fall of Saigon, but not much - Joan Baez and a few of her companions being notable exceptions - by way of expiation from Americans who backed the positions of Doan Van Toai the innocent, and fortunately were spared the vicissitudes of his re-education.

Sam Francisco

B2

S.F. EXAMINER ★ Thurs., Apr. 2, 1981

William Buckley / 'Re-education' of Vietnamese

May 5, 1981

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—Extensions of Remarks

E 2117

wealth of Pennsylvania are proud of Paul West.

VIETNAM: WHO WILL SPEAK
OUT NOW FOR HUMAN RIGHTS?

HON. JACK KEMP

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, last week-end some 25,000 demonstrators, protesting a wide variety of causes, marched on the Pentagon, promoting more than one commentator to draw parallels with anti-Vietnam marches in years gone by.

Doan Van Toai spend a good deal of time on America's campuses in the late 1960's and early 1970's, speaking on behalf of the Vietcong, championing their cause. And when it was over, and America pulled out, Doan Van Toai went home.

But Doan Van Toai was not a Communist. In a Communist controlled Vietnam, Doan Van Toai was put in a concentration camp. There he stayed nearly 4 years, giving him ample time to reflect upon what had happened in his country, and his own role in bringing those changes about.

Now he has returned to the United States, bringing a far different message about what Vietnam is today. Again, he is appealing to the liberals in the American political spectrum looking to them to denounce the brutality and repression that has been visited upon his country by the Communist aggressors. He wonders why they are silent in the face of such a massive violation of human rights.

What Doan Van Toai has to say needs to be heard. For in understanding what Vietnam has become, we begin to understand what America was fighting to prevent. The following article by Mr. Toai appeared in the Wall Street Journal, May 3, 1981.

VIETNAM: REFUGEES AND SILENCE
(By Doan Van Toai)

Six years ago this month, the United States ended its 20-year involvement in Vietnam by withdrawing its troops. Thus one might have assumed that the friends Vietnam seemed to have made throughout the world in those years would now be celebrating the sixth triumphant anniversary of their victory.

But this past February, while Hanoi was celebrating poor, humble Vietnam's sixth year of unification, the people continued to vote against the regime by fleeing the country.

The Sixth National Assembly of the Vietnamese Communists has recently approved a new constitution, which is only a copy of the Soviet constitution. They will create a new organ, the State Council, and its chairman will probably be Mr. Le Duan, who is now secretary general of the party. The new assembly is scheduled to be voted on this weekend, and it will form the new government. This will present the best opportunity for Le Duan and Le Duc Tho to strengthen their powers and tighten their ties with the Soviets.

Hoang Van Hoang, a close associate of Ho Chi Minh's and a former member of the party politburo who escaped to China in

1978, says that "Vietnam was so totally dependent on the Soviet Union that it had to do whatever Moscow asked." These words have been affirmed by Soviet leader Brezhnev, who has said, "Vietnam is now a solid outpost of our socialist camp."

STALIN IS REVERED

Vietnam regards Stalin as a figure of reverence. His writings are widely sold and his portrait appears in public places and in classrooms throughout the country. A poem by To Huu, a member of the politburo, is taught in high schools: "Vietnam has Uncle Ho, the world has Stalin/When Vietnam has peace, the world will have liberty."

It is all so different from the first days of victory six years ago, when the Vietnamese Communist leaders proudly declared, "We defeated the French colonialists, the Japanese invaders and then the American imperialists. We will successfully build our new country. We shall accomplish all obligations, overcome all difficulties and defeat all new enemies."

Le Duan, successor to Ho Chi Minh as party leader, also stated before the first meeting of the first Unified Assembly in June 1976: "We shall build our country ten times bigger and ten times more beautiful." He is partially truthful: He occupied Laos, invaded Cambodia and attacked Thailand.

Vietnam is not more beautiful. It is one of the 20 poorest countries in the world. It has 1.6 million soldiers in its active army, the fifth largest army in the world. On March 13, the government promulgated an order to draft into the army all able-bodied youths reaching 18 years of age for "the cause of building the country and defending the socialist fatherland."

Poverty in Vietnam today is as bad as it has ever been. The food shortages are the worst since 1945, when a famine killed two million people.

The country's first five-year plan predicted the production of 21 million tons of rice each year, but this country of 55 million people harvested only 10 million tons in 1980, two million less than in 1979. Rations of rice given to the cadres have fallen off. Some boat people who left Vietnam recently told me mockingly, "No one died of hunger in Saigon, but some have died of hunger in Ho Chi Minh City."

Vietnamese officials cite bad weather, bureaucratic muddling and corrupt officials as the reasons for the growing shortage of food. But the root cause of this problem is their own actions: depending on the Soviet Union, acting the role of Cuba in Southeast Asia, invading Cambodia and imposing Marxist-Leninist ideology over the whole country.

Vietnam's former revolutionaries have today come to be regarded by Western public opinion as invaders in their region. But the Northern Vietnamese Communists have been invaders for a long time. In the spring of 1975, the Northern Vietnamese Communist army conquered South Vietnam in a classic invasion with Soviet tanks, planes and weapons. They not only eliminated the South Vietnamese government but brutally eliminated the National Liberation Front, or Viet Cong, who had been called by the Communists and their Western supporters "the sole genuine representative organ of the South Vietnamese people."

One should recall that in the 1960s, many of the anti-war activists did not believe that any of this could possibly come to pass. Tom Hayden, husband of Jane Fonda, after returning from Hanoi in 1965, released a statement repeating the words of Pham Van Dong, prime minister of North Vietnam, that "the presence of the North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam is a sheer fabrication of the U.S. government." And Tom Hayden instructed the American leftists with his comment, "We think that this denial has not previously been made in such absolute terms by the highest government

authorities."

May the author pose a question to Tom Hayden: Don't the highest government authorities of the Communists know how to lie and to deceive the West? Le Duc Tho, the man who negotiated with Dr. Kissinger on the Paris peace agreement, deceived the West in his Paris news conference of May 1972 by saying, "Since I have returned to Paris, this is the fifth time we have declared clearly that the DRG government (Hanoi) and the PRG (Viet Cong) have never wished to force a Communist government on South Vietnam."

Le Duc Tho is now one of the most powerful leaders of the Vietnamese Communist Party. He has three brothers who are all members of the central committee of the party and hold important positions. One brother is secretary general of the trade union, another is mayor of Ho Chi Minh City and chief of security forces in South Vietnam and the last brother is a three-star general and minister of transportation.

In democratic countries, citizens use their votes to express their opposition to or their support for their government. In bogus democratic countries like South Korea, Chile, South Africa or South Vietnam before the Communists took over, the people often employed illegal demonstrations or strikes to protest against their dictatorial governments. But today there are only two ways for the Vietnamese to vote against the current regime: either be expelled to the New Economic Zones in the far jungle and be imprisoned in the giant gulag throughout the country, or risk their lives fleeing the country.

A VIET CONG FEELS SORRY

Truong Nhu Tang recently formed in Paris a front called the National Salvation Council to gather all Vietnamese to fight the current Communist regime in Vietnam. Truong Nhu Tang, one of the founders of the National Liberation Front (Viet Cong) and a former justice minister of the provisional revolutionary government, fled the country in a tiny boat in 1979. Truong Nhu Tang says he feels sorrow about his past naïveté and wishes to continue to fight for the independence and freedom of his compatriots.

Despite overwhelming evidence of the brutality of the Communist dictatorship in Vietnam, those who told us that such a dictatorship is what the Vietnamese people wanted are curiously silent. Some of the anti-war authors wrote many books and articles saying during the war years that the Viet Cong were really independent from the Hanoi Communists and that Hanoi did not want to impose Communism on South Vietnam.

I am not angry with these people about their past anti-war activity if they did it for the interests of the people and not for a small group of Vietnamese Communists. But do they feel sorrow today that the Communists deceived them? Why do they keep silent about the present tragedies in Indochina? This amnesia is criminal. Their silence damages the reputation of the left.

American linguist Noam Chomsky said categorically that there has been no bloodbath in Vietnam. But there are many ways to kill people without shedding a drop of blood. There is technically no bloodbath in Vietnam, but who can say how many silent deaths have occurred on the high seas? How many have died hidden in the Vietnamese gulag?

While former anti-war activist still protest war by America, they keep silent about Soviet invasions. While they raise their voices to denounce South Korea and El Salvador, they keep silent about the tragedies in Vietnam, where the people must support the insupportable and suffer the insufferable.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 21, 1980

In Vietnam's Gulag, The Captives Die A Slow Death

By DOAN VAN TOAI

One evening about five years ago I was at a concert in Saigon given by the National Concert Orchestra of North Vietnam. Suddenly, down the aisle marched Communist secret police, all carrying guns. They came up to me, and said: "Let's go outside."

They led me into an office of the theater. They said: "Are you Mr. Doan Van Toai?" and I answered: "Yes." They didn't say anything more but forced me to stand there for about an hour. Later they took me to police headquarters and said: "We are arresting you." I asked: "Why are you arresting me, what have I done?" but they only replied: "The best thing is for you to think and remember. It is for you to work out."

I was taken to a small cell. It was very dark—the only light coming from a small hole in the wall through which I could breathe fresh air. The first night I slept easily as I was still optimistic because I knew I hadn't done anything.

Each day I made a notch on the wall and soon I had been there for seven weeks. My only visitor was another prisoner—a girl who every morning would bring me a bowl of rice.

The first day she came I was very hungry and began to gulp the rice down but I soon realized they must have mixed some sand with it. It was impossible to eat. When they finally called me for questioning I asked the official why they had put sand in my rice. "So you remember what you have done wrong in the past," he said.

They made me write an account of my life and every morning would take me to their office where the air was very fresh. I wrote pages and pages so as to postpone the time when I would once more be shut up all day long.

I had first become involved in politics when I was a pharmacy student at Saigon University in the 1960s. At that time I believed Thieu was head of nothing but a puppet government in the hands of the Americans. I became interested in the struggle for peace at Saigon University and was elected vice president of the student union. When the student union president was arrested, I organized student demonstrations all over Vietnam against the Thieu government. For this as well as other activities, I was arrested and imprisoned many times by that government.

During these years the National Liberation Front had approached me to join

them. But I refused, preferring to support their goals independently through the student union. At the end of the war in May 1975, I was asked to join the finance committee of the provisional revolutionary government. I agreed, but in a split over policy I soon resigned. (Although the Communists never told me this, I believe that my resignation was the cause of my arrest.)

After I finished my account I was taken to Le Van Duyet prison in the center of Saigon where I stayed for over two years.

I was put in a small cell with 50 others. People died every day through lack of medical attention and in the evening you could hear the voices call out: "Warden, this is room number three, someone has just died."

I was worried about my French wife and three sons and was anxious for them to leave Vietnam. I knew there could be reprisals against them and through one of the prison wardens—a former friend—I sent a letter to my wife saying not to wait for my release but to take the children to France. And if she had to write a letter to the authorities denying my existence, then she must.

When she finally left for France in June 1977, I felt easier. Then I heard the news of my mother's death. She had been denied medical treatment because she had one son in prison and another who had left with the Americans. I was very sad and very angry and through my friend again sent a letter to the chief of the secret police in Saigon saying: "You are responsible for my mother's death. I have now been in prison for 27 months and I still don't know what I have done to oppose the Communists. If you find out nothing then you must release me." More important, I had my friend bribe an important official.

Later I was called to the prison commandant's office and was told I was released. He said that the government needed me to cooperate with them. "If we give you an exit visa you must tell the West how wonderful everything is here. And how well we treat our prisoners." I agreed with them, but only I knew what I would really tell the West.

I was given an exit visa but didn't leave Vietnam immediately. In prison I had given up hope for a free Vietnam. I had become very angry and very ashamed to have ever supported the NLF. I wanted to get rid of the Communist regime. But then I said to myself: "I think this because I have been in prison for over two years. Before I leave I must find out if the rest of the country feels the same way."

I discovered that everyone hated the regime because they were always hungry and were even less free than they had been under President Thieu. In Vietnam today there are over 800,000 people in prison and in so-called re-education camps. In Cambodia the political prisoners were exterminated quickly but in Vietnam they die slowly.

When I was released my friends still in prison asked me to tell the world what is happening and, if no one will stand up to the Vietnamese Communists, to send them cyanide to put an end to their agony. "Help us to die quickly," they said.

In Vietnam nobody dares to protest for fear of arrest. Few people abroad speak because they fear for the safety of their families still in Vietnam.

But even if it means the death of myself and my family, I must do something for the thousands of prisoners who die each year and the millions of people who have to support the unsupportable and accept the unacceptable.

Doan Van Toai is doing research at Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy on a book about Vietnam.

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Doan Van Toai,
David Chanoff

Learning from Viet Nam

The Pattern of Liberation Movements

THERE may well be a "Viet Nam" of the 1980s, and for a while it seemed that El Salvador was well on its way. All the ingredients are there: an oppressed peasantry, an entrenched landlord class, a history of corrupt government, a pseudo-colonial past, an energetic leftist guerrilla movement, and a US government with the will to intervene. Domestic confrontation within the United States also appears ready to take up precisely where it was interrupted by the signing of the Paris Peace Accords.

Only nine years have passed since Viet Nam provided much of the American and European Left with the chance to define a posture *vis-à-vis* international intervention by the USA. In the process, Viet Nam developed into a moral symbol that transformed the US national debate into a drama of civil disobedience and street violence that added a heavy emotional overlay to the anti-intervention position. Although there have been a few notable defections from the Peace movement since then (Joan Baez, Bernard-Henri Lévy, Jean Lacouture, and now Susan Sontag), that same emotion-charged resistance seems still to be on tap. Already

Noam Chomsky has warned that "there is overwhelming opposition to US involvement in El Salvador; the popular response has been quite vocal. . . ." Even the offer to send a peace-keeping force of US Marines to the Lebanon to "help" the evacuation of the PLO evoked nightmarish fears of a "Viet Nam syndrome."

Yet even so, reappraisal is in the air, and the once apparently clear "lessons of Viet Nam", both pragmatic and moral, are being subjected to review. Facing such a reappraisal is particularly unpleasant for those who once believed that the NLF/Vietcong was in fact "the sole genuine representative of the South Vietnamese people" (as Le Duc Tho so often expressed it), and that the eventual goal was "socialism in the North, democracy in the South" (Le Duan's phrase, the most popular revolutionary slogan of the early 1970s). But there appears to be a growing consensus that understanding American involvement in Viet Nam is a prerequisite to formulating a foreign policy for El Salvador or anywhere else in an endangered world that is different from the reflex strategy of *escalating military entanglement* or the equally reflex strategy of *withdrawal*. In Viet Nam, the former approach brought the USA 300,000 casualties and military failure; the latter, 500,000 refugees and political failure. No one wants to be doomed to repeat that particular history.



DOAN VAN TOAI was a left-wing student who spent many years with the Viet Cong; he then worked briefly for the Hanoi régime until his arrest and his awakening to the human realities which he recorded in his book *"The Vietnamese Gulag."* He lives now in the USA where he is a research associate at Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law & Diplomacy. DAVID CHANOFF is a Teaching Fellow at Harvard University.

FIRST AMONG the lessons that Viet Nam teaches concerns the composition of liberation-war guerrilla movements. It is perhaps not widely remembered that the Viet Minh was born in 1941 as an anti-French "front" organisation that included nationalists, religious groups, and non-Communist Leftists, together with a tightly disciplined Communist minority that effec-

tively, though covertly, exercised control. After Dien Bien Phu (1954), non-Communist revolutionaries were still employed in the government to continue attracting popular support, even while all anti-Communist factions were being eliminated. It was only when Ho Chi Minh had sufficiently consolidated power that the turn of the nationalists and non-Party militants came.

Exactly the same tactic was re-employed in the 1960s when the National Liberation Front was founded to rally all those who sympathised in any way with Communist goals. Later, NLF operatives created the "Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces" to provide a link with the nationalist intellectuals who opposed the régime and American intervention, but were sufficiently unenchanted with the Left to keep away from the Viet Cong. Both the Alliance and the NLF served as umbrella groups until 1975 when, with the establishment of the unified government, the Communists felt comfortable enough to eliminate their former allies. Even the NLF/Vietcong itself was eradicated, and its demise went unnoticed and unmarked by the same media that had formerly accorded it such lavish attention. Having used the organisation, its army, its supporters, its people, the Vietnamese Communist Party simply disposed of it, along with the load of propaganda that had depended on the appearance of NLF's "independence" and its inclusion of "moderates."

There are two points to be made here, both obvious but often overlooked. One is that Communist "Liberation War" strategy calls for the creation of guerrilla fronts representing many shades of political feeling, within which the Communists themselves are likely to be a minority. Antagonists are thus faced with an enemy which attracts diversified support and whose leadership is difficult to identify. The foreign propaganda effect alone of such an organisation is more than worth the minor risk to the Communist nucleus that it will be outmanoeuvred by some temporarily allied faction. Foreign journalists, for example, can be counted on to make a cogent case for the moderate, the liberal, and the nationalist struggle for a homeland rather than for the Communist flavour of the guerrilla movement. They will note that apparently leading figures are intellectuals or religious leaders whose standpoints may be distinctly non-Communist. And over time their reportage will convey to their democratically and pluralistically inclined readers the impres-

sion of a movement that is itself "pluralistic", and to that extent representative and even democratic.

THE FACT IS, however, that the actual layers of guerrilla control are immensely difficult to lay bare even for historians with perspective and leisure, let alone for reporters whose job requires quick insights for urgent deadlines on the basis of limited observation. Even so astute an observer as Bernard Fall could argue in his book *Vietnam in the Balance* (1966) that the Viet Cong, though aided and partly directed by North Viet Nam, was in fact a distinct entity that included substantial support from various politico-religious sects (among others) and that had its own programme quite separate from Hanoi's. Yet in his 19 May 1975 Victory Day speech, Le Duan let the cat out of the bag:

"Our Party [the Vietnamese Communist Party] is the unique and single leader that organised, controlled and governed the entire struggle of the Vietnamese people from the first day of the revolution."

His remarks were later echoed by Nguyen Huu Tho, the NLF's former president, who matter-of-factly commented that the organisation had always been "wholly obedient to the party line" (Address on the 15th Anniversary of the NLF, 19 December 1975), while the Ho Chi Minh City party newspaper (*Saigon Giai Phong*) editorialised that "under the leadership of the Workers Party of Viet Nam [the Vietnamese Communist Party], the National Liberation Front was founded, and under the wise leadership of the Party, the Front gained victory after victory. . . ." If the Viet Nam experience has taught Liberation Movement organisers anything, it is the value of maintaining a reformist, nationalist, and non-aligned façade. There is no doubt that the Salvadoran movement (or indeed the Palestine liberation movement) will follow that same strategy, and that the façade will be virtually impenetrable to outside analysis.

There is also no doubt (and this is the second point) that the non-Communist elements in the guerrilla front will be destroyed as soon as feasible. Ton Duc Thang, President of North Viet Nam's Fatherland Front, succinctly

characterised Communist strategy in this regard:

"Rally all forces that can be rallied, neutralise all forces that can be neutralised, eliminate all forces that can be eliminated."

Ton was referring here to the standard Communist device of shifting coalitions in order to make use of opposition forces and eventually eliminate them piecemeal. For example, to deal with three enemies, alliances are formed with two while the primary enemy is attacked. The process is then repeated until Communist power stands unopposed.

This strategy governed the creation of the Viet Minh coalitions and the employment of non-Communist revolutionaries in the Ho Chi Minh government while resources were coordinated against the French, just as it governed the elimination of those same elements once the primary enemy was defeated. The same pattern followed suit in the South where the Cao Dai and Hoa Hao sects were initially welcomed and became a substantial part of the NLF. Since the overthrow of Saigon, however, both sects have been suppressed and their leaders imprisoned or executed. They were first rallied, then neutralised, then eliminated.

In fact, none of the former non-Communist Leftists—progressive intellectuals, religious leaders, or student militants who figured so importantly in the anti-American, anti-régime conflict—now hold any major position in the unified government. On the contrary, many of them are either jailed or dead. The former Buddhist leader, the Venerable Thich Tri Quang, whose picture appeared at one point (30 May 1966) in *Newsweek* and in *L'Express* (Paris) with the caption "THE MAN WHO MAKES AMERICA TREMBLE", is now under house arrest in Ho Chi Minh City as are his two chief assistants. Another major Buddhist anti-war figure, the Venerable Thich Thien Minh, who was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment by the Thieu government, survived the régime that condemned him only to die a Communist prisoner in the Ham Tan Gulag in 1979. The activist priest Father Trần Hữu Thanh, responsible for organising mass movements against Thieu (most prominently "The People's Movement Against Corruption"), is presently meditating on life's ironies in a Northern re-education camp. Professor Chau Tam Luan, formerly Vice-President of the "Association of Patriotic

Intellectuals", has recently escaped the homeland he fought so determinedly to liberate. The list goes on: Tran Van Tuyen (nationalist opposition leader), dead in a Communist prison in 1976; Ho Huu Tuong (Sartre's classmate and Viet Nam's leading philosopher), dead in Ham Tan in 1980; Thich Man Giac (Buddhist strategist), a refugee; Phan Ba Cam (Secretary-General of the opposition Democratic Socialist Party), dead in the Chi Hoa Gulag in 1979.

TO WESTERNERS who are not Viet Nam specialists these names evoke little or no recognition: no faces come to mind, no personal histories. But to those who are educated about the anti-régime, anti-American period, these people and their numerous colleagues among the refugees, the imprisoned and the deceased represented the heart of the non-Communist resistance. These are the people who created and led the organisations that elicited passionate support from the American and European peace movements. They are the ones who made Le Duc Tho believable in the Paris Peace talks (1970–73) with his refrain that "We [North Viet Nam] do not want to impose Communism on South Viet Nam", and his persistent advocacy of a post-War coalition government. Today, of course, seven years after the annexation of the South, Le Duc Tho's Paris positions have long been revealed as nothing more than disingenuous rhetoric. At the time they were taken seriously, and by no one more than those who had bound their fortunes to the Communists. Truong Nhu Tang (a founder of the NLF, Minister of Justice in the Provisional Revolutionary government, now an exile in France) put it this way:

"The Communists are expert in the art of seduction and will go to any length to woo you over to their side, as long as they don't control the government. But once they are in power they suddenly become harsh, ungrateful, cynical, and destroy you without hesitation."

THESE TWO LESSONS from the Vietnamese primer are available to those who report the Salvadoran and other liberation movements, as well as to those who are inclined actively to support the economic and political aspirations

of a dispossessed peasantry. It is not that such aspirations are unworthy; quite the opposite. It is simply that alliance with or support of a Communist front in order to achieve anything other than strictly Communist goals is suicidal. Eventually they will, in Tang's words, "destroy you without hesitation." That at least is what happened in Viet Nam, and the Viet Nam experience seems applicable to any protracted liberation movement that becomes the focus of

East/West confrontation. The non-Communist Left, as well as other revolutionary factions, are simply not capable of long-term survival within a Communist-led movement.

One reason for this is that in a protracted "Liberation War", shipments of supplies and arms to guerrilla forces must move through foreign Communist countries; military training and direction for guerrilla forces must be carried on by foreign Communist governments; and

Gaddafi's "Green" Liberation



Tripoli Bonn
COLONEL GADDAFI held court for a mixed group of left-wing ecologists, progressive peace-fighters, and assorted "Alternative" militants who had come from all parts of Western Europe to pay a comradely call on him. His message to them was to

transform their movements for "greenery", "peace" and "new ways of life" into one great Liberation Movement to struggle against the domination of foreign armies.

The greatest political excitement was caused by the presence of a group of West Germans, members of the "Green" and "Alternative" political parties whose recent electoral growth has brought them into the centre of the Bonn political stage. The Green/Alternative candidates have been winning over 5% while Chancellor Schmidt's coalition-government partners, the Free Democrats, have been faltering—with the result that in SPD-Hamburg (and elsewhere) they have begun negotiations by setting conditions for a partnership with the Social Democrats. Among the travellers to Tripoli were two Green leaders, Roland Vogt and Gertrud Schilling, and an Alternative leader, Otto Schily (famous as the lawyer for the Baader-Meinhof gang).

Although they were not an "official" delegation—the "Green" executive subsequently criticised them for their "secret", "unauthorised" trip—they appeared to reflect the ideological wings and "militant tendency" as represented in the views of the Hamburg Green/Alternative leader, Thomas Ebermann, who at a conference of Communists in 1979 told them they had to win influence over the new movement in order to survive.

THE LIBYAN CHIEF-OF-STATE received the European visitors in a Bedouin tent. He wore, evidently in their honour, green trousers. He in fact recommended that the colour green should dominate all their demonstra-

tions. He expressed fears that too much red might suggest that "others, perhaps the USSR, were behind them." He also advised them to create a full "ideology" and then proceed to take their followers away from the streets and squares towards the American military bases in Europe. Evidently he was very much concerned with the NATO Mediterranean missile bases in nearby Sicily. Frau Schilling, a leader of the Greens in Hesse, presented him with a copy of a map indicating all the US atomic weapon depots in the West German *Bundesrepublik*. According to the official report, "Graciously the Colonel smiled in gratitude. . . ."

A full account of the "Audienz" appeared in the left-wing German newspaper "Tageszeitung" (TAZ), and the servile tone is in the subservient original.

"... We entered the tent reverentially and paid rapt attention to his words. In sharp contrast to the petty-bourgeois-republican fussiness of our *Bundeskanzler* [Helmut Schmidt], Gaddafi radiates a ceremonial dignity. . . ."

But the Colonel's advice was not without military precision. The attack on American military bases should be to cut their "deliveries and water supplies." For this movement, the Libyan leader promised, "we will give all the assistance that is at our disposal." As Colonel Gaddafi dramatised the options:

"When peaceful efforts don't lead to success, then they become military efforts. Fedayeen groups will be founded again in order to reach this goal. This must be made clear to the masses. Either the bases will be stopped through your peaceful efforts, or the alternative would be war and destruction. . . ."

IN THEIR TURN the Greens, Alternatives, and Peace Fighters were capable of only a little less militance. They assured him, in the words of Frau Schilling (reported in the TAZ), that they "wanted to get rid of parliaments, and practice direct democracy", obviously following in the path of the Libyan "People's Congresses." They too wanted to "destabilise the power game of the political parties, and destroy them. . . ." They reassured Colonel Gaddafi that they had very much in common with his theoretical work on the Libyan Revolution, the "Green Book."

As reported in:
DIE WELT (Bonn) and
FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG

effective world-wide propaganda must be orchestrated by foreign Communist governments. The entire support system necessary to carry a modern Liberation War to a successful conclusion relies on a power-base outside the host country. Such a base is only available through the Soviet Union or one of her regional proxies, so that revolutionary groups not aligned with the Soviets are inevitably submerged by their more powerful competitors.

In Viet Nam, the Communist strategy of "rallying all those who can be rallied" in order to isolate and eliminate enemies one by one was extraordinarily successful. Unfortunately, the Saigon government was incapable of emulating that strategy and found itself operating from an increasingly narrowing popular base. The same self-defeating polarisation appears to be operating in El Salvador today with the recent setbacks to the Christian Democrats and the apparent dismantling of land reform measures. Here too the Vietnamese experience is worth reflecting on.

In Viet Nam, the hard-line right-wing orientation of successive Southern régimes often radicalised and alienated those who should have been made into allies. In many cases, the government's habitual brutality transformed a loyal opposition into Leftists, moderate Leftists into Communists, and reluctant Communists into zealots. Many students who at first only knew that they were "against the régime" learned through a term or two in prison to be confirmed revolutionaries. The régime, utilising its French-trained police, was adept at torture, but hopelessly inept at any other type of persuasion. Government leaders simply had no concept of the need to differentiate among opposition groups and to split the non-Communist elements from their deadly allies. Instead they regarded as Communists virtually all on the Left (and many in the Centre as well), and so played precisely into the hands of the Communists whose strategy was to "rally all who can be rallied." This appalling obtuseness gave additional credence to the NLF's claim to be a "true coalition" and vastly more representative of the South Vietnamese people than the government. In the long run, this claim, and the correspond-

ing image that Diem, Ky, and Thieu established for themselves as self-seeking despots, played a significant role in the erosion of American domestic support for the war; and it was in the American domestic arena that the outcome was decided.¹

VIET NAM was the West's first experience with a protracted war of liberation, and perhaps the single most important lesson it taught concerns the power of public dissent. That lesson is particularly ominous since it confirms that ideologised opinion-makers have become central to the West's ability to wage this sort of war, while Communist planners have no equivalent need to take into account the complex domestic role of a free press. At the same time they are highly attuned to the impact of the media among their adversaries. One of the authors of this article (Doan Van Toai) spent two-and-a-half years in the Tran Hung Dao Gulag after an earlier career as a pro Viet Cong student leader, publisher, and sometime prisoner of the Thieu régime. While in Tran Hung Dao he was part of a group of political prisoners chosen at one point to listen to an address by Mai Chi Tho (a Central Committee member and brother of Le Duc Tho). Tho told them:

"Ho Chi Minh may have been an evil man; Nixon may have been a great man. The Americans may have had the just cause; we may not have had the just cause. But we won and the Americans were defeated because we convinced the people that Ho Chi Minh is the great man, that Nixon is a murderer, and the Americans are the invaders. . . . The key factor is how to control people and their opinions. Only Marxism-Leninism can do that. . . . Between you—the bright intellectuals—and me, I tell you the truth."

New York Times Magazine, 30 March 1981

Tho was referring not only to the success of Communist propaganda within Viet Nam, but also to its world-wide impact.

One reason that the American anti-War movement is reluctant to look back at that period is not simply that the post-War history of Viet Nam has been so tragic; it is that people do not relish acknowledging their own gullibility. Harrison Salisbury, Staughton Lynd, Tom Hayden, David Schoenbrun, among

¹ See the two articles which represent the first real efforts to "learn from Viet Nam": Robert Elegant, "How to Lose a War" (*ENCOUNTER*, August 1981); and H. J. Kaplan, "With the American Press in Vietnam" (*Commentary*, May 1982, pp. 42-49).

others, all found themselves popularising in the West Hanoi's position on such themes as the "absence" of Northern troop infiltration into the South, the "independence" of the NLF Vietcong, and Northern innocence of plans to "annex the South." Pham Van Dong in particular developed a special adroitness in dealing with American visitors, who almost always heard remarks calculated to exploit their own predispositions.

YET EVEN when the full story of Communist manipulation of American opinions is known,² we will still need to anticipate the likely effect of media-related pressures should the United States become militarily involved in El Salvador or elsewhere. In that event we would undoubtedly witness over a period of time incidents every bit as vivid and dehumanising as those that Viet Nam still evokes for almost all of us. Children running from napalm, murder in the street, villages burning—the whole iconography of war. In a conflict where the media have access to one side and not to the other, these incidents will regularly depict the brutality of our allies and ourselves and rarely that of our enemies.

At the same time, the mechanisms our society has evolved to achieve "open government" will ensure that much of our tactics and strategy will be public knowledge and open to criticism both emotional and rational. We will know exactly the extent of our economic and military assistance to a government many feel to be unsavoury. But the truth about foreign supply and troop inflation to the guerrillas will remain conjectural. We will have detailed reports on how our soldiers feel about fighting and dying in an alien place. But we will know little that is credible about the enemy except for his courage and perseverance. The stupidity, negligence, and failures accompanying our involvement will be spotlighted each night on television. But the same kind of information about guerrilla troubles will simply not be available. Consequently, media reportage will seem to maximise our difficulties and minimise those of the other side. Over time, such things will have a corrosive effect on even hardened patriots. That at least was the experience in Viet Nam, and it is

difficult to imagine anything different coming out of another overseas engagement, in Salvador or elsewhere.

REINFORCING THE PREDICTABLE BIAS of Western news coverage is the predictable bias of editorial analysis. The function of a free press in keeping a vigilantly sceptical eye on government had the long-term effect in Viet Nam of turning the majority of American commentators against the administration. David Halberstam's letters to his daughter describe the changes even the most initially supportive observers went through when confronted with the official hypocrisy and duplicity that inevitably accompany war, and especially a prolonged and confused guerrilla war. During the Viet Nam period none of the major television commentators, other than Howard K. Smith, maintained anything vaguely resembling a pro-Administration perspective. For its part, of course, the Administration displayed disappointment and hostility toward media luminaries who failed to appreciate the government's theories of geopolitical confrontation or even to maintain, in its opinion, decent objectivity.³

But a balanced historical perspective is not what we should expect from the media. Their traditions are those of adversarial confrontation and investigative reporting, of scoops and hot news, not scholarly objectivity. Even though they are the conduit through which current history becomes known, they are not historians. By and large they are not equipped for the role and they are not comfortable with its demands. They didn't fulfil it well in Viet Nam, and there is no reason to believe they would be more suited to it in Latin America or the Middle East.

All this suggests that what we can be sure of in El Salvador, or any other Liberation war that attracts serious American attention, is a domestic anti-War movement that will trigger off at a fairly high level and intensify as the flow of news and analysis affects public thinking. Over time, the impact of continuous war-coverage will inevitably erode popular support for US involvement and will help generate a progressively more militant resistance. This effect can almost be taken as a given. After Viet Nam, political strategists have no choice but to include the media factor in their equations and to weight it more and more heavily over time.

Another given is the predilection of the American Left to embrace "national liberation

² Stanley Karnow, "Viet Nam Duplicity Reconsidered", *ENCOUNTER*, August 1981.

³ See Peter Braestrup, *The Big Story* (Westview Press, in cooperation with Freedom House, 1977).

movements" of every stripe as long as there is an element of anti-Americanism in them. Even the anti-régime movements of Pol Pot and the Ayatollah Khomeini attracted their share of initial support. Viet Nam however, remains the textbook case. In that conflict a pattern of domestic resistance developed around radicalised intellectuals and other public figures that can be viewed as a militant model for domestic reaction in any future engagement. In terms of the American ability to commit troops over an extended period, this resistance must be considered ominous. Its obvious continued vitality brings into relief the major problems facing American foreign policy today—the enlightenment of public opinion in the US, and especially the education of the adversarial culture that Viet Nam galvanised throughout the West.

THAT EDUCATION has begun already with the reassessment of Viet Nam currently under way. As public understanding grows of what the North Vietnamese and Southern front objectives really were, how their military and propaganda organisations operated, and what the post-War realities in Indo-China are, it will become increasingly clear that American involvement there was supportable on both moral and geopolitical grounds.

Viet Nam, in fact, should be regarded as an object lesson for the American Left, a lesson in the manipulative strategies of Communist-led Liberation War movements and the subversion of popular aspirations for independence and economic and political reform. The flow of political prisoners within Viet Nam and the flow of refugees out of Viet Nam included large numbers of former Viet Cong freedom-fighters, socialist revolutionaries, nationalist intellectuals, and religious activists who have learned in their flesh the consequences of embracing the Communists as allies. American progressives, it is fervently hoped, will never have the opportunity to learn the same lessons in the same way. But if the Viet Nam scenario is not to be repeated, they must be encouraged to discard their studied ignorance of recent Vietnamese history.

THE NORTHERN BURIAL of the Viet Cong, whose programme was espoused by many in the domestic anti-War movement, should be the

subject of detailed public examination, as should the fate of the various other anti-régime, anti-American factions. The single-minded Northern pursuit of annexation, the bloody suppression of the land redistribution under Ho Chi Minh, the campaign to smother religion and culture in unified Viet Nam, these should all be as well known in the US and Europe now as the My Lai massacre, Thieu's "tiger cages", and massive South Vietnamese corruption were then. This history is alive and can be told with best effect, not by the people perceived as conservative ideologues, but by the dissident and dispossessed Vietnamese Leftists and intellectuals who lived it, people like Nguyen Cong Hoan and Truong Nhu Tang, for whose ideas the Left committed itself and who have the standing to make themselves heard by their erstwhile supporters.

IT CAN BE SAID, of course that current Vietnamese history merely re-teaches the lessons of other Communist revolutions. But in certain ways Viet Nam is special. Viet Nam was the crucible of the modern American Left. It was the Viet Nam war that also radicalised much of the intelligentsia in Western Europe ("Ho-Ho-Ho-Chi-Minh" shouted the tens of thousands of APO and SDS demonstrators in the streets of Bonn and Berlin). The theme continues to provide the Left with its reference points. Almost significant is that Viet Nam was one of the few—with Castro's Cuba—contemporary forces in the Communist world that stirred deep ideological sympathy in the West. Russia has been bankrupt as a moral force for decades. China is rightly perceived as a nation more concerned with internal difficulties and security problems than with its role as champion of international Communism. Insurgent Viet Nam, on the other hand, is still lionised for its courage, its ability to face and overcome colonialism and imperialism, domestic right-wing dictators, and American militarism. It is thus a model for present and future East-West conflicts in Latin America and Africa, conflicts which can be expected to draw a great deal of American and West European support to the revolutionary side, fighting at once for homeland and radical social ideals.

But the fact is that Viet Nam is an idol with clay feet, and persistent, thorough exposure of the monumental deceit with which the war was

carried on and of the cynical suppression of human rights afterwards will work to split domestic opposition. During the Viet Nam period the American Left had little concept of the role it played (along with the NLF and so-called "third force" elements) in the Communist war game, and so allowed itself to be manipulated in embarrassing fashion. But as the old anti-War leadership achieves literacy about "liberation movement" strategy, its willingness to sponsor and organise future opposition should become less reflexive. Joan Baez two years ago, and Susan Sontag recently have surely done more to provoke objectivity and self-awareness within the American Left than the most convincing conservative arguments ever could. Intensified education is in order, not to divert the Left from its social ideals, but to divorce it from its thoughtless support of Communist-led and/or Soviet-sponsored liberation movements. As trade used to follow the flag, Gulag follows "the final contest."

THERE IS A necessary complement to education, however, and that is the creation of a Western policy for Liberation War situations that is capable of drawing support within the United States. Unfortunately, though, in this era of liberation movements the Americans and the Europeans have until now failed to furnish the Third World with its type of pro-Western revolution. They simply have not developed a coherent, positive approach to resolving the social inequities that provide the framework for present-day international competition. Our failures in this area have forced us into, at best, a defensive "containment" posture which, among other misfortunes, has led to a history of American support for the status quo defended by unpopular authoritarians. Consequences have included the identification of the United States with old-time oppression rather than change, reform, and social amelioration. We ourselves have fostered the impression that, in the Third World context, to be progressive or innovative means to be pro-Communist.

This apparent truth has had tragic effects on

populations involved in "liberation wars." But the more profound catastrophe is that domestic American opinion has been so alienated that any scenario which includes a prolonged US military commitment is problematical. The chief effect of this is substantially to reduce American leverage and thus to encourage guerrilla movements in their reliance on the violence of military solutions. In Mai Chi Tho's words: "The key factor is how to control people and their opinions"; and that observation applies every bit as much to sophisticated Western opinion as it does to the "hearts and minds" of Vietnamese and Salvadoran farmers.

Given the opportunity, the American and European Left could find its natural home backing non-Communist factions in Nicaragua, El Salvador and elsewhere. But for this to happen, and for the consequent neutralisation of the general "anti-war" movement to materialise, the West must learn from the Communist strategy of gathering all the support available in order to confront the common enemy. That means a policy, undertaken within the context of regional alliances, of pressing conspicuously for reform in countries not yet embroiled, working to achieve coalitions rather than polarisation where there is already substantial guerrilla activity, and actively supporting indigenous non-Communist "people's movements" in areas where they enjoy significant popular support (in Afghanistan, for example, in Indo-China and now in the Lebanon). Appropriate support along with regional allies of such movements would have several positive effects. It would throw doubt on the commonly-held belief that Communist revolutions are irreversible. It would further drain Soviet resources, already badly extended. And it would spur development of a comprehensive Western "Third World strategy" different from the defeatist alternatives of reaction or isolation. The development of such a strategy, together with continuing public education about Viet Nam and its aftermath, will go a long way toward restoring viability to Western objectives in the developing nations.

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THE NATION'S NEWSPAPER

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BOOKS: Views of Vietnam: William Broyles Jr. returns to Vietnam to see the other side in *Brothers In Arms: A Journey From War to Peace*. ■ *The Vietnamese Gulag* by Doan Van Toal and David Chanoff traces Toal's life then and now. ■ Magazines. 4D

FRI./SAT./SUN., JULY 4-6, 1986

How a nationalist's dream died in the 'Gulag'

The Vietnamese Gulag

By Doan Van Toal
and David Chanoff
Simon & Schuster
351 pp., \$18.95

By Marc Leepson
Special for USA TODAY

Nationalism vs. communism. That's been one of the festering debates — at least in the West — about Ho Chi Minh and his wars against the French, Americans and South Vietnamese. Those who take Ho at his word believe he and his successors' true aim was to gain an independent, united Vietnam. Those who distrusted Ho's pronouncements believed

that he cynically used nationalism as an excuse to gain non-Communist support in the South and abroad and that the true aim was to build a Marxist state in Vietnam.

Doan Van Toal once believed that the North Vietnamese were nationalists first. Toal, born in South Vietnam in 1945, grew up in a family that distrusted the dictatorial, corrupt governments in the South. When Toal came of political age in the 1960s he became a passionate nationalist and actively opposed the government of Nguyen Van Thieu.

Toal never officially joined the Communist-led National Liberation Front (a.k.a. the Vietcong), but nevertheless

wound up in jail on several occasions for his anti-Thieu activities. When Saigon fell to the Communists in 1975 Toal decided to stay in Vietnam. He soon found out that the conquering North Vietnamese had used nationalism as a pretext to institute a strict Communist regime.

Toal tells his story in an affecting memoir, *The Vietnamese Gulag*, written with David Chanoff. Toal's book is a stinging condemnation of Vietnam's Communist rulers. The authors have covered similar ground before, with last year's *A Vietcong Memoir*, which they wrote with former NLF leader Truong Nhu Tang.

In the new book, Toal tells

his life story, concentrating on his student days and culminating in the 2½ years he spent in Communist prisons — a Kafkaesque nightmare during which Toal never was officially charged with any crime. He learned the hard way that Communist prisons could make most of Thieu's jails look like resort hotels.

The Vietnamese Gulag seems to be an honest attempt to re-create the events of Toal's life. There is no way for a Westerner even to try to corroborate the facts as Toal presents them. But everything Toal relates about his personal life rings true and jibes with most of the reports that have come out of Communist-controlled Vietnam.

His sketchy recitation of the post-1945 political history of Vietnam is, for the most part, on target. He is right in castigating the corrupt regimes of the South and the French colonialists and blaming U.S. indecision and ignorance for propping up the unpopular authoritarian South Vietnamese leaders. And he correctly saves most of his scorn for the North Vietnamese Communists, who destroyed his ideals and replaced them with bitter, ironic disillusionment.

Marc Leepson served in Vietnam with the U.S. Army. He is books editor and columnist for *The Veteran* magazine.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

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Turning a Nation Into a Jail

By PETER R. KANN

We've been privileged to watch some mighty fine melodrama in recent months.

First, Baby Doc slunk off to Paris, leaving happy Haitians dancing in the streets. Then we tuned our TV sets to Manila and watched the Philippine people, aided and abetted by bishops, generals, politicians, businessmen and U.S. congressmen, rid their country of the massively corrupt and mildly repressive Marcos regime.

Tin-pot dictatorships are like that. They come and go, though never soon enough. Their departures always are worth celebrating—at least in the short run.

But, on the heels of these happy events, it's also worth looking across the South China Sea to another Southeast Asian country where businessmen, churchmen, congressmen and anchormen all are powerless to affect events, where there are no such loudspeakers to amplify the muffled cries of a muzzled people. This is the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. There are no happy endings here.

For any who doubt the difference between the common, venal dictatorships littering the Third World landscape and true totalitarianism, who think it some semantic distinction of the Kristols and Kirkpatricks, let them pick up a copy of "The Vietnamese Gulag" (Simon & Schuster, 351 pages, \$18.95) by Doan Van Toai and David Chanoff, translated from the original French. It's nothing more than the memoir of one man's imprisonment in postwar Vietnam. It's nothing less than the saga of a society's enslavement.

If Mr. Toai is not quite up there among such chroniclers of terror as Arthur Koestler and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, he has written the very best Vietnam book that this Vietnam-watcher has read in many years. It constitutes a chilling closing chapter on the Vietnam War. And if anyone is still wondering what that war was all about and why it is a tragedy that we lost, the answer is here in Mr. Toai's cry from the gulag.

Mr. Toai was a child of rural South Vietnam who went on to become a student protest leader in wartime Saigon. Like many South Vietnamese, he felt trapped between a "melange of communism and nationalism on the one hand and the Americans and their servitors on the other. I and others like me supported the communists. At least they were Vietnamese."

Opposition to the Thieu regime landed Mr. Toai briefly in jail, but he was a communist sympathizer, not a communist cadre, and Thieu types could be pressured by friends, journalists, politicians. "Being a prisoner under Thieu was like being a celebrity," Mr. Toai recalls later on from his communist cell.

When the communists took Saigon in April 1975, Mr. Toai stayed on to help build the new society. Three months later, sitting in a Saigon theater, he was arrested. Without charges. Without cause. The bulk of the book recounts Mr. Toai's struggle for survival and search for sanity in the Orwellian prison system of a party that

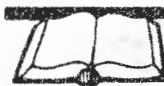
promised to "turn the jails into schools" and instead turned the nation into a jail. No longer were there laws for a Thieu to twist or his opponents to protest. There was now only the party, its power, and its paranoia.

Locked in a sewage-filled cell where 70 half-naked men are packed in so close they cannot lie on their backs, half-starved, trussed in chains, brutalized, forced to watch friends beaten to death with canes for minor infractions of the rules, Mr. Toai sustains the will to live and to bear witness to the betrayal of his revolution.

"I now see that Duyet is not a 'prison' in the usual sense. . . . An ordinary prison is part of a system of justice; it exists for punishment or correction or rehabilitation. Each of these rationales accords the prisoner a certain dignity. He is a human being worth punishment or correction or rehabilitation. But Duyet cedes nothing to its inmates. . . . it is simply a storehouse, a place where inconvenient bodies can be stacked for an indeterminate duration."

A year without charges or trial or sentence gives way to two. Slowly, the author realizes that, "The writers, the artists, the bar, the scholars—the entire generation that embodied South Vietnam's culture has been smashed and the remnants are slowly dying in the revolution's gulag of jails and hard labor camps."

The West hears little of this, and heeds less: "A rumor here, a refugee report there, were not much to dispel the conviction among Western activists that the right



Bookshelf

"The Vietnamese Gulag"
By Doan Van Toai
and David Chanoff

side had won, or the relief among others that at least it was over. . . . in the sweat-boxes of Le Van Duyet. . . . we think otherwise."

Mr. Toai blames us, but also himself. With millions of other "passionate idealists" he had fellow-traveled a trail "at whose unforeseen end lay terror and destitution for the nation."

After 22 months in the gulag, Mr. Toai is released in the same sudden, arbitrary manner in which he had been arrested. "I was arrested for nothing and released for the same reason." In some ways he feels lucky: "Hundreds of thousands are imprisoned even more for even less."

Mr. Toai eventually manages to leave Vietnam and reach America. He marvels at the liberty of this society and at our license to take it for granted. "Perhaps it is the immigrants' function from generation to generation to remind [Americans] of what a treasure it is they own," Mr. Toai tells us. For such reminders we owe Mr. Toai and many thousands of Vietnamese now among us a powerful debt.

Mr. Kann is the Journal's associate publisher.