

lawn for order. We whispered that probably we were going to be shot like our friends before. One Viet Cong cadre told us: "During the reeducation period you showed progress, realized your mistakes, improved so there were some of you who wholeheartedly declared to the revolution. These people will be pardoned and released, and the rest of you were not yet declared what you know about American, and puppets. You should imitate your progressing friends and declare to the revolution all the Americans and puppets' activities had and will do in the future. We remind you that the revolution does not want to keep you here long, returning home is up to you. You were following the enemy and fought against the people and the revolution, your offenses should be punished to death but the revolution was merciful and will not kill you. The reason that the revolution keeps you is because we want to change you to be a good person and also protect your life. If we release you right now, the people will remember the previous revenge, beat you to death and harm you. Now according to a higher level decision, we will move you to a different location to further your reeducation." So we had an order to pack our clothes. Talking about clothes, really we didn't have anything to pack except one nylon bag which was used for both things as a bowl and a glass to drink, and the outfit that we were wearing. Thereafter, cadres guided us to the riverside, we were anxious and worried not to know where we were going. A Vietnam Navy's steel boat was waiting for us at the bank. We were silently walked down to the cargo compartment and left everything up to the boat. When all of us were down, our feet were chained at bulk (boat) hands were cuffed, the lid was closed. The heat was getting hotter as the

sun rise; because of the fumes, being down at the cargo compartment, we choked and sometimes almost lost our breath, besides we didn't have water to drink. This was painful and rude, we were in the river and didn't have water to drink. For almost 20 hours, the ship stopped, the lid was opened, the fresh air came down and we were revived like as the rain came down. Two men were hand cuffed together, the chains were unlocked and, one after another, we got to the shore. We were tailed as we walked in a mud approximately 1 kilometer far. We approached one side of a jungle and found out later that it was U Minh Mountain, Ca Mau.

a. At Nong Truong U Minh, Ca Mau

At 8 p.m. on November 3, 1975, there was approximately 800 of us arrived at U Minh Mountain, Ca Mau. Following the order, we set up a camp. Our camp was a sole tree, six of us were chained to the tree just like chaining a dog. U Minh Mountain deep jungle was famous and dangerous, mosquitoes fly sounded like a flute, leech swam like noodle soup. But after a hard day and all the long days as prisoners, now having some fresh air, we lay down on the leaves not paying any attention to the thorns or roots, and felt asleep.

7 a.m. on November 4, 1975, we gathered together on small hill. This was the first time since August 2, 1975 after I was prisoned that I had my hand and feet free from chains. One cadre said to us: "You are achieving a good level during the reeducation so the government moved you here for further education. This is the labor reeducation period so you should do the best of your ability to work hard and advance in order to be permitted to go home." Your honors, it is very hard to

understand and anticipate what the communist says. If you recall, at Can Tho Prison, Cong San told us that since we were not progressing therefore we needed to continue the reeducation, and now here, he said that we were in a good level.

A special note here is that at the farm we could not call each other as camp member but called each other as prisoner, i.e., I was prisoner No. 181. The life here was very hard. We were feeding worse than a farmer fed a buffalo because even though a buffalo was chained but he still has a stable while we were chained and no stable.

The schedule at the farm was as followed:

- 5 a.m.: got up and physical exercises
- 6 a.m.: personal sanitation, got meal and tools
- 6:30 : moved to the working area
- 7 a.m.: began working
- 12:00 : 15 minutes break
- 12:15 : continued working
- 5 p.m.: came back to the camp
- 6 p.m.: got meal
- 7 p.m.: got together to self criticize
- 9 p.m.: went to bed

Our regular duties were: cut trees, dug holes, set up a small dike, built a jungle creek, etc. Each individual had his own thing to do, no assistance was offered even though that was voluntary. To the revolution, volunteering to help would contribute to his friend's bad habits, the receiver was indirectly stealing his friend's labor. Every

body has 2 hands, 2 feet, eye, nose, therefore, it is fair that each one does his own job. Clothes of some of us were old and ragged and they had to use the tree bark to substitute for clothes. The bark was taken from the tree and if we cut it carefully it would become a piece as big as a span for the width, the length was depending on the length of the tree. It was true that using the bark of tree was good because it was used as clothes and also against the mosquitoes.

At the farm, some old people died because of not being able to bear the bad weather, there were some others who were in serious conditions because of labor exhaustion. Almost all of us had malaria. In short, every one was in a condition waiting for the death.

5. Released the prisoner matter:

After a period of time, Cong San released some prisoners to go home, but this number was very small, it was not even 1%. The communist released those who they considered to be pretty good. Very few were released as completely good. The majority was in a forced residence situation. The forced residence period could be from 3, 6, 9 months, 1 year to 2 years. Forced residence is defined as they were forced to live in a designated area such as community, hamlet, village. Those who were released but in a forced residence condition had to reduce their outside activities, and definitely could not move away from the designated area. They were required to report once a week at the community office, twice at the village and everytime the village or hamlet needed something, they would have to receive orders and carried it our right away. These people were seen as regular janitors for hamlets and villages. Even so,

their lives were not safe either. Then, Cong San arranged for a regaining citizenship right. They gathered the people together to listen to the forced residence prisoner to acknowledge his crimes. He had to clearly admit to the people that he had done wrong, was a CIA agent, was a servant for American puppets and confirmed that he had murdered, robbed, raped many times. If he had not committed any crimes, he would still have to make it up and ask for the revolution and people's generosity. After he affirmed his offenses, the revolution asked the people's opinion to see if he deserved the forgiveness. In reality, everything was up to the government. If the government wanted to say yes then the people could not say no. If the government said no, the people could not say yes, but usually, he would still need to go back for reeducation anyway. Not all, Cong San also said: "Do you see now? The revolution does not want to keep you, people don't like you, if we leave you here, the people will be angry and beat you to death, now do you think it is a shame to be a servant? You were against the revolution and people, now the people and revolution have to feed you." So he was taken away and no news was heard from.

I assure you, your honors, that "the prisoner's life in the Reeducation Center Camp was worse than an animal, ill treated spirit, pride was badly hurt, overwhelmed with works." In these conditions, they are waiting for the death, and never think of having a chance to be released. The only way they will be free is when they were rescued.

As an escaped communist prisoner, I understand the life more than anybody. I want to raise to you the sorrowful voice of nearly one

million prisoners who are in the Cong San prisons. The prison is too inhuman and brutal. They keep and treat badly the prisoners with the purpose of making them die day after day. I'd like to speak to you from my heart and also for nearly one million prisoners who are suffering under communist prisons.

They are treated hard, enduring worse than an animal. The reeducation center camps are killing people, Cong San looked at the republican people with an enemy eye. They used to say: "The Americans and puppets' offenses are numerous, as a forest can not be counted, and they can't be wash away by ocean water. So those who committed offenses will be punished." Therefore the POW were not considered as prisoners. In front of you today, in this podium, I want to speak for nearly one million prisoners of war to ask you to have pity for us, use your power, and influence to help millions of people waiting to die.

What happened to their wives, if they treat the POW like that? Please let me say that the treatment is the same.

6. The POW families' life

These are suffering victims, husbands were in a reeducation period with no time limit, property was confiscated by the government, the family was moved to the new economic zone. In this opportunity, I'd like to cite to you about the New Economic Zone.

a. Economic Zone. The zone is the same as the reeducation center but is bigger and has more people. The government picked out a land in the middle of the jungle, uncultivated and where people never lived before. The majority is in the deep jungle and is dangerous.

The government moved them there, provided each family with three (3) acres of land, one house with 4 metre long and 3 metre wide, 6 pillars, leaverroof, no walls, and the receiver repaired as he likes. The first month the government provided rice as a symbol, then they have to be self-sufficient. If there is not enough, they need to make an application to borrow from the government. In these zones, there is not adequate utilities, no medical, or education centers. The economic zone is also a prison but the prisoners receive easier treatment.

b. Cong San's cruel conspiracy

Cong San supports and encourages their soldiers to rape wives and daughters of people who were in the reeducation center to separate the father or husband's influence in the family, to isolate the prisoner, and to have communist's children. In addition, Cong San stimulated to impel the hatred between parents and children to reach to the people trial stage. There were some children about 10 years old who were brainwashed, and were persuaded by Cong San to declare, and scorn their parents that they were followed American puppets to cause their future shameful, dark, comparing with their friends.

The following poet will give you the feeling of the POE families' penetrating:

"My father, a puppet soldier, hasn't been home from reeducation
for a long time.

"My mother, a puppet soldier's wife, will catch a bus this
afternoon for new economic zone.

"We are puppet soldier's children, after the revolution, my
brother discontinued his studies in order to make a living by
pedal cyclo, and me, I am selling cake (doughmt).

III. The Religion

As you know, Cong San believes in atheism but they don't say so to the South Vietnamese people. They said they still believe in religions and respect each individual religion. Their actions, indirectly preventing and creating obstacles to the people who go to church, or temple, would cause people to reject their religions for safety. There are only two (2) persons that deserved the worship to them: Hung Vuong who was founded the nation, Uncle Ho Chi Minh who protected the country. Taking down Buddha, Jesus Christ statues will be praised as the family has the progressing spirit and reserved many easily life activities.

Cong San still maintains four (4) major religions in South Vietnam. Buddhist, Catholic, Cao Dai and Hoa Hao. They replaced these religions' leaders and directly controlled the religions.

1. Cong San's treatment of the Hoa Hao Buddhism.

Hoa Hao Buddhism is one among four (4) major religions in Vietnam. The religion has three (3) million members, and the majority of them lived at Cong Long River. Holy Land is in Hoa Hao Village, An Giang Province, South Vietnam. When Cong San seized South Vietnam, Hoa Hao was one religion that encountered many difficulties. Since Hoa Hao was an active, absolutely anti-communist religion, now in dangerous position, Hoa Hao as a drowned person tried to hold on to a tiny life and used the Paris agreement as a base. Cong San knew all along that Hoa Hao was strong struggle and could cause them some problem, so they called Hoa Hao to forget the resentment, and cooperated with them on mediation, reconcile, and to build the country. Anticipate in possible solutions in the Paris agreement, and after central meeting, the congregation

established a delegation to negotiate with the revolution government.

The delegation members included:

- Mr. Luong Trong Tuong, Chairman of the Central Congregation
- Mr. Dat Si, Chief Secretary of Central Congregation
- Mr. Hai Tap, Chief of the Security Group for Hoa Hao Buddhism.

This delegation met with the government representatives at Cho Moi, Long Xuyen. Once again Cong San betrayed and claimed that Mr. Luong Trong Tuong, Dat Si, and Hai Tap were CIA and reactionaries hiding behind religion. Moreover, they forced Mr. Luong Trong Tuong, Chairman of the Central Congregation, to sign a statement which dispersed the Hoa Hao Congregation. There were two (2) times that Cong San didn't keep their words. The first time was in 1945 when they played the negotiation game at Doc Vang, and secretly harmed Duc Huynh, founder of the religion, and again this time, arrested the chairman and two leaders of the central congregation. These two incidents made people angry, the majority of them went to jungle and establish a war zone against Communist. Seeing the strong reaction, Cong San obligated Messers. Luong Trong Tuong, Dat Si, and Hai Tap to admit their crimes in front of the people so that people would disbelieve and become discouraged and in turn hate these negotiators.

In January 1977, Cong San forced Messers. Luong Trong Tuong, Dat Si, Hai Tap, and Le Quan Liem, former representative, to come to the Hoa Hao living area. As directed, they have been to Long Xuyen, Chau Doc, and Kien Phong to admit their offenses as selling out the country, and as a CIA hiding behind religion. I have received information from my brother, who just got out of Vietnam at the end of March 1977, that

Messers, Luong Trong Tuong, Dat Si, Hai Tap and Le Quang Liem, are very pale, weak, and probably because of various beaten investigation.

Mr. Luong Trong Tuong, Chairman of the Congregation, couldn't walk, or talk, and was lead to the microphone in front of the people. He couldn't speak a word, his face was very sad and tear was running down on his pale, old face.

- The Admitted Crimes were constructed as followed:

Cong San obligated him to made a statement which they censored. After approving, the offender has to read what was in there, no more or less. After admitting his crime, he was taken back to the prison and hardly anyone knew where he was kept. This was a forced action and violated the freedom of speech as you can see.

Cong San also aimed at destroying Hoa Hao by strictly controlling and giving problems to the Hoa Hao religions, besides, arresting Hoa Hao dignitaries. The church, reading room, Chinese free medical delivery room and other offices of the congregation were taken over by Cong San as their properties.

I am solemnly announced in front of the public that the "Vietnamese freedom of religion right is strongly violated." Cong San are destroying Hoa Hao people. I'd like to ask the public to please rescue the three million Hoa Hao people who are in the Cong San's deep hatred.

IV. The Parties

Cong San advocated only one party, therefore no South Vietnamese parties were recognized even though these parties had a struggle fighting history for freedom, wisdom, equal opportunity in the society and also

scored a lot of victories during anti-French, anti-Japan fighting. They claimed that the South Vietnamese parties were created by imperialist American. The parties' leaders were CIA agents. Thus they have a clear reason to destroy and eliminate all the parties in the south. They were severely punished by Cong San. Some of the dignitaries died, suicide in the prison because of being beaten, and badly hurt pride.

Honorable Congressmen

A leader's role in the non-communist block has great influence to the anti-communist point of view in South Vietnam. I don't want to say out loud that if American was not involved, there would not be West Germany against East Germany, South Korea against North Korea, South Vietnam against North Vietnam that was supported by Russia in the communist block. I strongly affirm that the anti-communism was intensely and thoroughly seen all over South Vietnam with the participation of the parties because of wholeheartedly believing in American's decision. This decision and manifest arose after World War II to prevent the communism increasingly to conquer the world. This is not the right place and there is not enough time for me to analyze the mistakes in strategy and tactics in the past political system that led to the shameful, painful failure in 1975. However, I confirm that the parties such as: Viet Quoc, Dai Viet, Hoa Hao, Cao Dai, Catholic and Buddhist were not be used by the south government in the anti-communist plan from 1954 to the date that South Vietnam surrendered with no condition. These parties originally sacrificed countless blood by self supporting scrubs fighting with Communist during 1945 - 1948 - 1949 before Prince Bao Dai established the National Government. The Cong San owed heavy blood to

them. The reason for this phenomena was because South Vietnam government was continuously headed by military elements or French colonists hiring soldiers. They didn't thoroughly understand the people's power or if they could, they selfishly protected their individual power. They looked at the people as an enemy, a fear attitude because of their past colonist friendliness. In 1969, Ph.D. A, in his master of public and international affairs thesis at University of Pittsburgh, had chosen the topic: "A non-communist solution for South Vietnam." The thesis was wrapped up all the recommendations and systemized from the national parties. He anticipated that the South Vietnam government will completely fall and the Republic of Vietnam Armed Forces will quickly disperse if the selfish policy and dishonesty were still maintained. Unfortunately, the recommendations and ideas were neglected because of the strong reaction's influence.

Every one sees that from the date the America was founded, there was no big challenge and it also never involved in a war that was long, complicated and expensive as was Vietnam's war. On the other hand, Vietnamese people had never experienced in such a war of suffering and hardship with many power countries were involved. The result and echo in the falling of 1975 is easily considered as the past only if we deceive to ourselves. I understand that Americans had investigated thoroughly the causes of the failure by asking the Pentagon to request a number of generals to write down their opinions and analyses.

Unfortunately, until this time, there is no attention to the people and political war aspects. The Vietnamese leader's voices were not heard and not studied in learning a necessary lesson for the future because of the communist power will continue to expand every where.

In conclusion, I like to give you my ideas and observations. The ideas that I give are from experiences and personal observations as a soldier who directly involved in the war for many years since I was young. These ideas also sent forth from the Vietnamese people who are suffering. They are forwarded to me so I can present to the world and you. They are given to me by suffering faces, by sad eyes, by skinny body because of not enough food, by Viet Cong's repressing beating that they are bearing, by commonly groaning from the whole people.

The majority of South Vietnamese people looked at the French colonist as a robber and at the American as an ally who sacrificely helping ourselves. However, because of the complicated situation, most of the people don't understand why the French was able to negotiate with Cong San in order to have enough time to move people and property from the north to south to seek freedom in 1954. In 1975, allied American, a number 1 in the non-communist block list with enough influence, could not negotiate with Cong San to postpone a few day to evacuate the anti-communist leaders who were closely, in many occasions, worked with American since World War II. As cited, millions of South Vietnamese people including the leaders had and have been punished because of accepting American influence from the past. It is not as bad to suffer and penetrate by Cong San's forcing and revenge, rather than seeing the caress between some American authorities and north Cong San. The South Vietnam's abomination and hurting increase more when listening to the American delegators praising Cong San courageous and perspicacious leading and promise helping, establishing foreign relationship and admitting Cong

San into United Nations. The Vietnamese people have nothing to say about the American policy, however, they will not be able to sleep because of believing that Americans have completely forgotten them in Cong San's hands, believing that helping Cong San will in turn harm themselves as an ally, a friend.

Millions of South Vietnamese people are Cong San's victims and waiting for the American's attention. These are some classical examples. Some famous leaders that the world know of are: Luong Trong Tuong, former Chairman of Hoa Hao Central Congregation, directed three (3) million Hoa Hao farmers, is old, sick, and paralyzed, is forced to move from one place to another to admit commit crimes. Former Senator Huynh Van Cao, Chairman of the Liason Senate; former commander of Region IV, representative Tran Van Tuyen, Chairman of Opposition the House representative; doctor Phan Huy Quat and other distinguished honest leaders, whose died, live, were in serious conditions, everything was up to Cong San's mood.

We admire the American's dignitaries in strongly struggle to find the American soldiers' bodies who died in Vietnam war but we are very sorry to see that the Americans have paid no attention to the human rights in Vietnam and deign to their old friends. We sincerely hoped that the Americans will actively take care of the Vietnamese leaders who are still in Cong San prisons either by bringing them out with some conditions, or helping them to reunite with families, or changing the suffocated atmosphere and repressive which is covered South Vietnam.

We also ask the American authorities to continue accepting the refugees who risk their lives to leave Vietnam seeking freedom and now are abandoned by other countries or are waiting for the American help in

the refugee camps in Thailand. American taught them what the freedom is, now American abandoned them and left them with Cong San who decided to destroy them as the most dangerous residue, a scar of American imperialism, of CIA. The history definitely will accuse American's leaders who abandoned their friends in April 1975 and now again, close their eyes even though the situation permitted them to help.

I also want to bring out the truth in front of you, your honors, and in front of the American people. Even though we didn't agree with the previous government authorities in South Vietnam, but we understood that they were not as dictator and cruel as Cong San. We deeply appreciate some American authorities who studied and strongly criticize South Vietnamese government and recommend the change in people life and respect their human rights. However, we have more suspicion each day because of their complacency in not criticizing Cong San's horrible treatment to the South and even more, they are praising the Cong San government. They were pride of Cong San or they themselves are an element in Cong San's system. Is there an international witness who was in Saigon, easily moved to the far out villages and directly got in touch with people, especially had private conversation with labor animals in the farm such as me who have lively experiences? I am ready to go back to Vietnam with some of you to show you the labor camps where I lived and have evidence of it. In these historical minutes, while million of Vietnamese people lives are frightened in the prison camps and are treated as animal, I insist in asking you to assume responsibility and power and not to let the truth down. Before the international charities were asked to visit Vietnam, why was nobody invited to come to observe

the real life in prison, the education camps, the farm under Cong San regime. I beg you, the people and American congress, to wake up, don't let them cover and cheat you. For public interest, why did no body raise his voice for all the Vietnamese people who were prisoned in Cong San prisons.

Learning a lesson, I think of the situation of our friends Korea, Thailand, Republic of China. I wish they have a lot of luck and hope that the people and American government maintain their goals, direction, and preventing greedy Cong San from conquering the world.

Honorable Congressmen

We unfortunately lost the battle, lost the country and left everything, friends, relatives behind to come and were permitted to live here, a number one strong country in the non-communist block. Having an opportunity to return home or stay here for everyone intending to become American citizen, we are sure we will not forget the basic human rights and the valuable of freedom. I also hope that these sentences are not nonsense to you but they are our goals and ideas.

On behalf of my friends who are in the same situation, I am very grateful to the people and American government in protecting and helping us during the difficulties time. We sincerely hope that the American government thinks that we ask to pay attention to us as a friend not as a beggar.

During daily lessons in Saigon, Cong San had scolded us that: "Your Americans were defeated, they didn't have enough time to evacuate their useless servants like you, they were busy taking care of their maids.

Your leaders risked their lives to follow their American masters, but their values will be less than a prostitute's value that their masters bring home. The American that your leaders thought as a close friend, now turn their faces away and look at these solding out country as more or less a maid."

During the meeting with the American delegators, I don't know what Cong San said and will do in the future, but in the present time, I clearly see, by living a long time in Vietnam, that "Cong San set up their first priority task in destroying the American influence, eliminated all roots, insulted and laughted at their failure in Vietnam war." With the friendship and intelligence, the American dignitaries will decide to see if American should help more or not.

Passing by the Vietnamese embassy, our refugee hearts are touched and afflicted. The American authorities protects the embassy. I understand that in Korea, President Park Chung Hee decided not to give the Vietnamese embassy back to Cong San and now allowed the embassy staff members and refugee use of the facility. I don't know what the American purpose is in protecting the embassy. The rumor is that the embassy will be given to Cong San if the recognition is successful. I don't understand what it really is but I think that "if Cong San insist on having that cheap house it must be for some other big profits."

I had an idea that suddently popped up in my mind while thinking back about Vietnam. The idea is why the American government didn't give the embassy to the refugee because it used to be an anti-communist foundation. The refugee will use this facility to meet together and discuss

the topic of using the old embassy for a place to meet and worship. I hope you consider, approve and carry out our small hope.

Your honors,

Once again, I thank all of you and the American congress. After the speech, if anyone gives me one wish and my wish is going to be: "my rudimentary and not articulate speech today will be read by every representatives, and senators, and please have a few minutes to think about it." Hope God will help the South Vietnamese people not to bear many more suffering and the Vietnam situation will step into a more advantageous curve so everybody has the life that God originally plans.

Mr. FRASER. Thank you very much, Mr. Coi.

I might add just by way of information that another Vietnamese citizen who escaped to Japan, we sought to obtain as a witness for this hearing. He is coming to the United States, Nguyen Cong Hoan, who fled in a fishing craft in late March of this year from Vietnam and resides in Japan. But the State Department advises us that they could not get him here in time for the hearing. And as a result, Mr. Coi was asked to come and testify. That is a partial explanation of the short notice he had for this hearing.

Well, I must say, in listening to the testimony, I have several impressions.

One is that what everyone has said here could be true. It is a little bit as though one is looking at the same situation but from a different vantage point.

Mr. Luce, let me perhaps ask you—I have a clear impression that when the struggle went on in Vietnam, which terms of civil and political rights, that they are curtailed in South Vietnam.

Would you argue with that statment? What is your view on that?

Mr. LUCE. Let me go back a little.

In terms of the question of ideology, I think it is important to note that the government there is a combination of people who belong to the Communist Party and other people who do not belong to the Communist Party. It includes both Communists and non-Communists. In terms of the question of democracy in the elections, there were people who won in the elections, like Madame Ngo Ba Thanh. There are people that lost in the elections, like Father Chan Tin, and many others, so that they do have elections there. These are political contests and there are winners and there are losers.

They do have a chance to express very different political views.

The second part of the question, in terms of the direction of the Government in Vietnam, it seemed very, very much, as far as I could see, one of everyone working toward rebuilding the country, that the efforts of the army are in rebuilding the roads, the bridges, the railroads, in terms of getting the economic areas built so that people could leave the cities and go back to the farms. There was not, there is not, a forced movement back to the farms. There is a freedom of movement, that, when people are ready to go back to the farms, they can go back to the farms.

In terms of freedom of expression, one of the things that was very important to me was that as an American who speaks Vietnamese, I could go to the marketplace by myself and talk to whomever I wanted to there.

I went to visit friends of mine in their homes alone and could talk to them about their views on what was happening there. In terms of the freedoms that I dealt with in talking of personal freedoms, freedom of expression, freedom of writing what they wanted to—I visited many writers. There is both more freedom there in terms of these expressions than there was in 1971 when I left, and more freedom there than there was in Thailand, which I stopped in on my way out.

So I felt that it was a government that, according to—and I met with at least 50 former friends—according to the people whom I knew and worked with, and these are not people who were with the Front or on the Communist side—these are generally “Third Force” people—that they feel very good about this new government in terms of the

freedom and in terms of the struggle to make sure that there is an equal distribution of food, medicine and other necessities.

Mr. FRASER. This may not be a fair question because you may not feel that you know. But take Mr. Coi's situation. I guess Mr. Coi's experience with the new government was largely in some form of detention, so that that is what he is able to tell us about.

But would you find his story incompatible with what you found in South Vietnam?

Mr. LUCE. His story is very different from the story which people I talked with who had been to the reeducation camps, you know, the centers, told me in terms of coming out. And I met with a wide variety of people who had been in the reeducation centers.

I used to teach at the college of agriculture and I went out to the college of agriculture and met with the former dean of the college who had been to a reeducation center. I met with several of the teachers and they felt very good about the time that they had spent in the reeducation centers. They saw it not as a period of punishment, but as a period where they could reflect back on what they had done.

For many people it is a period of learning new skills. This is particularly true, for example, of the women that Midge Meinertz talked with. I met with General Hanh, who was the deputy commander of the Vietnamese Armed Forces, the man who surrendered the Saigon Army to the South Vietnamese Liberation Army and the North Vietnamese Army. He went to a reeducation camp and felt that it was a very important time for him to think through what he did during the war. He reflected back to Fort Bragg, where he, as a high ranking military officer, had been involved in discussions—or at least he claimed to have been involved in discussions—about using Vietnam as a counterinsurgency training ground, and his own having to internally deal with that. And he felt that if he had not gone to the reeducation center, that that would be something that would be on his mind and something that would bother him over long periods of time.

He is now out of the reeducation center. He holds a position in Saigon city government.

I found, very contrary to what happened in World War II, where the Nazi military officers and officials could not hold government positions, that many of the former Saigon Government military leaders and officials do hold positions in the new government.

Mr. FRASER. What about the people that Mr. Jacqueney mentioned?

Mr. LUCE. One other thing which I would like to request permission to do is to enter into the record a report by the Indochina Resource Center, which gives the backgrounds of at least four of the people that Ted Jacqueney mentioned.¹ I think that it is important to recognize that while there were many people who were opposed to the Thieu regime, they were not necessarily "Third Force" people. I mean there was a very big split between Thieu and Nguyen Cao Ky, the Vice President at the time. There were all kinds of other splits. These people, some of them, were very much involved in counterinsurgency and the pacification program in Vietnam. Tran Huu Thanh was the chaplain in the military. They were involved in psychological warfare, so that they did have a history of involvement in the war.

In terms of their being in the reeducation centers, I think that this is true that they are. But I think it is also important for us to recog-

¹ See appendix 2, p. 178.