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SOCIAL/ECONOMIC REPORT TO THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON VIETNAM

Today we are standing on the doorstep of a new era, a new world order, and a new century. New opportunities abound in all phases of our society, our political structure, and our economy.

This report of our Conference Committee is presented as a part of this unfolding international scene, much of which has come on stage so recently and suddenly that we have been unable to comprehend all its meaning or reflect fully on its influence in our thinking. We base our report on two principal assumptions:

A. That there will be continuing change in the political, social, and economic face of Vietnam, and

B. That we can influence that change for the good if we have the intelligence and the collective will to do so.

We agree with and ratify the other reports to this group that recent actions by the Government of Vietnam indicate that the rulers are confused, perhaps frightened, and that they brutally defend their dictatorial powers. Though they have taken some steps in their new 15 April version of their Constitution to expand their market systems and grant new economic freedoms, they have done so in order to fit their economy into the world free market system. The constitution now allows private ownership and guarantees that private enterprise will not be subject to nationalization. Yet, while expanding economic freedoms they continue to threaten, oppress, and even imprison their citizens for spiritual and political expression.

We also agree with the recent carefully considered exceptions that our government has made to the restrictions imposed by the embargo. This relaxation perhaps signals our recognition of the new freedoms stated in the 15 April revision of their Constitution. The easement in the embargo will also clearly help the economy and the medical support of the poor citizens of Vietnam whom we expect to form the future backbone of Vietnamese prosperity.

Our analysis shows that one fourth of the 147 articles in the new constitution now deal with the rights of the people. This is roughly three times as many as are found in the U. S. Constitution. We make this point to emphasize the fact that our differences are not with the stated intentions of the current regime, but with the results of the of the communist single-party structure and the consolidated, centralized, and absolute power base of their government. Though most of the words are right, the remaining words and actions must be modified.

We want to see a clear signal that the newfound economic freedoms are in practice, widely recognized, and fully implemented. We want to read it in the press, hear it on the radio, see it in the streets, and feel it in the churches, pagodas and temples. We want to see ex-political prisoners marching unmolested in the streets and carrying placards saying, "Rewrite Article 4."

When we see this sort of movement underway, we believe that a gradual relaxation of other restrictions would encourage further progress, thereby improving the living conditions of the poor and signaling another step toward normalization.

We also believe that those who deal with Vietnam, both in and out of government around the world, should hold a continuing dialogue with anyone in Vietnam who will listen on the subject of modifying and improving the constitution. There are 273 paragraphs in that document, of which only about 14 or 15 define a dictatorship. Thus only about 5% of the words in the document need altering in order to become an excellent model for a democracy. This, of course, is a simplistic approach, and even if the words were changed it would not guarantee a functioning democracy. Yet the means for peaceful modification of those words now exist, and if we are to have a peaceful change to democracy, we must exploit those means at every opportunity.

When James Madison and Alexander Hamilton convened the constitutional convention in 1788, they had no president, no precedent, and, in the minds of most of the members, no chance of binding together all the independent states under a constitution. The two recognized leading figures in the country, George Washington and Benjamin Franklin, were so convinced of failure that they decided not to participate in the conference. Only at the last minute did they change their minds. And when they finally hammered out a document that could be accepted by all the signatories, it had no articles defining the rights of the people.

At least in the current Vietnamese Constitution, the rights of citizens are clearly and well defined.

We should ask ourselves why the American Constitution, which started out with no statement of human rights succeeded so well, yet the Vietnamese Constitution, as currently written cannot succeed. We should not, out of hand, dismiss the subject by saying, "Well, it is just pure Communism." We should look at each element of the document and see which specific features doom it to failure.

There are two principal reasons why one succeeded and the other failed. First, James Madison recognized that leaders who struggle for the power to govern other men characteristically seek absolute power. He saw that this is inherent in mankind and is not likely to change. He saw that to hold ambition in check, the powers of government must be separated and that the manner of selecting officials to exercise those powers must be separate. He not only separated the federal powers between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches, he separated the federal from the state powers. Selection of the officials for each branch were separated in both time and method. Secondly, though Madison might not have foreseen it and certainly did not prescribe it, further separation was eventually provided by the formation of two major political parties, a fallout from man's natural division between conservatives and liberals.

These two features that created the basic framework for the success of democratic American government are not only missing from the Vietnamese constitution, they are forbidden.

We cannot include them in that constitution from here. They must be included by a well informed, educated, and strongly supported group of Vietnamese on scene in Vietnam.

CONCLUSION:

That our major objectives should include:

- (a) Modification of the Constitution of Vietnam to provide for separation and balance of powers,
- (b) Development of the awareness of this objective and its meaning amongst all the people of Vietnam. through education.
- (c) Create a receptive and friendly audience in Vietnam through charity and humanitarian commerce.
- (d) Lay the basic foundations for an effective political party in Vietnam, through education.
- (e) Use every international forum available, including the United Nations and the ASEAN countries, to press the cause of education and humanitarian good will in Vietnam.

RECOMMENDATIONS/RESOLUTIONS

- (a) That in the formation of the Free Vietnam Coalition, The Vietnamese Council for a Free Vietnam include the above objectives in the statement of its purpose.
- (b) That the Charter for the Coalition, direct the development of a specific social and economic plan, to include arrangements for appropriate headquarters and funding to support its implementation.
- (c) That the Charter for the Coalition, direct the development of a specific plan for charitable and humanitarian operations to include designation of action groups and the solicitation of religious organizations to help fund and administer part of the effort.
- (d) From the broadest possible base of Vietnamese organizations worldwide, educate a corps of Vietnamese leaders in the specialties of government and exercise them in the skills of leadership and politics. With the expectation that at some time in the future this group or some of its members might be called upon to participate in the political process in Vietnam, consider the desirability of creating, from time to time, a moot government that might be better able to represent more effectively the voice and will of all Vietnamese.

I'M HONORED TO
REPRESENT THE
PRESIDENT OF UNITED
STATES AT THIS
CONFERENCE. HIS
LONG STANDING SUPPORT
FOR THE FREEDOM
SEEKING PEOPLES OF
VIETNAM IS WELL
KNOWN. HE CONTINUES
TO SUPPORT THE
DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT
AND WILL DO WHAT'S
NECESSARY SO THAT
ALL OF YOU HERE TODAY
CAN RETURN TO A
FREE VIETNAM.

AS WE HAVE SEEN
IN EASTERN EUROPE
AND THE FORMER
SOVIET UNION, WE
WILL NOT REST UNTIL
THE WHOLE WORLD
IS FREE FROM
DICTATORS AND COMMUNISM.

GOD BLESS YOU
AND GOD BLESS
A FREE VIETNAM AND
THE U.S. OF A.

The President wants to see a truly free Vietnam

We are involved in a step by step process, a phased process to lift ^{create normalcy} ~~the~~ Vietnamese but embargo only after certain steps are completed.

Those steps ~~include~~ ^{include} the resolution of discrepancy cases involving ~~POW~~ former P.O.W.s and M.I.A.s. ~~The U.S.~~ ~~government is~~ This means that we are looking to the Vietnamese government to assist in providing remains of American military, or explanation for not having those ~~those~~ remains and information regarding former POW's and M.I.A.s.

There has been initial signs of cooperation with Vietnam -- agreements on like sighting investigations and the commitment to

open up ~~read~~ some records.

It owes what is most important
and contingent on the progress ^{with our} of relations
with Vietnam is achieved,
results from this preliminary activity.
not simply

~~Support & group~~
vital

Vital and important - nationality group
within the Asian/Pacific-American
community.

Just priority ^{the} on ~~your~~ concerns

Jim -

Your appointment is at 1:00 pm today for The Vietnamese for a Free Vietnam. Dr. Le Wang will probably be the one who'll meet you.

You should go to the Senate Dirksen Building. The conference is in the G-50 auditorium, which is just inside the 1st + C St entrance.

Attached ^{are} the infamous letters.

- Theresa

493 ~~Cheryl~~ Cheryl

Mutual step by step process

involved phased process ^{iff} entkays only after certain steps:

- Live sighting investigation
- commitments on opening records

Resolve
Disciplinary cases

1. Privately remains a explanation or not have remains, information



Results not activity

THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR A FREE VIETNAM and THE VIETNAMESE COUNCIL FOR A FREE VIETNAM

Ambassador William F. Colby
Chairman, The American Committee

1220 34th Street, N.W., Suite 700
Washington, D.C. 20037-1124
Telephone: (202) 467-6033

Dr. Le Phouc Sang
Chairman, The Vietnamese Council

P.O. Box 4478
Chesterfield, MO 63006
Telephone: (314) 676-4714

June 23, 1992

Mr. James Shaefer
Associate Director for Public Liaison
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20506

*Hosting Dinner
for Tim
Walt*
Carney's
*Chris Le Fleur
677-3132*

Dear Mr. Shaefer,

Thank you for agreeing to deliver the message of the President at our international conference on Vietnam on June 29, 1992 1 P.M. at G-50 Senate Dirksen Building Auditorium. We are looking forward to see you there.

We have a second invitation to you, to give the keynote speech at the Inauguration Ceremonies of our World Convention which is held on Saturday, June 27, 1992 at the Auditorium of Lake Braddock High School in Burke, Va. The time would be between 7 and 8 P.M.

It might be politically useful to you as several thousand American Vietnamese voters will be among those attending from our nine regional councils all over the United States and several hundreds from the Greater Washington area. We leave the exact topic to you as long as it deals with freedom and democracy for Vietnam. It could elaborate on the President's policy toward Vietnam and toward the American Vietnamese. In a campaign, this would be an excellent platform for the supporters of the President.

We know that it is an imposition on your time to come twice, but we believe that besides gaining recognition with the Vietnamese ethnic group, you would also accomplish a mission for the President in this campaign year.

Dr. Z. Michael Szaz from the National Confederation of American Ethnic Groups and the U.S. Joint Congressional Task Force on Vietnam, concurs with this invitation and strongly urges you to accept.

Looking forward to your early reply by fax or mail to (301) 989-1538, we are with best regards,

5000

Sincerely yours,

Le Phouc Sang, Ph.D.
Chairman
Vietnamese Council for a
Free Vietnam

202 456 1414
not operator



NATIONAL CONFEDERATION of AMERICAN ETHNIC GROUPS, Inc.

4720 Massachusetts Avenue/NW Washington, D.C. 20016

Department of Immigration
7200 Commerce Street #101
Springfield, Va. 22170
(703) 866-1270

June 19, 1992

Mr. Clayton Fong
Deputy Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20506

Dear Mr. Fong,

One of your constituent organizations, the **Vietnamese Council for a Free Vietnam**, is holding, together with the American Committee for a Free Vietnam, the U.S. Joint Congressional Task Force, ourselves and other organizations both here and in Europe, Canada and Australia an International Conference on Vietnam from noon on Monday, June 29, 1992 at G-50 Auditorium of the Senate Dirksen Building.

Ambassador Colby, the chairman of the American Committee for a Free Vietnam, wrote to the President on May 28, 1992 asking for a Presidential message. No reply was yet received, but I know from experience that you have to call to find out.

Our problem is both time, and also that we would like someone to read the message at the International Conference. We believe that you would be the right person to do so and extend a most cordial invitation to you to come and read the message on the 29th, preferably either at 1:15 P.M. or at 4 P.M. at your choosing. We would also greatly appreciate if the President would be willing to send a short videotape message, and you would then give a short speech.

In any case, we want to support the President, although both Ross Perot and Bill Clinton have approached the Vietnamese Council for a Free Vietnam and will be sending messages.

Dr. Le Phouc Sang was, by the way, the Vietnamese coordinator for two campaigns, 1980 and 1984 for

- Honorary President:
Professor John B. Genna, Ph D.
- President:
Edward S. Yaworski, Esq.
- Executive Vice President:
Z. Michael Sank, Ph D.
- Director of Activities and Secretary:
John Hussak
- Treasurer:
Richard Kohn, Ph D.
- General Counsel:
Cynthia Malena, Esq.
- Vice Presidents:
Irene Behr
Nicholas Gregg, M D
Mrs. Valeriyia Kabanova, Ph D.
Dyan Blue Kohn, Ph D., J.D.
Mrs. Virginia Luoma
Professor John Maher, Ph D.
Joseph Pironi
Virginia Rossignol
Le Phouc Sang, Ph D.
Karel M. Saha, Ph D.
Col. Albert Sumner, USA (Ret.)
Honorable Olive S. Sacker
- Chairman:
National Assembly of Representatives:
Joseph C. Sussak
- Vice Chairmen:
Hermus Kasse
Cynthia M. Malena, Esq.
- Chairmen of the Standing Committees:
Activities:
Dr. Elmer Behr
Anti-Discrimination:
Mr. Leonard Walentynowicz, Esq.
Capitol Relations:
Lubomir Hanyak
Constitution and By-Laws:
Hon. Selma L. Lio
Education:
Professor Edward G. Guber, Ph D.
Foreign Affairs:
Professor John B. Genna, Ph D.
Heritage Studies:
Professor John Maher, Ph D.
Human Rights:
Myron Lester
Membership Control:
Honorable Olive S. Sacker
National Secretary:
Joseph Pironi
Nominations and Citizenship:
Erna A. Renda, J.D.
Nominations:
Mrs. Virginia Rossignol
Press Relations:
Cynthia Malena, Esq.
Refugees:
Tuan Anh Nguyen
Resolutions:
Austin V. App, Ph D.

President Reagan and then Vice President Bush.

The conference will have 600 delegates, the great majority of them overseas Vietnamese from the U.S., Canada, Australia, and ten countries of Europe. In addition, there will be non-Vietnamese Council delegates from Australia (several M.P.'s), Canada and several Western European countries. The Vietnamese Council for a Free Vietnam is organized in nine regional councils in the United States, four regional councils in Canada, two regional councils from Australia and ten national councils in Europe.

Please let us know about the form of the Presidential message and your availability. I am enclosing a copy of the letter by Ambassador William E. Colby and the printed invitation to the event.

With best regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

M. J. Michael Szaz
Z. Michael Szaz, Ph.D.
Executive Vice
President and Director
of Immigration

3020 BENT PLACE, NW
WASHINGTON, DC 20007
202 338-7231

May 28, 1992

President George Bush
The White House
Washington DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

The Vietnamese Council for a Free Vietnam, an organization of Vietnamese exiled from their homeland, will be holding its first International Conference for a Free Vietnam here in Washington on 27 and 29 June. The Council is under the Chairmanship of Dr. Le Phuoc Sang, whom I have known since the time of my service in Vietnam. Dr. Le has spent the past three years tirelessly organizing local sections of the Council in six major regions of the United States, Canada, Europe and Australia. He has extended its membership far beyond the Hoa Hao religion's core with which he began, and the Conference will be attended by substantial delegations from its regional organizations.

The Vietnamese Council is being fully supported in this endeavor by the American Committee for a Free Vietnam, of which I have the honor to be Chairman. This Committee consists of a number of Americans committed to do what they can to bring freedom to Vietnam, a cause for which many of them served there. The Committee is a non-profit educational organization endeavoring to spread awareness and enthusiasm for freedom in that nation.

The first day of the Conference will consist of the Vietnamese Council and its affiliates solidifying their organizational relationships, to be followed by a large evening gathering. The second day (Monday the 29th) will take place on Capitol Hill, and seek to demonstrate the commitment of the Vietnamese community worldwide to this cause, and to express the support of many other nationalities including the United States. A number of Senators and Congressmen of the Congressional Study Group on Vietnam will make short statements and there will be a variety of other speakers.

Both Dr. Le and I believe the Conference would be enormously strengthened by your participation, in any form this might be possible. Clearly your personal presence would be a major contribution, but an indirect appearance through a short video tape or a written message would be equally welcome. We have presumed to prepare the attached draft of a statement which you might consider for your own editing or revision, and we of course are at your disposal for any other information you might wish or any other assistance we could render you in this regard.

At this time of great victory world-wide of the forces and ideals of freedom, for which you made such great efforts over the years, we hope that you will agree that it is time that the same values should come to prevail in Vietnam. It would be a great honor for us if you could join in our effort to bring this about.

Respectfully and Sincerely,

William E. Colby

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

June 29, 1992

TO: JIM SCHAEFER

FROM: JIM KEITH

FYI.

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 21, 1992

Dear Mr. DiFrancesco:


Thank you for your recent letter. I appreciate your continuing efforts to keep us informed of your deeply-held views on the Administration's approach to Vietnam.

I assure you that the Administration's goal remains the fullest possible accounting of POW/MIAs in Vietnam. Our recent announcements regarding telecommunications links between the U.S. and Vietnam, commercial transactions serving basic human needs, and permission for non-governmental organizations to establish offices in Vietnam were taken with that goal foremost in our minds.

Vietnamese cooperation on POW/MIA issues has increased since the recent visits by General Vessey and Assistant Secretary Solomon to Hanoi. Vietnam has committed to positive steps to address our concerns, including short-notice live sighting investigations and the return of a number of sets of remains. We will hold Vietnam to continuing action on these promises.

I agree with you that our dialogue with Hanoi must be crafted in order to obtain the fullest possible accounting of POW/MIAs -- our commitment to this fundamental goal will not waver.

Sincerely,



Mr. Dominic D. DiFrancesco
National Commander
The American Legion
1608 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006



STATUS OF THE POW/MIA ISSUE: June 3, 1992

2,266 Americans are still missing as a result of the Vietnam War. A breakdown by country of loss follows: Vietnam 1,655 (North - 580; South - 1,075); Laos - 522; Cambodia - 83; Chinese territorial waters - 6. Over 80% of Lao and 90% of Cambodia losses occurred in areas controlled by Vietnamese forces during the war. The League seeks the return of all prisoners and the fullest possible accounting for all missing Americans.

In his July 10, 1991 letter to the League, President Bush renewed prior commitments to resolving the POW/MIA issue, stating, "I cannot stress strongly enough my resolve to obtain the fullest possible accounting of those Americans who are missing in Southeast Asia....While we have seen progress, much more needs to be achieved....if any Americans are still being held captive, decisive action will be taken to return them home." At the forefront of negotiations and the intelligence effort is resolving the live prisoner issue. The League's position is that Americans are still held; the USG operates under this assumption as a matter of policy.

A successful US/Lao program of POW/MIA field operations was undertaken last year. Survey/recovery operations were conducted in several provinces of Laos previously denied to US teams, and an increased number of joint excavations occurred. The first joint investigation was conducted into discrepancy cases of Americans last known alive in Lao captivity. An expanded 1992 program of joint field operations has already included four field operations, with several more planned for the remainder of this year.

Though only three Americans were accounted for in 1991 as a direct result of US/Vietnam efforts, field operations have expanded which give the perception of progress. Nearly one year ago, the US outlined a policy for step-by-step movement toward normalization of relations. If implemented fully by both governments, recent agreements will rapidly account for hundreds of Americans. The first short-notice live-sighting investigation was conducted in early March; the report was confirmed to be inaccurate. Access for US research specialists to Vietnam's wartime records has increased, but must be improved. Unilateral SRV repatriation of US remains must increase for relations to improve in keeping with US policy.

Cambodian officials have permitted several teams of POW/MIA specialists to conduct field investigations and excavations, including allowing U.S. helicopters, flown by American pilots, in support of the activities. Four remains, likely those of journalists captured in 1970, were recovered in early March and are now being analyzed by the Army's Central Identification Laboratory. The prospect for increased Cambodian cooperation to account for the 83 Americans still missing in Cambodia is very good.

CALL 202/659-0133, LEAGUE UPDATE LINE, FOR FURTHER INFORMATION.

Same operation by b/r

ACCOMPLISHMENTS: 1982 - Present

- Established resolution of the POW/MIA issue as a matter of highest national priority to the United States, developed serious policy and ensured implementation was supported by adequate assets and resources.
- Changed official position on live prisoner issue from "no credible evidence" to "information available precludes ruling out the possibility" and that the USG would operate on the assumption that Americans are still held captive.
- Opened high level POW/MIA negotiations between US and SRV officials for the first time since 1978.
- Initiated high level dialogue with the Lao Government to resolve the issue.
- Called on ASEAN and other friendly nations to assist in urging Vietnam to cooperate in resolving the issue.
- Sought strong bipartisan Congressional support for cohesive effort to resolve the POW/MIA issue as a matter of highest national priority.
- Adopted a public awareness program on POW/MIA, based upon facts of the issue.
- Adopted a policy of full disclosure to primary next-of-kin (PNOK) families on all reports that pertain or may pertain to their missing relative; subsequently adopted into law, 1988.
- Establish an improved process for remains identification, to include outside consultant reviews, family input and a revised review process through the Armed Forces Identification Review Board.
- Conducted extensive effort with families and services to obtain medical records and information for Central Identification Laboratory in order to compare with expected government-to-government remains repatriations.
- Led effort with families and military casualty officers to update family addresses and points of contact which in the 1970's had been allowed to get completely out of date.
- Established improved contact with family members through publication of a DOD POW/MIA FACT book and a Next-of-Kin Newsletter to the families.

- Provided military transportation (COIN ASSIST), discontinued in the 1970's, for POW/MIA families to attend each League annual meeting.
- Consistently ensured primary next-of-kin (PNOK) rights to privacy and to decision-making on matters affecting their missing loved ones.
- To visibly demonstrate commitment, have flown the League's POW/MIA flag over the White House every year since 1982 and directed it be flown over the Departments of State, Defense and Veterans Affairs, the Selective Service Headquarters and the Vietnam Veterans Memorial on POW/MIA Recognition Day.
- Granted a delay in the entombment of the Vietnam unknown until assured that all relevant medical records for comparison were present and remains were truly unidentifiable.
- Sought to counter rampant misinformation which was discrediting the seriousness of the POW/MIA issue and serving as the basis for fraudulent fund-raising.

**POW/MIA AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE US AND SRV
February 1982 - Present**

February, 1982: Delegation to Hanoi, led by Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Armitage, met with Vietnamese Deputy Foreign Minister Dinh Ngo Liem. Vietnam agreed:

- * In principle to continue working level, technical meetings between JCRC/CILHI and VNOSMP and consider the rate of four per year.
- * To send a team to CILHI and JCRC.
- * To consider the US proposal for joint US/SRV searches.

September, 1982: Four Member League Delegation to Hanoi* met with Vice Foreign Minister Vo Dong Giang and others.

- * Vietnam announced that they would accept the US proposal to meet four times a year on POW/MIA.

4 REMAINS WERE RETURNED AND IDENTIFIED AS AMERICANS IN 1982

July, 1983: Reacting to Secretary of State Shultz's remarks during the ASEAN Post-Ministerials in Bangkok (that Vietnam was holding over 400 US remains), the SRV suspended further technical talks, citing "hostile statements" by senior Administration officials.

September, 1983: League Executive Director Griffiths met in New York with FM Thach (first meeting).

- * FM Thach denied that Vietnam was withholding remains, as stated by Secretary of State George Schultz during the ASEAN post-ministerials (that over 400 remains are being withheld by the Vietnamese).
- * League reaffirmed US position on the report as credible, noting that Vietnam had done little to dissuade the US position.
- * League provided current US Government position on live POWs, President's commitment on POW/MIA and arranged for direct, policy level talks in NY.

October, 1983: NSC Director for Asian Affairs Childress and League Executive Director Griffiths met in New York for informal, very direct discussions over dinner with FM Thach.

- * US views and expectations on POW/MIA were provided, citing examples of discrepancy cases.
- * Both sides agreed that cooperation would be on a humanitarian basis.

January, 1986: Assistant Secretary of Defense Armitage led a US-proposed delegation to Hanoi*, including Assistant Secretary of State Wolfowitz and NSC/Childress who again raised the case of U.S. citizen Robert Schwab, urging immediate answers. Meetings with SRV Foreign Minister Thach brought Vietnam's affirmation of the following:

- * Vietnam's willingness to investigate any live sighting reports the US provides, as well as those which unilaterally come to their attention.
- * Agreement to conduct multiple field activities in cooperation with the US.
- * Thach reiterated the SRV position that resolving the POW/MIA issue is a humanitarian matter, to be settled regardless of political or policy differences which divide the two countries.
- * Vietnam reaffirmed all earlier agreements, including unilateral search efforts into the case of U.S. citizen Robert Schwab.

April, 1986: At Vietnam's request, League Executive Director met in New York with Vietnamese Ambassador Bui Xuan Nhat.

- * Ambassador conveyed Vietnam's perception that the US Government lacked formal commitment to the two-year work plan to resolve the POW/MIA issue.
- * Ambassador cited FM Thach's statement, issued from the non-aligned conference in New Delhi, that talks with the US on the humanitarian POW/MIA issue could not proceed, linking future talks and cooperation to US actions in combating international terrorism (Libya).
- * Griffiths rejected SRV claims of inadequate USG commitment and Vietnam's decision to link humanitarian POW/MIA cooperation to the terrorism problem, urging immediate resumption of joint efforts.

May, 1986. NSC/Childress led a US delegation to New York* for talks with SRV Deputy Foreign Minister Hoang Bich Son.

- * Vietnam agreed to resume/reschedule technical level activities.
- * Vietnam announced an increase in personnel and resources in their VNOSMP.
- * Vietnam affirmed earlier telephone/letter notification that U.S. citizen Robert Schwab had been located in the south and would be repatriated soon.

April, 1987: President Reagan publicly announced his appointment of General John W. Vessey, Jr., as Emissary to Hanoi on POW/MIA. (This action, initiated in October, 1986 and decided in February, 1987 was due to a near-total halt in SRV cooperation.)

May, 1987: NSC/Childress led a US delegation to Hanoi* to establish a valid framework for a proposed mission by Vessey-led US delegation.

- * Vietnam reaffirmed that cooperation to resolve the POW/MIA issue and other humanitarian problems is separate from political matters which divide the two countries.
- * Vietnam expressed concern over perceived US failure to "create a favorable atmosphere" for cooperation, citing the need to motivate the Vietnamese people to gain their assistance.
- * Vietnam cited U.S. foreign policy as "hostile."
- * Vietnam agreed, after very tough rhetorical talks, to accept Presidential emissary without preconditions.

August, 1987: Presidential Emissary to Hanoi for POW/MIA Affairs General Vessey led a US delegation to Hanoi* for meetings with SRV Foreign Minister Thach in an effort to gain renewed cooperation.

- * Vietnam pledged to renew POW/MIA cooperation, focusing initially on discrepancy cases and those listed as died in captivity in the South (emphasis on 70 cases termed "most compelling" by General Vessey).
- * Both sides reaffirmed that cooperation on POW/MIA and other humanitarian issues would be pursued separate from political matters such as normalization of relations.
- * Specific measures were agreed upon to accelerate progress toward accounting for missing Americans.
- * Both sides agreed to hold subsequent meetings of POW/MIA experts on these matters.
- * The US agreed, within legal and policy constraints, to address certain urgent humanitarian concerns of the Vietnamese, focusing initially on the disabled.
- * The US agreed to send a team of humanitarian experts to meet with their Vietnamese counterparts and to compile information on the problems of disabled, including prosthetics requirements and capabilities. (Results of studies will be provided to American NGO's.)

September, 1987. General Vessey led a US delegation to New York* for discussions with SRV Deputy Foreign Minister Nguyen Dy Nien to follow up the early August talks in Hanoi.

October, 1989: General Vessey led a US delegation to New York* for preliminary discussions with SRV Vice Minister Nguyen Dy Nien to affirm the agenda for a Vessey-led US delegation to Hanoi*. Discussions with SRV Foreign Minister Thach brought the following:

- * Vietnam agreed to expand and refine the joint process to account for missing Americans.
- * Vietnam agreed to conduct additional research efforts to obtain data regarding previously investigated discrepancy cases, additional compelling discrepancy cases and incidents which occurred in what were then Vietnamese controlled areas of Laos.
- * Vietnam and US agreed to continue and expand joint endeavors to support bilateral efforts, particularly dealing with field investigations and the need for specific data, as well as access to eye-witnesses.

December, 1989: Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Lambertson led a US delegation to New York* for talks with SRV Ambassador Trinh Xuan Lang.

- * The US stressed the need for more serious implementation of the October 1989 Vessey/Thach agreements for accelerated cooperation.
- * Vietnam reaffirmed their pledge to increase cooperation.

33 REMAINS WERE RETURNED AND IDENTIFIED AS AMERICANS IN 1989

September 1990: Assistant Secretary of State Solomon led a US delegation, including General Vessey, to New York* for discussions with Vietnamese Vice Foreign Minister Le Mai.

- * Discussions focused on Cambodia and the need to move rapidly to resolve the POW/MIA issue.

September, 1990. Secretary Baker met with SRV Vice Premier/Foreign Minister Thach in New York. Emphasis was placed on the need for Vietnam to move now to resolve the POW/MIA issue to ensure that it does not become an obstacle to the pace and scope of improving relations, once a comprehensive settlement is reached in Cambodia.

October, 1990. General Vessey led a US delegation for meetings in Washington D.C.* with SRV Vice Premier/Foreign Minister Thach and other Vietnamese officials. (Secretary Baker waived the 25-mile restriction on officials of "enemy" countries to enable Thach's party to travel to Washington, reinforcing US emphasis on resolving the POW/MIA issue.)

January, 1992: General Vessey led a largely military delegation to Hanoi for further talks with SRV Foreign Minister Cam. For the first time, talks were held with SRV Minister of Defense Doan Khue, and Vice Ministers of Defense and Interior participated in the plenary sessions. In the Joint Statement issued by General Vessey and Foreign Minister Cam at the conclusion of their meetings:

- * Vietnam and the US agreed to strengthen existing measures designed to promote acquisition and confirmation of information concerning missing Americans and to continue to resolve remaining problems.
- * Vietnam and the US agreed to hold expert meetings to discuss ways to accelerate resolution of the 119 discrepancy cases and to plan operations for the next 12 to 24 months.
- * The US announced its intention to provide \$25,000 in disaster relief to aid victims of the recent typhoon in Central Vietnam; Vietnam requested that the U.S. increase its contributions in this area.
- * Vietnam and US agreed to hold meetings in Hanoi by the end of February 1992 to further evaluate the U.S. programs and Vietnam's humanitarian needs.
- * Vietnam and US reiterated the desire of their respective governments for an early normalization of relations.

Not mentioned in the Vessey/Cam Joint Statement:

- * The US proposal to establish a credible live sighting investigation mechanism was not accepted; the SRV agreed only to establish a point of contact for regular coordination and to work with the US to investigate any such reports which the US deems valid.
- * The US proposal to undertake multi-team archival research efforts was not accepted; the SRV agreed to conduct research only through established channels, but provided the long-promised 84-page document of US losses.



Indicates delegations in which League Executive Director Ann Mills Griffiths participated.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Office of the Assistant Secretary/Spokesman

For Immediate Release

November 21, 1991

U.S.-VIETNAM TALKS

As Secretary Baker and Vietnamese Foreign Minister Cam agreed in Paris last month, Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Richard H. Solomon met in New York on November 21 with Vietnamese Vice Foreign Minister Le Mai to discuss the issues and modalities associated with normalization of relations between our two countries. In the course of these talks, which lasted over six hours, Assistant Secretary Solomon reviewed the issues of greatest concern to the U.S.; notably full implementation of the U.N. Comprehensive Political Settlement for Cambodia and the fullest possible accounting for our POW/MIAs.

Assistant Secretary Solomon recalled that he had presented our policy on normalization of relations with Vietnam to the Vietnamese in New York on April 9. He reiterated the U.S. government's commitment to that policy. In that connection he stressed that to continue moving forward step-by-step toward full normalization it is essential that there be further, concrete results on the POW/MIA issue to build on the momentum we had recently achieved. Assistant Secretary Solomon also expressed the hope that Vietnam would address other humanitarian issues of importance to the U.S., and indicated that we plan to continue our efforts to respond to humanitarian needs in Vietnam. He also took note of the progress both sides had made since that time toward achieving the objectives he set forth on April 9. Specifically, he welcomed the Vietnamese decision to support the U.N. Comprehensive Political Settlement for Cambodia and expressed hope that Vietnam and the Phnom Penh authorities would continue to facilitate full implementation of the Agreement. He also provided the U.S. Government's view of Vietnam's efforts to account for our POW/MIAs and discussed various approaches to accelerate progress toward reaching the fullest possible accounting. The Vietnamese again affirmed their desire to help achieve the fullest possible accounting of all American POW/MIAs.

Vice Minister Le Mai and Assistant Secretary Solomon agreed to establish a working group to deal with the issues associated with normalization of relations. The group, which will meet in New York, will be headed by Ambassador Lang on the Vietnamese side and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Kenneth Quinn on the U.S. side. They agreed to continue discussions at mutually agreeable dates in the future.

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Gist: Cambodia Settlement Agreement

In November 1991, the UN Advance Mission in Cambodia (UNAMIC) arrived in Cambodia to begin preparations for the implementation of the Comprehensive Settlement signed in Paris on October 23, 1991, by the Cambodian Supreme National Council (SNC) and foreign ministers from 18 other countries, including the United States. The UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), headed by Special Representative Yasushi Akashi, began the UN's largest peace-keeping operation on March 15. It envisions a peak deployment of 16,000 military personnel and several thousand civilian personnel to organize and conduct free elections by the spring of 1993.

The United States opened its diplomatic mission in Phnom Penh, accredited to the SNC, in November 1991. It looks forward to the restoration of full diplomatic relations once a government is elected to represent the will of the Cambodian people. Several political parties have begun to organize in anticipation of fielding candidates for the constituent assembly, the intermediate stage in the return to self-government.

Background

Vietnam invaded Cambodia (Kampuchea) in December 1978 and did not substantially withdraw its troops until 1989. Although the Vietnamese threw out the Khmer Rouge regime, a continued Vietnamese presence in Cambodia was not acceptable to the world community.

Four principal Cambodian factions were involved in the struggle for a solution.

- The National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful, and Cooperative Cambodia (FUNCINPEC), loyal to former monarch and head of state Prince Sihanouk and now led by his son, Prince Ranariddh.
- The Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPRLF), headed by

former Prime Minister Son Sann. The forces of Prince Sihanouk and the KPRLF together formed the non-communist resistance.

- The Khmer Rouge, a Marxist-Leninist group headed by Pol Pot that took power in 1975 and established one of the most brutal regimes in modern world history.

- The Phnom Penh regime (also known as the State of Cambodia), led by Chea Sim and Hun Sen, includes former Khmer Rouge officials who broke with Pol Pot. It was installed and sustained by the Vietnamese in the wake of their invasion.

Road to Agreement

Following the suspension of the Paris Conference on Cambodia in August 1989, the United States proposed that the five permanent members of the UN Security Council (Permanent Five) seek to bridge the differences among the Cambodian factions by introducing an enhanced UN role.

During these negotiations, the five (US, China, France, UK, and USSR), worked with others chairing the Paris Conference, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN: Brunei,

Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand), Australia, Japan, and other nations in pursuit of three objectives:

- Preventing a Khmer Rouge return to power;
- Ensuring self-determination for the Cambodian people through free and fair elections; and
- Verifying the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia.

On August 28, 1990, after 8 months of negotiation, they agreed on a framework for a comprehensive political settlement. All Cambodian factions accepted the framework, which called for establishing a Supreme National Council and included a UN peace-keeping role as the basis for resolving their differences.

The August framework agreement was endorsed unanimously by the UN Security Council in Resolution 668 in September and by acclamation by the General Assembly in October 1990. The Permanent Five subsequently agreed in November on a detailed draft settlement agreement. This document became the basis for the final agreement.

Development of the SNC

The Cambodian Supreme National Council (SNC) was formed in September 1990. On May 1, 1991, the four factions announced a voluntary cease-

Six Key Points of Agreement

- UNTAC will include a large military and civilian force to disarm the combatants, administer the country, and organize elections.
- SNC is made up of all four Cambodian factions and headed by Prince Sihanouk. It will represent Cambodia internationally and advise UNTAC.
- Agencies, such as finance, foreign affairs, interior, and the police, that could directly influence the outcome of elections, will be placed "under direct UN supervision or control."
- UNTAC will verify a cease-fire. The Cambodian combatants must give the UN the numbers of their forces, their location, and a list of their equipment.

Before elections, all forces are to report to cantonments in stages with their weapons, after which at least 70% are to be demobilized.

- The UN will educate voters and organize all aspects of free elections for a 120-member constituent assembly based on proportional representation within each province. The assembly will draft and approve a constitution and then transform itself into a working legislature.
- Cambodian refugees and displaced persons, estimated at more than 350,000, have the right to return to a destination of choice and to move about freely in the country. □

fire and arms moratorium. Since then, under the leadership of Prince Sihanouk, the SNC moved forward rapidly to reach consensus on a final comprehensive settlement based on the Permanent Five framework. It met five times—in Jakarta; Pattaya, Thailand (twice); Beijing; and New York—to work out differences over the draft agreements.

The SNC members agreed to elect Prince Sihanouk as President of the SNC and to designate him the final arbiter in the absence of a consensus. They then decided on at least 70% demobilization of all factional forces during the transitional period, with the rest to be demobilized or merged into a new national army after elections. They agreed that the first election will be conducted through a proportional representation system along provincial lines. Finally, they delegated to the UN the last word on all matters relating to the organization and conduct of the elections during the transitional period.

There is a consensus among the four Cambodian factions and interested countries that representatives of a Supreme National Council should be seated in the UN General Assembly as the Cambodian delegation.

Prince Sihanouk and the SNC returned to Phnom Penh in mid-November to establish the SNC headquarters.

US Relations

Following UNAMIC's deployment in Cambodia, the President announced the lifting of the US embargo on January 3, 1992, thus normalizing economic relations with Cambodia. The United States also removed blanket opposition to lending by international financial institutions (e.g., the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank) to Cambodia. The United States plans to maintain an active presence through its mission in Phnom Penh during the transition to elections to ensure that the settlement is effectively implemented, providing full support—financial and personnel—to UNTAC as well as economic assistance for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Cambodia.

US Action Against Violators Of Haitian Trade Embargo

President Bush

Statement released by the White House, Office of the Press Secretary, Washington, DC, May 28, 1992.

I have today directed the Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of Transportation to deny the use of American ports to ships that violate the trade embargo against Haiti. This action is being taken in support of the resolution adopted by the Organization of American States [OAS] on May 17, which calls on OAS member states to deny port facilities to vessels trading with Haiti in disregard of the OAS embargo.

The United States remains committed unequivocally to the restoration of

democratic government in Haiti. We will continue working in close concert with our OAS allies toward a negotiated settlement of the political crisis that began with the overthrow of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide last September 30. In addition to today's action and in accordance with the recent OAS resolution, we are examining other steps to tighten sanctions against the illegal regime in Port au Prince.

Our actions are directed at those in Haiti who are opposing a return to democracy, not at the Haitian poor. We are continuing to provide substantial, direct humanitarian assistance to

UN Role in Settlement

The US worked hard to achieve a comprehensive Cambodian settlement with an enhanced role for the UN. With the signing of the agreement, the UN will take on a great challenge. It is the only international body with the experience and capabilities necessary to implement the settlement, including the ability to achieve a neutral environment in which to organize and conduct free and fair elections for the Cambodian people.

A sizeable UN presence and substantial resources will be required to put into effect the military arrangements of the agreement, to resettle nearly 500,000 displaced persons in safety and dignity, to carry out the administrative responsibilities of the plan, and to prepare Cambodia for free and fair elections.

In addition, strong and effective measures, supported by the major

powers, will be required to ensure that the Khmer Rouge abide fully by the agreement.

International Assistance

More than 2 decades of violence and aggression have taken a terrible toll on the people of Cambodia. The world is still shocked at the horrors of Khmer Rouge annihilation that left more than 1 million Cambodians dead. The infrastructure is in ruins. The country is strewn with millions of land mines. More than 350,000 displaced persons in camps along the Thai-Cambodian border and another 150,000 inside the country await repatriation and resettlement. Cambodia will not be able to recover from these multiple disasters without sustained international involvement and relief. More than 40 donor countries (including the United States) and international organizations will meet in Tokyo in June 1992 to coordinate economic assistance to Cambodia. ■

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 16, 1992

FACT SHEET

Joint US-Russian Commission on POW/MIAs

In January 1992, the United States and Russia established a Joint Commission to investigate unresolved cases of Prisoners of War and Missing in Action. The creation of this Commission underscores the commitment of both the United States and Russia to work together in a spirit of friendship to account for missing servicemen on both sides.

The Joint Commission's objectives are to pursue all reports alleging the presence of American POW/MIAs in the former Soviet Union, facilitate their return to the U.S. if they so wish, establish a mechanism by which remains identified as American can be returned to the U.S. and obtain access to people, documents and archival information in Russia which could help account for American servicemen missing from World War II, the Korean War, the Vietnam War and the Cold War period.

Former Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Malcolm Toon, is the President's representative and Chairman of the U.S. Delegation to this Commission. The Commission also includes Senators John Kerry and Robert Smith, Congressmen Pete Peterson and John Miller, and officials from the State and Defense Departments. The Joint U.S.-Russian Commission on POW/MIAs has based three investigators in Moscow to work closely with our Embassy and with Russian Commission members.

The Russian delegation is chaired by General Dmitri Volkogonov, a senior advisor to President Yeltsin. The first meeting of the Joint Commission was held March 26-28 in Moscow. A working-level group met May 28-June 3, and the full Commission will meet again in late July.

Statements made by Russian government officials indicate that Americans were held by the former Soviet government at various times in the past 50 years. Little is known about the fate of these individuals. Research by Russian representatives to the Joint Commission is at an early stage, and has not yet revealed verifiable information that indicates the presence of live Americans currently on the territory of the former Soviet Union.

President Bush and President Yeltsin have instructed the co-chairs of the Joint U.S.-Russian Commission to pursue the latest information on the POW issue. Ambassador Toon will be returning to Moscow to work with the Commission as soon as possible.

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