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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
letter case (023545)			
1. memo	Richard Allen to Edwin Meese re: your response to letter from a Vietnamese (1 pp.)	4/21/81	P5 MS 11/6/00
2. memo	Jim Lilley to Richard Allen re: responses to letters from Vietnamese Toai (1 pp.)	4/14/81	P5
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RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].
- P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].

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- F-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA].
- F-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA].
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- F-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
- F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

July 24, 1981

Dear Mr. Toai:

Messrs. Meese and Allen have asked me to thank you for your letters of July 4th.

I have taken the liberty of forwarding your letter and the enclosed position paper to the Department of State, and suggest that you contact them in the future for any exchange of views you may wish to have with the Administration. To remind you, the Vietnamese Desk Officer at the State Department can be reached at 202/632-3132.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

James Lilley
James Lilley

^x
Mr. Doan Van Toai
Research Associate
The Fletcher School
of Law and Diplomacy
Medford, Massachusetts 02155

NSC # 8101957

NSC # 8104413

Enclosures filed in
Oversize Attachments # 7811

#4413

ED

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gr 27/1050

JANET COLSON

BUD NANCE

DICK ALLEN

IRENE DERUS

JANET COLSON

BUD NANCE

KAY

CY TO VP

CY TO MEESE

CY TO BAKER

CY TO DEEVER

CY TO BRADY

SHOW CC

SHOW CC

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MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

4413 *AK*

ACTION

July 24, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR JANET COLSON

FROM: JIM LILLEY *[Signature]*
SUBJECT: Mr. Doan Van Toai

As advised in my memo to Dick Allen of April 14 (package attached at Tab III), I do not believe we should encourage any further correspondence with Mr. Toai. I have therefore written to him on behalf of Ed Meese and Dick Allen, with the hope that this will be the end of our exchange.

RECOMMENDATION: That my letter to Mr. Toai be dispatched and that further correspondence from him be sent to the State Department for direct reply.

Approve *[Signature]* Disapprove _____

[Signature]
1/27/81

Attachments

- Tab I Lilley ltr to Toai
- II Toai ltrs of July 4th
- III Previous correspondence

ED

81 JUL 22 AM 19

JANET COLSON

BUD NANCE

DICK ALLEN

IRENE DERUS

JANET COLSON

BUD NANCE

KAY

CY TO VP

CY TO MEESE

CY TO BAKER

CY TO DEEVER

CY TO BRADY

[Handwritten signature]

*for staff
reference
(7/22/81)*

SHOW CC

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4413

81 JUL 20 P 3: 14

STAFF
7/20/81

JANET COLSON _____

BUD NANCE _____

DICK ALLEN _____

IRENE DERUS _____

JANET COLSON _____

BUD NANCE _____

KAY _____

CY TO VP _____

CY TO MEESE _____

CY TO BAKER _____

CY TO DEEVER _____

CY TO BRADY _____

SHOW CC _____

*Note: Author sent
identical package
to Ed Meese.
(also attached)
Jr*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO: Adm. Bud Nance

Ent
FROM: EDWIN THOMAS
Assistant Counsellor
to the President

The attached was received by Edwin Meese III and requires special handling by your office and staff for response.

Please handle as appropriate and forward a copy of your response with the incoming to Ellen Strichartz, Room 28 OEOB, Ext 7489. 493

Thank you.

JUL 22 1981



MEDFORD

TUFTS UNIVERSITY
THE FLETCHER SCHOOL OF LAW AND DIPLOMACY
Administered with the cooperation of Harvard University

MASSACHUSETTS 02155

July Fourth 1981

Mr. EDWIN MEESE III
Counselor to the President
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Meese:

In the heart of hope on the World peace and the Freedom ideology, I am more than happy to send you the POSITION PAPERS of the VIETNAM NATIONAL SALVATION COMMITTEE which has been recently formed in Paris to gather every body to fight the current Communist regime in Vietnam.

Mr. Truong Nhu Tang, a founder of the former National Liberation Front, former Justice Minister of the former Viet Cong government, who escaped from the Vietnamese Communists last year, is now the spokesman of the Committee. (He wishes to redeem his past errors of supporting the Communists).

The top priorities of the National Salvation Committee are:

- 1- To unite the patriots of all political colours with the exception of the Communists, to help Vietnamese people abroad and within the country to overthrow the present regime in Vietnam.
- 2- To mobilize the general support from the World public opinion.
- 3- To gain the support from those who oppose Soviet expansionism and hegemonism in South east Asia, specifically the United States, China, Japan, the Southeast Asia and Western Europe countries.

The objectives of the Vietnam National Salvation Committee are:

- 1- To carry out the Vietnamese Nationalist Revolution in Vietnam, by overthrow the current Communist regime in Vietnam to establish a new regime of FREEDOM, JUSTICE, HUMAN DIGNITY and NON-COMMUNIST in accordance with Vietnamese traditions and aspirations.
- 2- To promote and consolidate for Indochina a new structure of stability and peace based on the absolute respect of the fundamental national right of the peoples of Cambodia, Laos, especially the genuine neutrality of the three Indochina countries.

I believe that the objectives of the VN.N,S.C. are compatible with those of your country and the situation in Southeast Asia. I think that the VN.N.S.C. therefore is worthy to receive your most valued support.

Respectfully yours,

Doan Van Toai
Research Associate

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

1957
AJ

023545

May 26, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR KATHERINE CAMALIER

FROM: ALLEN J. LENZ *AJL*
SUBJECT: Correspondence with Mr. Doan Van Toai

In your letter of May 12, 1981, to Mr. Van Toai you stated that Mr. Allen's staff would be in touch with him once they had reviewed the meeting request.

Attached is a letter from Mr. Allen to Mr. Van Toai dated April 20, 1981. As you can see, this letter responded to Mr. Van Toai's March 30, 1981, letter to Mr. Baker.

The NSC Staff recommends no further communication with Mr. Van Toai.

Attachment

Letter to Mr. Van Toai from Mr. Allen, dated April 20, 1981

Newsweek

NEWSWEEK/JUNE 30, 1980

A Saigon Defector's Story

At 6:30 each morning, Truong Nhu Tang punches the time clock at the Michelin tire plant in Poitiers, France. Only two men at Michelin—the factory manager and the personnel chief—know that the clerk is the former Justice Minister of Vietnam's National Liberation Front. More recently, Tang became one of the "boat people"—and the highest-ranking Vietnamese defector to surface in the West. Last week, in an interview with NEWSWEEK's Edward Behr, the 57-year-old Tang described how he had worked with the Viet Cong to overthrow the government of South Vietnam, only to discover "that I had made one huge mistake."

The son of middle-class Saigonese parents, Tang grew up the very model of a Vietnamese anti-imperialist. After earning a law degree in France during the 1950s, he returned home as a businessman and secretly helped to found the NLF. Jailed after an informer exposed him, Tang was exchanged in 1968 for three American prisoners of war; then he vanished into the jungle, where he became Justice Minister at COSVN, the Front's secret headquarters. Tang was not a Communist: his objective was to defeat American "imperialism" and to achieve "national reconciliation" in South Vietnam. "We knew that reunification [with North Vietnam] was the ultimate goal, but we expected the process to take time," he said. "I was for reunification, but not for domination."

Tang and nationalists like him were shortchanged by Hanoi. "Instead of a government of national coalition," he said, "unification was forced upon us." After the fall of Saigon in 1975, Tang took charge at the Justice Ministry, assembling a staff that included Communists,

nationalists and former functionaries of the Nguyen Van Thieu regime. But the North Vietnamese insisted that Thieu's men undergo "re-education." "Gradually, more and more people were taken away, and they didn't return," said Tang, whose brother was among the detainees. Meanwhile, "Communist cadres from the north descended like locusts. Very soon a committee of hard-core Communists within the ministry began to take all decisions. There never was a date when Hanoi said: 'The NLF government is to be disbanded.' It simply withered away."

Culprits: Finding he had no useful role to play, Tang retired to a small family farm outside Saigon and began to plot his escape. Last August, he made it to an Indonesian island in a boat packed with 64 refugees. "Things in the South have never been as bad as they are now," Tang said. "Current repression is far worse than it was in Thieu's day, and now, in addition, there is nothing to eat. Hanoi officials blame the war, defoliation, the Chinese and the Americans—all except the real culprits: themselves." The ravages of American defoliation have been exaggerated to explain the catastrophic agricultural situation, he charged: "The real reason is that the peasants have decided, as a form of protest, not to raise any food except what they themselves need."

Tang maintains that Hanoi's leaders are "not even intelligent enough to play the Soviets off against the Chinese," and Vietnam is now "just a Soviet satellite." He says he will continue the "struggle for freedom." But for him, the prospects are not bright, and he admits that "there is no organized opposition to the Hanoi regime." Like many Southerners, Tang was fooled once by the Communists, and he may never get a chance to live it down.

FAY WILLEY with EDWARD BEHR
in Poitiers

Tang in 1969, and now: 'I made one huge mistake'



Soviet Nuclear Facilities in Vietnam?

Truong Nhu Tang, a high-ranking Vietnamese defector now in Paris, says the Soviet Union is building piers and other facilities to service nuclear submarines at a former U.S. supply base in Vietnam. Tang is a former justice minister in Vietnam's Communist regime. Pentagon sources maintain there is no evidence to support his story, but foreign intelligence agents say they have been told that U.S. satellite photos have confirmed Tang's report of nuclear instruction at Cam Ranh Bay. Such an installation would facilitate a Soviet presence in the Indian Ocean.

NEWSWEEK/FEBRUARY 16, 1981

The New York Times

JUNE 11, 1980

Former Official Criticizes Regime In Vietnam as Corrupt and Stupid

PARIS, June 9 (Reuters) — A former official in the Provisional Revolutionary Government in South Vietnam today criticized the ruling Vietnamese Communist Party as corrupt and incompetent.

Truong Nhu Tang, who served as Justice Minister, told reporters: "The party concentrates power in the hands of a small caste of corrupt and incompetent bureaucrats and carries out the most stupid and criminal class struggle."

Mr. Tang, who said he had arrived in Paris recently in temporary exile, described the economic policies of Vietnam as a complete failure.

He said Vietnam's alliance with the Soviet Union had isolated the Hanoi Government from China. "No country can live in hostility with a great power with which it is condemned eternally to share a border," he said.

FRIDAY, APRIL 24, 1981

Hanoi defectors unite

Disillusioned revolutionaries prepare to launch an insurgency and seek links in Indochina and help from Washington

By Patrice de Beer

Paris: Truong Nhu Tang, minister of justice in the former Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) of South Vietnam who fled to France last year, is ready to lead a Committee for National Salvation against what he calls Hanoi's totalitarianism. Tang, who spent seven years as a guerilla in the jungle until 1975, said: "For the moment we have only a standing committee, of which I am the spokesman; we are not yet active." He would not say, however, from which country he intends operating.

Tang recently returned to Paris after a six-week tour of China. He had been invited by the Chinese and by Hoang Van Hoan, another Vietnamese defector now in Peking, a former member of the Vietnamese Communist Party's Politburo — whose flight was revealed by the REVIEW in July 1979.

The Committee for National Salvation, the first anti-government movement to be created since 1975, and the "first Vietnamese component of a future Indochinese united front," according to Tang, "is open to everybody opposed to Hanoi's dictatorship, without taking into account their former positions." He said the situation is different from what it was before 1975. "It is no more a foreign war — it is now a problem among Vietnamese, between those who stand for the dictatorship of the proletariat and those who want a democratic regime." But Tang realises that "time is working for the present regime and, in two generations, there will be no more opposition possible."

Tang said bringing together so many refugee organisations — weakened by political and personal rivalries — to build a credible movement ready to take over from the "moribund groups in South Vietnam" will be difficult. He knows very well that supporters of the former United States-supported Saigon regime are hardly likely to trust someone who fought with PRG forces. This is why he wants to play down his relations with Hoan who, he says, is "very old, sick and has cut back his activities a great deal."

Nevertheless, during their talks in Peking, the two defectors — though from very different backgrounds, the southern bourgeois intellectual on the one hand, and the hardline pro-Chinese party member and one of the closest associates of late Vietnamese leader Ho Chi Minh on the other — say they have achieved a complete identity of views, especially on the necessity of maintaining good-neighbour relations with China; this is, said Tang, in the interests of the two countries, but the present Hanoi leadership has deviated from that path. "We must re-establish those relations and, for that, overthrow the Hanoi leadership which conducts that anti-Chinese policy."

At the same time, Tang does not want to

appear too closely associated with Peking; his policy, he says, is of independence and sovereignty, of "relying first on our own strength. We are seeking support throughout the world, from those who oppose Soviet hegemonism and hegemonism in Southeast Asia, including by China.

"I have very good relations with [former Kampuchean premier] Son Sann, the chairman of the Khmer People's National Liberation Front, who was also in Peking at the turn of the year; with the Khmer Rouge [Thiounn Mumm was Tang's schoolmate and in the past had contacts with Khmer Rouge leaders] leaders at the Kampuchean border, and with Prince Norodom Sihanouk," said Tang. "I met him in Peking last September; both of us are in the same situation, disillusioned because we thought that our revolutionary communist friends would be first of all patriots; but, after the liberation, they

indulged in a caricature of Marxism-Leninism."

"Sihanouk told me that he remained the most Vietnamophile of all Khmers. He told me that we must know how to maintain good relations with a powerful neighbour as Vietnam should have done with China." Relations are also good with the Lao insurgents, from the southern right-wingers to the pro-Chinese in the north, and he claims Pathet Lao defectors are active in the Savannakhet area. He has in addition established contacts with the Front Uni Pour La Lutte Des Races Opprimées which is creating insecurity in the south Vietnamese Central Highlands and "has sent a representative abroad."

A bridgehead would be opened in one of those areas which afforded access to Vietnam if possible overland, he said. Tang will send in cadres he has been training to mount "psychological and military warfare." But his means remain very limited, as he has not yet accepted aid offered by Peking.

Tang says he is the first non-communist Vietnamese opponent to strike a deal with the Chinese; moreover, his defection from Ho Chi Minh City has shown that some former southern revolutionaries might not be immune to anti-Hanoi Chinese propaganda. However, at present the odds seem still stacked heavily against Tang and his small team of friends.

MARCH 13, 1981 • FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW

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 naivete and wishes to continue to fight for the independence and freedom of his compatriots. D.K.T

New York Times

Magazine / March 29, 1981

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 better 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." D.K.T

Former Vietnam Revolutionary Denounces Communist Regime

By Thomas Kamm

PARIS, June 27 (IHT) — Truong Nhu Tang, a founding member of the Communist-controlled National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the justice minister of the Provisional Revolutionary Government, escaped from Vietnam last fall as a simple boat person, feeling betrayed by the North Vietnamese Communists and let down by his former comrades.

Mr. Tang, 57, is, along with Hoang Van Hoan, a former member of the Politburo who defected to China in 1979, the highest-ranking personality to escape from Vietnam since the Communist takeover.

AIMS OF MOVEMENT

Now, five years after the Communists won the war, "liberated" the South and reunified the country, Mr. Tang denounced them in an interview in Paris, where he has sought refuge from the "tyranny and the totalitarianism" of the current Vietnamese regime, which he labeled "a servant of the Soviet Union."

Mr. Tang's statements provide a striking example of the rift between South Vietnamese nationalists and the Communists, who at one time fought for the same cause.

Mr. Tang joined the National Liberation Front to "fight against



Truong Nhu Tang

the American intervention and the despotism of a corrupt government." He said the Communist-controlled National Liberation Front, which became the PRG in 1969, was a nationalist movement that intended to "build an independent, democratic, peaceful, neu-

tral and prosperous South Vietnam" before unifying the country "step by step ... on the basis of discussions and agreement between both zones, without coercion by either side."

But this policy, repeatedly emphasized in the programs of both the National Liberation Front and the PRG and acknowledged by the 1973 Paris peace agreements, was "flouted by the Communists," who used the rapid collapse of the Saigon regime in 1975 to "divert for its own profit a historic occasion for the Vietnamese people," Mr. Tang said.

"I was convinced that once we had regained independence, it would be possible to cooperate with the Communists in the construction of a genuinely democratic society," he said. "But they rushed the unification process. As time went by, I realized that the just cause of independence and liberty had been betrayed by the leaders of the Vietnamese Communist Party. Instead of a policy of reconciliation and national concord, they conducted a policy of vengeance and repression."

Mr. Tang believes that this policy is motivated solely by ideological reasons. "We knew that the objective of the Communist Party was to seize power. But we thought that they wanted to seize power in the interest of the people and not in the interest of the Communist ideology."

Patriotism Doubted

This perception has led nationalists like Mr. Tang to doubt the patriotism of Vietnamese Communists and their sincerity during the years they supported the National Liberation Front and its military arm, the Viet Cong.

"The Vietnamese Communists are professional seducers, full of attentions when they are not in power," said Mr. Tang. "But once they held power, they turned into insensitive, ungrateful, cynical and brutal human beings."

"It should be up to the Vietnamese people to find their own form of society that corresponds politically, economically and socially to the soul of the country, to its state of development. Instead, the Communist Party wants to build a nation whose ambitions for power go beyond the material and moral resources of the country ... [Vietnam] is the Asian Cuba of Soviet expansionism."

The Soviet Union pours military aid into Vietnam worth an estimated \$3 million a day. Political analysts believe that Vietnam is an excellent investment for the Soviet Union, giving the Russians the use of former U.S. military facilities as well as providing them with an important strategic base in an area where U.S. influence and military strength are at a low ebb.

But the consequences for Vietnam are seen as isolation from the rest of the world and hostility toward China.

Geopolitical 'Mistake'

"Vietnam no longer receives technical or financial help, or even moral support from anyone save the Soviet Union, and the Soviet Union alone cannot carry Vietnam on its back forever," continued Mr. Tang. "Moreover, by opposing China, Vietnam has committed a geopolitical and historical mistake, because no country can live in a state of hostility toward China, with which Vietnam is condemned to eternally share its border."

He sees four basic contradictions facing the Vietnamese Communists:

- Ideological. Vietnam is pursuing a "Marxist-Leninist brand of working-class Communism" in a predominantly peasant country.

- Economic. "The party has boasted that it can pass directly from a feudal and colonial society to a Communist one without passing through a capitalist phase that would give them the necessary material and industrial bases." He estimated that Vietnam annually has a shortfall of between 2 and 3 million tons of staple foods.

- Political. "The discrepancy between the ambitious objectives and the very limited means has led the leaders to commit serious strategic and tactical errors."

- Social. The party-state is developing "a class of corrupt bureaucrats that enlarges the gap between the party and the people."

The picture that emerged from Mr. Tang's description is of a country facing deep economic and political problems whose only solution would be a change of course by the regime. This seems highly unlikely, according to Mr. Tang, but he said that the mood is one of "disaffection, of general popular discontent" although the population manifests only "passive resistance to the regime."

However, Mr. Tang warned that an explosion could take place if "war and misery continue." He said the goal of his "temporary exile" was to organize resistance.



20 JUL 1981

MEDFORD

TUFTS UNIVERSITY
THE FLETCHER SCHOOL OF LAW AND DIPLOMACY
Administered with the cooperation of Harvard University

MASSACHUSETTS 02155

July Fourth, 1981

Mr. RICHARD V. ALLEN
Assistant to the President
For National Security Affairs
The White House

Dear Mr. Allen:

In the heart of hope on the World peace and the Freedom ideology, I am more than happy to send you the POSITION PAPERS of the VIETNAM NATIONAL SALVATION COMMITTEE which has been recently formed in Paris to gather every body to fight the current Communist regime in Vietnam.

Mr. Truong Nhu Tang, a founder of the former National Liberation Front, former Justice Minister of the former Viet Cong government, who escaped from the Vietnamese communists last year, is now the spokesman of the Committee. (He wishes to redeem his past errors of supporting the Communists.)

The top priorities of the National Salvation Committee are:

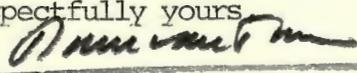
- 1- To unite the patriots of all political colours with the exception of the Communists, to help Vietnamese people abroad and within the country to overthrow the present regime in Vietnam.
- 2- To mobilize the general support from the World public opinion.
- 3- To gain the support from those who oppose Soviet expansionism, and hegemonism in Southeast Asia, specifically the United States, China, Japan, the Southeast Asia and Western Europe Countries.

The objectives of the Vietnam National Salvation Committee are:

- 1- To carry out the Vietnamese Nationalist Revolution in Vietnam, by overthrow the current Communist regime in Vietnam to establish a new regime of FREEDOM, JUSTICE, HUMAN DIGNITY and NON-COMMUNIST in accordance with Vietnamese traditions and aspirations.
- 2- To promote and consolidate for Indochina a new structure of stability and peace based on the absolute respect of the fundamental national right of the peoples of Cambodia, Laos, especially the genuine neutrality of the three Indochina countries.

I believe that the objectives of the VN.N.S.C. are compatible with those of your country and the situation in Southeast Asia. I think that the VN.N.S.C. therefore is worthy to receive your most valuable support.

Respectfully yours


Doan Van Toai
Research Associate

023545
3500
4610
MG
C0172

May 12, 1981

Dear Mr. Van Toai:

Thank you for your letter of March 30. I apologize for the delay in responding, but recent circumstances have left Mr. Baker behind in his correspondence.

Mr. Baker read with interest your material regarding the contributions that you and Mr. Truong Nhu Tang have made to the National Salvation Council. He has asked me to forward your correspondence to Mr. Richard Allen, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, for his information and attention. Mr. Baker apologizes, but the demands of his schedule are such that he will not be able to meet with you in the near future. He has assured me that the appropriate member of Mr. Allen's staff will be in touch with you once they have had an opportunity to review your request for a meeting.

Mr. Baker thanks you once again for your interest in bringing this material to his attention.

Sincerely,

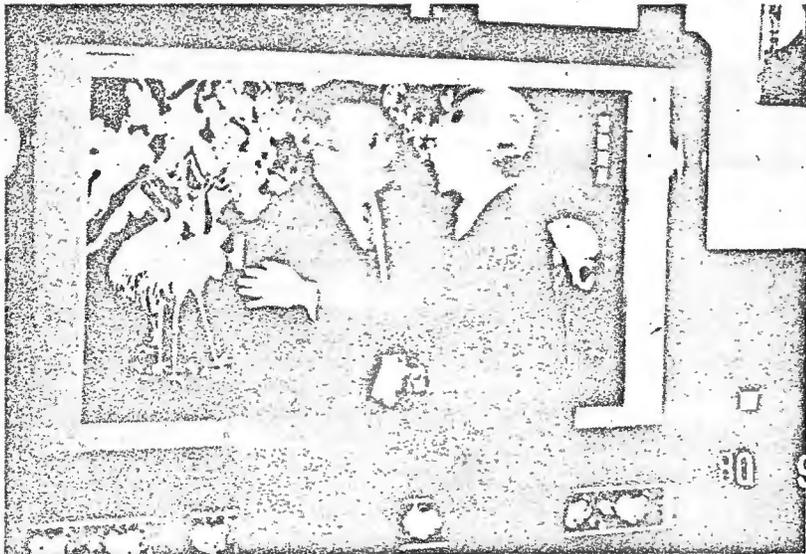
Katherine Camalier
Staff Assistant to
James A. Baker, III

Mr. Doan Van Toai
Research Associate
The Fletcher School
of Law & Diplomacy
Medford, Massachusetts 02155

cc: Richard Allen--Please have appropriate member of your staff send a follow-up response. Thanks.

THE NATION REVIEW

BANGKOK, SUNDAY MORNING, JANUARY 11, 1981



Sihanouk meets VN dissident

THIS EXCLUSIVE picture above shows former Kampuchean Head of State Prince Norodom Sihanouk embracing Truong Nhu Tang, a leading Vietnamese dissident who will be a key member when the anti-Hanoi National Salvation Council (NSC) is formed soon in Europe.

The so far unpublicized meeting between Sihanouk and

by
**JACQUES
BEKAERT**

Truong took place in Peking last September when they discussed the formation of a resistance movement to oppose the present Vietnamese government.

Truong Nhu Tang was minister of justice

and founding member of the former Provisional Revolutionary Government, the political branch of the National Liberation Front of former South Vietnam. He is now living in exile near Paris, working on his memoirs, soon to be published in France.

The Nation exclusively reported on Dec 23 the formation by several key Vietnamese personalities in exile of the National Salvation Council.

A source close to Truong told *The Nation* in a letter received in Bangkok yesterday that *The Nation's* front-page story had the effect of a "bomb."

The letter from Paris said the NSC's top priority would be to unite the patriots of all political colours, with the exception of the Communists, to help Vietnamese people abroad and within the country to overthrow the present Vietnamese regime.

"We want to establish a new regime which is genuinely democratic, a regime of liberty, human dignity and justice," the source said.

Continued Page 2

The "Action Committee" for the time being is based outside Vietnam. "But the priority must go to the Vietnamese living in Vietnam and their struggle against the current Vietnamese leadership. We will soon launch a psychological and military front in Vietnam," the source said.

The NSC will look for support from

every country and people in the region to fight Hanoi's "regional hegemony and Soviet expansionism in Indochina."

The NSC, he said, "will always keep a sovereign and independent line from the super-powers, including China."

Key VN exiles to form anti-Hanoi movement

by JACQUES BERTRAND

nation roving editor

PARIS — Several key Vietnamese personalities in exile in the West are to announce soon the formation of an anti-Hanoi "National Salvation Council" (NSC), a senior resistance leader has told *The Nation*.

Hoang Van Hoan, a senior member of the Communist Party of Vietnam who defected to China in July this year, has given his support to the formation of the council.

A key member of the new movement, former Justice Minister of the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) Truong Nhu Tang, said in an interview in Paris recently that he had met Hoang Van Hoan in Peking during a recent visit to drum up support for the National Salvation Council.

Creation of the NSC will be formally announced early next year, Truong Nhu Tang said.

Truong said he also met several leading Chinese and Vietnamese personalities during his Peking visit, including former Kampuchean head of state Prince Norodom Sihanouk and Chinese Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang.

"Hoang Van Hoan told me he would give us his support in the formation of the new council to oppose the leadership in Hanoi," Truong said.

The "National Salvation Council" envisages a vast alliance, grouping together democratic opposition forces against the current Communist regime in Vietnam.

"We want to cut the snake's head and make soup with the body. The soup will be served to the people who badly need some nourishment," Truong said in the interview.

It is more than likely that Truong, the 60-year-old South Vietnamese revolutionary leader, will play a crucial role in the new "council." He was a founder member of the now-defunct Provisional Revolutionary Government, the political arm of the National Liberation Front in former South Vietnam.

A Western diplomatic source based in Paris was somewhat skeptical about the extent of the Chinese support to the new anti-Hanoi movement.

Recent visitors to Vietnam have reported that if the present leadership in Hanoi may be unpopular ("The South is now the most pro-American area of the world," one leftist journalist said) and if Le Duan seems to bear the brunt of public resentment, Hanoi is not about to give up.

Truong is aware of this fact. "We don't envisage a guerrilla warfare against the present Vietnamese regime for the time being," he said.

Another source said that the resistance movement in the South of Vietnam had in fact been fading out. Lack of coordination, contacts and endless struggle with little or no hope of victory, and the lack of access to the external world had affected the resistance movement, the source said.

Observers said that the new Salvation Council may concentrate on psychological actions. Contacts exist between the leaders in exile and inside Vietnam, mostly in the South.

"I told the Chinese that it would be to their own interest to help us — the same way it is in Afghanistan," Truong said.

Asked specifically what China had promised to do to help in the new anti-Hanoi movement, Truong said: "They said they would help. We need some logistic support. Our talks were frank, on both sides. I do not want to be left alone in the middle of the road. They gave more than just nice words."

Truong said Hoang Van Hoan was under constant medical care when he met him in Paris recently. Hoang, a founder-member of the Indochinese Communist Party (predecessor of the Communist Party of Vietnam) and a close associate of Ho Chi Minh defected to China July 3.

The council will regroup former members of the "third force," neutralists and socialists who during the war were equally suspicious of the pro-American Thieu regime and the pro-Communist NLF. Also expected to be included in the new movement are Buddhist leaders, disillusioned NLF members, former Communists and some ex-supporters of the Thieu regime. Further contacts are planned with China and several Western nations including the United States. "We will also tell them that it is in their interest to help us," Truong said.

DOAN VAN TOAI
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Former Vietnam Revolutionary Denounces Communist Regime

By Thomas Kamm

PARIS, June 27 (IHT). — Truong Nhu Tang, a founding member of the Communist-controlled National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the justice minister of the Provisional Revolutionary Government, escaped from Vietnam last fall as a simple boat person, feeling betrayed by the North Vietnamese Communists and let down by his former comrades.

Mr. Tang, 57, is, along with Hoang Van Hoan, a former member of the Politburo who defected to China in 1979, the highest-ranking personality to escape from Vietnam since the Communist takeover.

Aims of Movement

Now, five years after the Communists won the war, "liberated" the South and reunified the country, Mr. Tang denounced them in an interview in Paris, where he has sought refuge from the "tyranny and the totalitarianism" of the current Vietnamese regime, which he labeled "a servant of the Soviet Union."

Mr. Tang's statements provide a striking example of the rift between South Vietnamese nationalists and the Communists, who at one time fought for the same cause.

Mr. Tang joined the National Liberation Front to "fight against



Truong Nhu Tang

the American intervention and the despotism of a corrupt government." He said the Communist-controlled National Liberation Front, which became the PRG in 1969, was a nationalist movement that intended to "build an independent, democratic, peaceful, neu-

tral and prosperous South Vietnam" before unifying the country "step by step ... on the basis of discussions and agreement between both zones, without coercion by either side."

But this policy, repeatedly emphasized in the programs of both the National Liberation Front and the PRG and acknowledged by the 1973 Paris peace agreements, was "flouted by the Communists," who used the rapid collapse of the Saigon regime in 1975 to "divert for its own profit a historic occasion for the Vietnamese people," Mr. Tang said.

"I was convinced that once we had regained independence, it would be possible to cooperate with the Communists in the construction of a genuinely democratic society," he said. "But they rushed the unification process. As time went by, I realized that the just cause of independence and liberty had been betrayed by the leaders of the Vietnamese Communist Party. Instead of a policy of reconciliation and national concord, they conducted a policy of vengeance and repression."

Mr. Tang believes that this policy is motivated solely by ideological reasons. "We knew that the objective of the Communist Party was to seize power. But we thought that they wanted to seize power in the interest of the people and not in the interest of the Communist ideology."

Patriotism Doubted

This perception has led nationalists like Mr. Tang to doubt the patriotism of Vietnamese Communists and their sincerity during the years they supported the National Liberation Front and its military arm, the Viet Cong.

"The Vietnamese Communists are professional seducers, full of attentions when they are not in power," said Mr. Tang. "But once they held power, they turned into insensitive, ungrateful, cynical and brutal human beings."

"It should be up to the Vietnamese people to find their own form of society that corresponds politically, economically and socially to the soul of the country, to its state of development. Instead, the Communist Party wants to build a nation whose ambitions for power go beyond the material and moral resources of the country ... [Vietnam] is the Asian Cuba of Soviet expansionism."

The Soviet Union pours military aid into Vietnam worth an estimated \$3 million a day. Political analysts believe that Vietnam is an excellent investment for the Soviet Union, giving the Russians the use of former U.S. military facilities as well as providing them with an important strategic base in an area where U.S. influence and military strength are at a low ebb.

But the consequences for Vietnam are seen as isolation from the rest of the world and hostility toward China.

Geopolitical 'Mistake'

"Vietnam no longer receives technical or financial help, or even moral support from anyone save the Soviet Union, and the Soviet Union alone cannot carry Vietnam on its back forever," continued Mr. Tang. "Moreover, by opposing China, Vietnam has committed a geopolitical and historical mistake, because no country can live in a state of hostility toward China, with which Vietnam is condemned to eternally share its border."

He sees four basic contradictions facing the Vietnamese Communists:

- Ideological. Vietnam is pursuing a "Marxist-Leninist brand of working-class Communism" in a predominantly peasant country.

- Economic. "The party has boasted that it can pass directly from a feudal and colonial society to a Communist one without passing through a capitalist phase that would give them the necessary material and industrial bases." He estimated that Vietnam annually has a shortfall of between 2 and 3 million tons of staple foods.

- Political. "The discrepancy between the ambitious objectives and the very limited means has led the leaders to commit serious strategic and tactical errors."

- Social. The party-state is developing "a class of corrupt bureaucrats that enlarges the gap between the party and the people."

The picture that emerged from Mr. Tang's description is of a country facing deep economic and political problems whose only solution would be a change of course by the regime. This seems highly unlikely, according to Mr. Tang, but he said that the mood is one of "disaffection, of general popular discontent" although the population manifests only "passive resistance to the regime."

However, Mr. Tang warned that an explosion could take place if "war and misery continue." He said the goal of his "temporary exile" was to organize resistance.

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 unupportable 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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SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1979

Telephone 929-2000

Refugee decries life in Vietnam

By Clive Smith
Globe Correspondent

"Life under the Communists in Vietnam is even worse now than it was under President Nguyen Van Thieu. It is more repressive, more corrupt, more of a dictatorship," says Doan Van Toai, a former Saigon student leader who was twice jailed by the Thieu regime for his National Liberation Front (NFL) sympathies, only to be jailed in turn by the Communists after the fall of Saigon.

Toai, 32, who as the then vice president of the Saigon Students Union spoke on many US campuses in the early 1970s against "the sword of American imperialism which threatened Vietnamese self-determination," was in Boston again recently as part of a worldwide speaking tour to draw attention to conditions in Vietnamese prisons.

"Everyone who is not a Communist Party official, even former Viet Cong fighters and South Vietnamese NFL members, are liable for arrest and imprisonment. The prison system has become a Vietnamese Gulag, but the world does not know or believe how terrible conditions are, or how many hundreds of thousands are in jail," said Toai.

After the fall of Saigon in April 1975, Toai, then a manager of the Nam Do Bank of Saigon, initially worked under the new government and prepared a plan for the reorganization of his bank. He said he became increasingly disillusioned with the Communists when, despite previctory promises that the private property of small traders and farmers would be left intact, he was asked to participate in preparing detailed plans for its confiscation as a member of the Finance Committee of the NFL.

According to Toai, confiscation involves the "voluntary" signing over of substantial items of private property, such as houses, land or cars, to the Vietnamese gov-



Doan Van Toai making a point at MIT.

(Globe photo by John Blanding)

ernment under threat of imprisonment of oneself or one's family. Initially, it was applied only to the old supporters of the Thieu regime, the "comprador capitalists," he said. But, as secretly planned by the Finance Committee, it was extended in March 1978 to the "national capitalists" who had opposed Thieu, and in April, to all property owners, no matter how small and whatever their political record, he said.

After rejecting participation on the NFL's Finance Committee, Toai said he was jailed, without charge or trial, with 40 other prisoners in a 12-by-30-foot cell. Frequently chained hand and foot, the prisoners had to take

turns sleeping down, and got air from a single vent, he said. Almost every day, someone would die from starvation, suffocation, torture or suicide in the Saigon jail, he said.

Toai estimates that today there are about 800,000 persons in prisons and "re-education" camps, about half of them former Thieu supporters and officials, the rest mainly "third force" people who opposed both Thieu and the Communists. Between 10 and 15 percent of the prisoners are women, he said.

Spokesmen for both Amnesty International and the State Department, suggest, on admittedly fragmentary

Vietnamese war protester changes tune

By STEPHEN MAGAGNINI
Staff Writer

When Vietnamese political prisoner Doan Van Taoi speaks at Berkeley today, there will be more than a trace of irony in his message.

Nine years ago, Taoi, then a South Vietnamese student leader opposing the Thieu regime, spoke at various American campuses, among them, Berkeley. Taoi praised the communist-controlled National Liberation Front and told the Americans to get their soldiers out of the country.

Yesterday, Taoi, 33, was in Sacramento, where he spoke to more than 200 Vietnamese-Americans about life in their native land since the fall of Saigon in May 1975.

After a taste of communist rule—including 28 months in Saigon's Bien Hoa prison—Taoi is singing a different tune than he sang nine years ago.

To this day, Taoi does not know why he was arrested or why he was released. "There was no trial, no investigation, no lawyers—in Vietnam today, there are no law schools!"

Taoi, who comes from a small village 100 miles south of Saigon, was the son of a French teacher and guerilla fighter who fought the French. He went to pharmacy school but soon emerged as a student leader who did his share of jail time for opposing the American-supported government of Nguyen Van Thieu.

When Saigon fell, Taoi welcomed the end of the corrupt Thieu regime—"When Thieu appointed a general or a chief of a province, he'd have to pay Thieu."

"Now the corruption in Vietnam has a wider breadth," said Nguyen Huu Hieu, a Buddhist monk who also opposed Thieu and met Taoi in prison. "There's a greater bureaucracy. They don't have enough money to pay everyone—these men must be corrupted. Corruption is not considered a crime. The only crime is not supporting the government."

Hieu, 35, was taken from his pagoda and imprisoned for 10 months, while the monks 60 years of age and older were allowed to stay. "They (the communists) arrested most religious leaders because these people are influential people. They trained young secret police and made them undercover monks to control all the old priests. They monopolized all means of production, culture and religion.

"They wanted to transform Marxism and Leninism into a state religion."

Hieu, who hails from North Vietnam, said, "In the words of Lenin, colonialism is the final step of capitalism."

Taoi wryly added, "If the French were colonialists, and the Americans were neo-colonialists, then the Vietnamese communists are neo-neo-colonialists," referring to the recent takeover of Cambodia.

When the communists took over Vietnam, "We believed the Vietnamese communists, at least, were Vietnamese before they were communists," said Hieu, who has translated Henry Miller and Ernest Hemingway into Vietnamese.

But the message was, "Those who love the country love the party," Taoi said. "Those who blindly uphold the government will get rice rations."

Taoi bribed his way out of Vietnam. Hieu escaped in a fishing boat. "We drifted for eight days and 52 boats passed us, but they ignored us," he said. "The 53rd, a Japanese tanker, rescued us."

They favor a social democracy, but they have learned an important lesson. "I think all doctrines are good—even communism—but the most important thing is the leader, not the doctrine," Hieu said.

Of the refugees he addressed, Taoi said, "They would like to return to their country. They've received very good treatment from the Americans, but they don't like to stay here. There's a lack of mental spirit because Americans don't understand their way of life."

Taoi, who thinks the communists will ultimately be destroyed, says the American presence in Vietnam helped to fuel communist propaganda.

Nevertheless, he urges Americans not to forget their responsibility to the Vietnamese people for our role in the conflict, and admits he made a mistake nine years ago. "I was wrong. I think the best way to understand about communism is to live under communist domination."

Recently Baez, poet Allen Ginsberg and Roger Baldwin, founder of the American Civil Liberties Union, were among signers of a petition presented to the permanent Vietnamese observer to the United Nations, charging the Communists with "grave and systematic violations of human rights."

From his earlier antiwar visits to the United States, "The world knew what was happening inside Vietnam. It would be much more sympathetic to the boat refugees," he said.

Independent reports support Taoi's claim that the prison population has grown so large that hospitals, schools and even orphanages have been converted into prisons. Conditions in the prisons are so severe, said Taoi, that everyone dreams of "graduation" to the hard labor of the "re-education" camps. He added that since there is no sentence there is no release date, however distant, to wait for.

"No one knows how it is decided who goes to prison and who goes to the camps and who gets executed, because the crime seems to be no connection between the size of the crime and the punishment," said Taoi. Contrary to the Communists' hardline but honest image, Taoi said, bribery and corruption are still endemic, and even more widespread than under the Thieu regime.

"The Communists have a very large bureaucracy to police the repression, which they cannot afford to pay, so bribery is more or less accepted as part of their pay," said Taoi. "Because all the non-Communist periodicals and newspapers were closed down three days after the fall of Saigon, there is no way of publicly exposing corruption, and anyway, bribery is considered a minor crime compared to a major crime like ideological opposition."

Access to the schools, universities and hospitals is also determined by obtaining the necessary security clearance from the Communist Party official on one's street. Taoi said that his mother died while he was imprisoned because, as a relative of someone who was in jail she could not gain access to a hospital.

Commenting on the lack of resistance to the "Vietnamese Gulag," Taoi said that most former university students and intellectuals who were not imprisoned had been "relocated" in rural settlement areas, where almost two million of Saigon's three million inhabitants have been moved since the city's fall. Taoi said that women, whom the Communists claim to have liberated from traditional handicaps, joke bitterly that the only way they have been "liberated" into an equal position with men is that they do hard labor too.

After 28 months in jail, Taoi said, he was suddenly released for reasons that are still unknown to him, though prison officials told him he was "well-re-educated." After "voluntarily" signing over his house to the authorities, and selling all his personal belongings for \$1000, Taoi said, he bribed officials to get a visa to leave the country and join his wife and two children, who already were in France. He left Saigon last May on a ticket provided by friends and family outside the country.

"The progressive international community which support us in our efforts to be free of American imperialism must support us now in our efforts to have an impartial and independent investigation of the Vietnamese Gulag prison system," said Taoi. He has been releasing

THE SACRAMENTO UNION

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The New York Times Magazine

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 20, 1981

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Dear Mr. Toai:

Thank you for your letter of March 30, 1981, concerning Mr. Truong Nhu Tang. I read with interest Mr. Tang's background and of his flight from Vietnam in 1981 to live in freedom. I noted his trip to China last August and his warm welcome there, and the fact that he had met Prince Sihanouk in Peking and exchanged views with him.

I also read your tragic account of your own experiences in Vietnam. Your long confinement in a Vietnamese prison as described in the Wall Street Journal should be required reading for anyone apologizing for the activities of the regime in Vietnam.

Our policies in Indo-China center on four points:

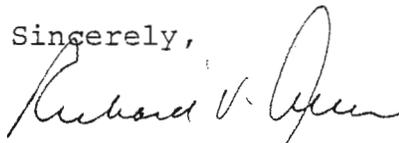
- First, the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia;
- Second, genuine independence for both Laos and Cambodia;
- Third, a reduction of the Soviet influence in the area; and
- Fourth, the strengthening of ASEAN and the preservation of Thai security.

I believe you will find these policies compatible with your own objectives.

I suggest that you contact the Vietnamese Desk in the Department of State for an exchange of views on the situation in Vietnam. The telephone number is: 202-632-3132.

With every best wish,

Sincerely,



Richard V. Allen
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

NSL ID 8101957

Mr. Doan Van Toai
Research Associate
The Fletcher School
of Law and Diplomacy
Medford, MA 02155

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Toai:

Thank you for your letter of March 30, 1981, concerning Mr. Truong Nhu Tang. I read with interest Mr. Tang's background and of his flight from Vietnam in 1981 to live in freedom. I noted his trip to China last August and his warm welcome there, and the fact that he had met Prince Sihanouk in Peking and exchanged views with him.

I also read your tragic account of your own experiences in Vietnam. Your long confinement in a Vietnamese prison as described in the Wall Street Journal should be required reading for anyone apologizing for the activities of the regime in Vietnam.

Our policies in Indo-China center on four points:

- First, the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia;
- Second, genuine independence for both Laos and Cambodia;
- Third, a reduction of the Soviet influence in the area; and
- Fourth, the strengthening of ASEAN and the preservation of Thai security.

I believe you will find these policies compatible with your own objectives.

I suggest that you contact the Vietnamese Desk in the Department of State for an exchange of views on the situation in Vietnam. The telephone number is: 202-632-3132.

~~Thank you again for your letter, and the best of luck to you.~~

with every best wish,

~~Respectfully,~~

Richard V. Allen
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

Mr. Doan Van Toai
Research Associate
The Fletcher School
of Law and Diplomacy
Medford, MA 02155

1957

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 21, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR EDWIN MEESE III

FROM: RICHARD V. ALLEN *RVA*

SUBJECT: Your Response to Letter from a Vietnamese

I am attaching for your approval the draft of a letter to Mr. Toai, a Vietnamese living in Massachusetts. If you approve I suggest you sign the letter and send it to Mr. Toai.

My staff has checked with both CIA and State and they both have received similar letters from Toai. CIA wants nothing to do with him and says they will not answer his letter. State is willing to talk to Toai as a source of information on Vietnam. Both State and CIA believe there is no vitality in his anti-Communist movement.

I have written Mr. Toai in greater depth. The recommendation we have from our staff is that this relationship not be pursued. I concur.

*4/21/81
orig Toai letter
attached to Mr. Meeese
H. [unclear]*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Toai:

Thank you for your letter of March 30, 1981, with the attachments. Mr. Tang and you do understand and have described well the brutality of the current regime in Vietnam. I found your accounts tragic and relevant.

I have asked Mr. Richard Allen to answer you and he will suggest that you contact the Department of State Vietnam Desk for a full exchange of views on the situation in Vietnam.

With thanks for your interest and my best wishes for your enterprise.

Sincerely,

Edwin Meese III
Counsellor to the President

Mr. Doan Van Toai
Research Associate
The Fletcher School
of Law and Diplomacy
Medford, MA 02155

Please draft a reply for Mr. Meese's
signature

Thank you
Eli

1957

aj

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

April 14, 1981

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR: RICHARD V. ALLEN
FROM: JIM LILLEY *jl*
SUBJECT: Responses to Letters from Vietnamese Toai

I am attaching letters for you and Mr. Meese to send to Mr. Toai. It is requested that you forward these letters if they meet with your approval.

I checked with CIA and they received the same kind of letter. CIA wants nothing to do with these two men and will not answer the letter.

I contacted State and State also had received the same kind of letter from Toai. The State Department officer is willing to talk to Toai as a source of information on Vietnam. State like CIA believes there is no vitality in their anti-Communist movement.

The advice from CIA and State is for us not to get involved with these men and I accept that advice. State will handle it for us.

This is the second version incorporating your corrections.

WA SIGNED
WA

RECEIVED 09 APR 81 12

TO MEESE, E

FROM TOAI, DOAN V

DOCDATE 30 MAR 81

TOAI, DOAN V

30 MAR 81

TOAI, DOAN V

30 MAR 81

KEYWORDS: VIETNAM NORTH

TANG, TRUONG N

SUBJECT: WRITES RE DEFECTION OF TANG -- FORMER JUSTICE MINISTER OF NATL
LIBERATION FRONT & FORMATION OF NATL SALVATION COUNCIL

ACTION: PREPARE REPLY FOR MEESE SIG DUE: 17 APR 81 STATUS C FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR COMMENT

FOR INFO

LILLEY

GREGG

COMMENTS 5/14: Jim I am wondering if Baker's response isn't sufficient. The ltr itself indicates that it is being sent to Allen for info & attention. However, the cc: indicates the NSC should prepare a follow-up response if necessary? Thanks L. *cc allen ltr to Toai attached*

REF# LOG NSCIFID (C / C)

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
	2 5/12	Lead Baker ltr dtd 30 Mar		
JF	5 5/14	Key Action	5/16	
	C 5/26	Key sig memo to Comdet		56, 29

DISPATCH

5/26 8:30 pm

W/ATTCH

FILE

WH

(C)

MB

1957
addon

81 APR 13 P 2: 07

JANET COLSON

BUD NANCE

DICK ALLEN

IRENE DERUS

JANET COLSON

BUD NANCE

KAY

CY TO VP

CY TO MEESE

CY TO BAKER

CY TO DEEVER

CY TO BRADY

OK 13/1429
OK 13/1516

*For Staffing
if appropriate*

SHOW CC

SHOW CC

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SHOW CC



Doan Van Toai
Research Associate
The Fletcher School
of Law & Diplomacy
Medford, MA. 02155

MEDFORD

TUFTS UNIVERSITY
THE FLETCHER SCHOOL OF LAW AND DIPLOMACY
Administered with the cooperation of Harvard University

MASSACHUSETTS 02155

March 30, 1981

Mr. James A. Baker III
The White House Chief of Staff
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. James A. Baker III:

I am taking the liberty to send you this letter on behalf of Mr. Truong Nhu Tang, who was a founder of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, and also the Justice Minister of the Provisional Revolutionary Government. He escaped from Vietnam in 1980, and now lives in Paris.

Mr. Tang and a group of the Vietnamese refugees have recently formed the National Salvation Council of Vietnam fighting against the present communist regime and set up a new real democratic, free regime. Mr. Truong Nhu Tang has total support of the Chinese Government. He visited China last August and was warmly welcomed by the new Chinese Prime Minister. But our new struggle against the Communists will not be successful unless we have the cooperation of the U.S.A. - the leader of the Free World.

I believed that the U.S.A. has to act the new role to support the new revolution fighting against the Communist totalitarian regimes. Because, in the recent history of the world, the Communist has monopolized the right of acting revolution fighting against the non-communist regimes.

Mr. Truong Nhu Tang asked me to convey his wish that he would like to see any responsible personality of the U.S. Administration to display more about the National Salvation Council and to ask for the help from the U.S.A.

Moreover, I believe that Truong Nhu Tang is one of few worthy witness who would tell you much about the Soviet expansionism in South East Asian and about the Vietnamese Communist ambitions in the area. The clever usage of Truong Nhu Tang's witness is very effectively against the Soviet Union and it is helpful to "educate" public opinion about the Soviet dangers.

..//..



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I am the author of the "Vietnamese Gulag" and am now doing research at the Fletcher School of Law & Diplomacy about the Vietnamese Communists. As a representative of Mr. Truong Nhu Tang and a full representative of the National Salvation Council, I would be very happy to see your assistant to discuss further details, especially about the meeting between you and Truong Nhu Tang. I am very happy to enclose here copies of some international press about my activities and Truong Nhu Tang's activities.

Please believe that our relationship will be kept in secret if it is your wish.

I hope to receive from you soon.

Respectfully yours,

Doan Van Toai
(617) 396-6939

6 APR 1981



Doan Van Toai
Research Associate
The Fletcher School
of Law & Diplomacy
Medford, MA. 02155

MEDFORD

TUFTS UNIVERSITY
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MASSACHUSETTS 02155

March 30, 1981

Mr. Richard V. Allen
National Security Adviser
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Richard V. Allen:

I am taking the liberty to send you this letter on behalf of Mr. Truong Nhu Tang, who was a founder of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, and also the Justice Minister of the Provisional Revolutionary Government. He escaped from Vietnam in 1980, and now lives in Paris.

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Mr. Truong Nhu Tang asked me to convey to you his view that you are one of a few Western leaders who knows how to confront the Communists and that the non-Communist people of the N.L.F. were well preparing to undertake a better relationship with the U.S.A. in order to balance the Communists when the Paris agreement was signed. However, nobody in the Front imagined or foresaw that the Americans early abandoned the South Vietnam. It would be wonderful if Mr. Truong Nhu Tang, former leader of the N.L.F. - an former adversary of the U.S.A. - and you could now be seen together in Washington.



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MASSACHUSETTS 02155

March 30, 1981

Mr. Edwin Meese
Counselor to the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Edwin Meese:

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.../...



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Doan Van Toai

Doan Van Toai
(617) 396-6939

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

FROM: MICHAEL K. DEAVER
Assistant to the President
Deputy Chief of Staff

TO:

Richard Allen

- Information
 Action



Doan Van Toai
Research Associate
The Fletcher School
of Law & Diplomacy
Medford, MA. 02155

MEDFORD

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MASSACHUSETTS 02155

March 30, 1981

Miss Allen

Mr. Michael K. Deaver
The Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Michael K. Deaver:

I am taking the liberty to send you this letter on behalf of Mr. Truong Nhu Tang, who was a founder of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, and also the Justice Minister of the Provisional Revolutionary Government. He escaped from Vietnam in 1980, and now lives in Paris.

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Doan Van Toai

Doan Van Toai
(617) 396-6939

Newsweek

NEWSWEEK/JUNE 30, 1980

A Saigon Defector's Story

At 6:30 each morning, Truong Nhu Tang punches the time clock at the Michelin tire plant in Poitiers, France. Only two men at Michelin—the factory manager and the personnel chief—know that the clerk is the former Justice Minister of Vietnam's National Liberation Front. More recently, Tang became one of the "boat people"—and the highest-ranking Vietnamese defector to surface in the West. Last week, in an interview with NEWSWEEK's Edward Behr, the 57-year-old Tang described how he had worked with the Viet Cong to overthrow the government of South Vietnam, only to discover "that I had made one huge mistake."

The son of middle-class Saigonese parents, Tang grew up the very model of a Vietnamese anti-imperialist. After earning a law degree in France during the 1950s, he returned home as a businessman and secretly helped to found the NLF. Jailed after an informer exposed him, Tang was exchanged in 1968 for three American prisoners of war; then he vanished into the jungle, where he became Justice Minister at COSVN, the Front's secret headquarters. Tang was not a Communist: his objective was to defeat American "imperialism" and to achieve "national reconciliation" in South Vietnam. "We knew that reunification [with North Vietnam] was the ultimate goal, but we expected the process to take time," he said. "I was for reunification, but not for domination."

Tang and nationalists like him were shortchanged by Hanoi. "Instead of a government of national coalition," he said, "unification was forced upon us." After the fall of Saigon in 1975, Tang took charge at the Justice Ministry, assembling a staff that included Communists,

nationalists and former functionaries of the Nguyen Van Thieu regime. But the North Vietnamese insisted that Thieu's men undergo "re-education." "Gradually, more and more people were taken away, and they didn't return," said Tang, whose brother was among the detainees. Meanwhile, "Communist cadres from the north descended like locusts. Very soon a committee of hard-core Communists within the ministry began to take all decisions. There never was a date when Hanoi said: 'The NLF government is to be disbanded.' It simply withered away."

Culprits: Finding he had no useful role to play, Tang retired to a small family farm outside Saigon and began to plot his escape. Last August, he made it to an Indonesian island in a boat packed with 64 refugees. "Things in the South have never been as bad as they are now," Tang said. "Current repression is far worse than it was in Thieu's day, and now, in addition, there is nothing to eat. Hanoi officials blame the war, defoliation, the Chinese and the Americans—all except the real culprits: themselves." The ravages of American defoliation have been exaggerated to explain the catastrophic agricultural situation, he charged: "The real reason is that the peasants have decided, as a form of protest, not to raise any food except what they themselves need."

Tang maintains that Hanoi's leaders are "not even intelligent enough to play the Soviets off against the Chinese," and Vietnam is now "just a Soviet satellite." He says he will continue the "struggle for freedom." But for him, the prospects are not bright, and he admits that "there is no organized opposition to the Hanoi regime." Like many Southerners, Tang was fooled once by the Communists, and he may never get a chance to live it down.

FAY WILLEY with EDWARD BEHR
in Poitiers

Tang in 1969, and now: 'I made one huge mistake'

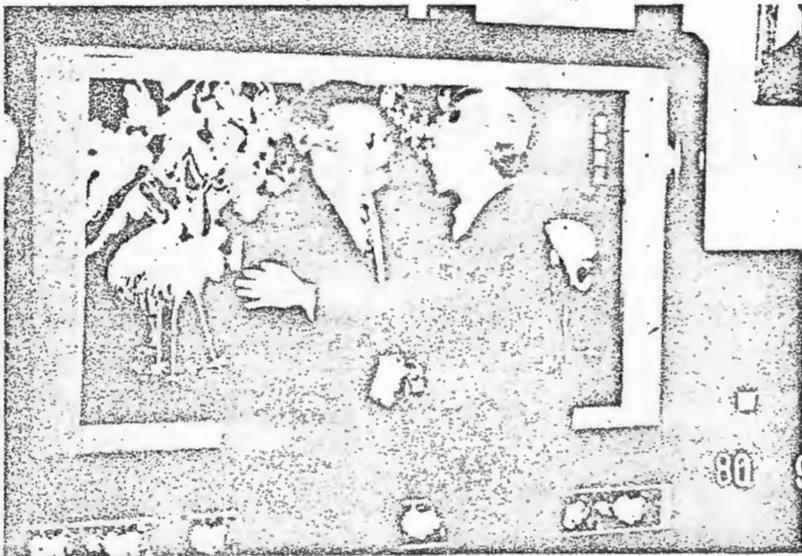


Soviet Nuclear Facilities in Vietnam?

Truong Nhu Tang, a high-ranking Vietnamese defector now in Paris, says the Soviet Union is building piers and other facilities to service nuclear submarines at a former U.S. supply base in Vietnam. Tang is a former justice minister in Vietnam's Communist regime. Pentagon sources maintain there is no evidence to support his story, but foreign intelligence agents say they have been told that U.S. satellite photos have confirmed Tang's report of nuclear construction at Cam Ranh Bay. Such an installation would facilitate a Soviet presence in the Indian Ocean.

THE NATION REVIEW

BANGKOK, SUNDAY MORNING, JANUARY 11, 1981



Sihanouk meets VN dissident

THIS EXCLUSIVE picture above shows former Kampuchean Head of State Prince Norodom Sihanouk embracing Truong Nhu Tang, a leading Vietnamese dissident who will be a key member when the anti-Hanoi National Salvation Council (NSC) is formed soon in Europe.

The so far unpublished meeting between Sihanouk and

by
**JACQUES
BEKAERT**

Truong took place in Peking last September when they discussed the formation of a resistance movement to oppose the present Vietnamese government.

Truong Nhu Tang was minister of justice

and founding member of the former Provisional Revolutionary Government, the political branch of the National Liberation Front of former South Vietnam. He is now living in exile near Paris, working on his memoirs, soon to be published in France.

The Nation exclusively reported on Dec 23 the formation by several key Vietnamese personalities in exile of the National Salvation Council.

A source close to Truong told *The Nation* in a letter received in Bangkok yesterday that *The Nation's* front-page story had the effect of a "bomb."

The letter from Paris said the NSC's top priority would be to unite the patriots of all political colours, with the exception of the Communists, to help Vietnamese people abroad and within the country to overthrow the present Vietnamese regime.

"We want to establish a new regime which is genuinely democratic, a regime of liberty, human dignity and justice," the source said.

Continued Page 2

The "Action Committee" for the time being is based outside Vietnam. "But the priority must go to the Vietnamese living in Vietnam and their struggle against the current Vietnamese leadership. We will soon launch a psychological and military front in Vietnam," the source said.

The NSC will look for support from

every country and people in the region to fight Hanoi's "regional hegemony and Soviet expansionism in Indochina."

The NSC, he said, "will always keep a sovereign and independent line from the super-powers, including China."

BANGKOK, TUESDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 23, 1980

Key VN exiles to form anti-Hanoi movement

"I told the Chinese that it would be to their own interest to help us — the same way it is for them to help the resistance movement in Afghanistan," Truong said.

Asked specifically what China had promised to do to help in the new anti-Hanoi movement, Truong said: "They said they would help. We need some logistic support. Our talks were frank, on both sides. I do not want to be left alone in the middle of the road. They gave more than just nice words."

Truong said Hoang Van Hoan was under constant medical care when he met him in Peking recently. Hoang, a founder-member of the Indochinese Communist Party (predecessor of the Communist Party of Vietnam) and a close associate of Ho Chi Minh defected to China July 3.

BY JACQUES BERKERT
 Paris roving editor

PARIS — Several key Vietnamese personalities in exile in the West are to announce soon the formation of an anti-Hanoi "National Salvation Council" (NSC), a senior resistance leader has told *The Nation*.

Hoang Van Hoan, a senior member of the Communist Party of Vietnam who defected to China in July this year, has given his support to the formation of the council.

A key member of the new movement, former Justice Minister of the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) Truong Nhu Tang, said in an interview in Paris recently that he had met Hoang Van Hoan in Peking during a recent visit to drum up support for the National Salvation Council.

Creation of the NSC will be formally announced early next year, Truong Nhu Tang said.

Truong said he also met several leading Chinese and Vietnamese personalities during his Peking visit, including former Kampuchean head of state Prince Norodom Sihanouk and Chinese Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang.

"Hoang Van Hoan told me he would give us his support in the formation of the new council to oppose the leadership in Hanoi," Truong said.

The "National Salvation Council" envisages a vast alliance, grouping together democratic opposition forces against the current Communist regime in Vietnam.

"We want to cut the snake's head and make soup with the body. The soup will be served to the people who badly need some nourishment," Truong said in the interview.

It is more than likely that Truong, the 60-year-old South Vietnamese revolutionary leader, will play a crucial role in the new "council." He was a founder member of the now-defunct Provisional Revolutionary Government, the political arm of the National Liberation Front in former South Vietnam.

A Western diplomatic source based in Paris was somewhat skeptical about the extent of the Chinese support to the new anti-Hanoi movement.

Recent visitors to Vietnam have reported that if the present leadership in Hanoi may be unpopular ("The South is now the most pro-American area of the world," one leftist journalist said) and if Le Duan seems to bear the brunt of public resentment, Hanoi is not about to give up.

Truong is aware of this fact. "We don't envisage a guerrilla warfare against the present Vietnamese regime for the time being," he said.

Another source said that the resistance movement in the South of Vietnam had in fact been fading out. Lack of coordination, contacts and endless struggle with little or no hope of victory, and the lack of access to the external world had affected the resistance movement, the source said.

Observers said that the new Salvation Council may concentrate on psychological actions. Contacts exist between the leaders in exile and inside Vietnam, mostly in the South.

The council will regroup former members of the "third force," neutralists and socialists who during the war were equally suspicious of the pro-American Thieu regime and the pro-Communist NLF. Also expected to be included in the new movement are Buddhist leaders, disillusioned NLF members, former Communists and some ex-supporters of the Thieu regime.

Further contacts are planned with China and several Western nations including the United States.

"We will also tell them that it is in their interest to help us," Truong said.

DOAN VAN TOAI
 17 Webster Str.
 Medford, MA. 02155
 Tel: 617-3966939

Former Vietnam Revolutionary Denounces Communist Regime

By Thomas Kamm

PARIS, June 27 (IHT) — Truong Nhu Tang, a founding member of the Communist-controlled National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the justice minister of the Provisional Revolutionary Government, escaped from Vietnam last fall as a simple boat person, feeling betrayed by the North Vietnamese Communists and let down by his former comrades.

Mr. Tang, 57, is, along with Hoang Van Hoan, a former member of the Politburo who defected to China in 1979, the highest-ranking personality to escape from Vietnam since the Communist takeover.

Aims of Movement

Now, five years after the Communists won the war, "liberated" the South and reunified the country, Mr. Tang denounced them in an interview in Paris, where he has sought refuge from the "tyranny and the totalitarianism" of the current Vietnamese regime, which he labeled "a servant of the Soviet Union."

Mr. Tang's statements provide a striking example of the rift between South Vietnamese nationalists and the Communists, who at one time fought for the same cause.

Mr. Tang joined the National Liberation Front to "fight against



Truong Nhu Tang

the American intervention and the despotism of a corrupt government." He said the Communist-controlled National Liberation Front, which became the PRG in 1969, was a nationalist movement that intended to "build an independent, democratic, peaceful, neu-

tral and prosperous South Vietnam" before unifying the country "step by step ... on the basis of discussions and agreement between both zones, without coercion by either side."

But this policy, repeatedly emphasized in the programs of both the National Liberation Front and the PRG and acknowledged by the 1973 Paris peace agreements, was "flouted by the Communists," who used the rapid collapse of the Saigon regime in 1975 to "divert for its own profit a historic occasion for the Vietnamese people," Mr. Tang said.

"I was convinced that once we had regained independence, it would be possible to cooperate with the Communists in the construction of a genuinely democratic society," he said. "But they rushed the unification process. As time went by, I realized that the just cause of independence and liberty had been betrayed by the leaders of the Vietnamese Communist Party. Instead of a policy of reconciliation and national concord, they conducted a policy of vengeance and repression."

Mr. Tang believes that this policy is motivated solely by ideological reasons. "We knew that the objective of the Communist Party was to seize power. But we thought that they wanted to seize power in the interest of the people and not in the interest of the Communist ideology."

Patriotism Doubted

This perception has led nationalists like Mr. Tang to doubt the patriotism of Vietnamese Communists and their sincerity during the years they supported the National Liberation Front and its military arm, the Viet Cong.

"The Vietnamese Communists are professional seducers, full of attentions when they are not in power," said Mr. Tang. "But once they held power, they turned into insensitive, ungrateful, cynical and brutal human beings."

"It should be up to the Vietnamese people to find their own form of society that corresponds politically, economically and socially to the soul of the country, to its state of development. Instead, the Communist Party wants to build a nation whose ambitions for power go beyond the material and moral resources of the country ... [Vietnam] is the Asian Cuba of Soviet expansionism."

The Soviet Union pours military aid into Vietnam worth an estimated \$3 million a day. Political analysts believe that Vietnam is an excellent investment for the Soviet Union, giving the Russians the use of former U.S. military facilities as well as providing them with an important strategic base in an area where U.S. influence and military strength are at a low ebb.

But the consequences for Vietnam are seen as isolation from the rest of the world and hostility toward China.

Geopolitical 'Mistake'

"Vietnam no longer receives technical or financial help, or even moral support from anyone save the Soviet Union, and the Soviet Union alone cannot carry Vietnam on its back forever," continued Mr. Tang. "Moreover, by opposing China, Vietnam has committed a geopolitical and historical mistake, because no country can live in a state of hostility toward China, with which Vietnam is condemned to eternally share its border."

He sees four basic contradictions facing the Vietnamese Communists:

- Ideological. Vietnam is pursuing a "Marxist-Leninist brand of working-class Communism" in a predominantly peasant country.

- Economic. "The party has boasted that it can pass directly from a feudal and colonial society to a Communist one without passing through a capitalist phase that would give them the necessary material and industrial bases." He estimated that Vietnam annually has a shortfall of between 2 and 3 million tons of staple foods.

- Political. "The discrepancy between the ambitious objectives and the very limited means has led the leaders to commit serious strategic and tactical errors."

- Social. The party-state is developing "a class of corrupt bureaucrats that enlarges the gap between the party and the people."

The picture that emerged from Mr. Tang's description is of a country facing deep economic and political problems whose only solution would be a change of course by the regime. This seems highly unlikely, according to Mr. Tang, but he said that the mood is one of "disaffection, of general popular discontent" although the population manifests only "passive resistance to the regime."

However, Mr. Tang warned that an explosion could take place if "war and misery continue." He said the goal of his "temporary exile" was to organize resistance.