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THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20590

January 22, 1990

NOTE TO SICHAN SIV

From:  Elaine L. Chao

When the recent spate of news articles appeared on the British Government's efforts to force repatriation of Vietnamese refugees from Hong Kong, I asked an attorney friend in Hong Kong his views.

His response was very interesting. I am not advocating his proposal but thought you might be interested in his thoughts.

Best regards.

Encl.

DAVID D. W. LING
1606-11 JARDINE HOUSE
HONG KONG

3rd January 1990

Ms. Elaine L. Chao
Watergate East
2500 Virginia Ave. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037
U.S.A.

Dear Elaine,

You asked me to comment on the forced repatriation of Vietnamese boat people. I will frankly tell you my observations. The Vietnamese refugees problem in Hong Kong must have caused much concern, or perhaps ill-will, to many people of conscience around the world. I think this human tragedy has been plagued by too much British politics. The Vietnamese refugees problem, in my view, should best be solved by sensible, humane and business-like manner.

During the initial influx of Vietnamese boat people to Hong Kong, the Hong Kong British administration, with the backing of British Foreign Office, disregarded reasonable suggestions from the Hong Kong people and continued to allow the problem to grow by couching the justification in political and legal terminologies. Now, the British administration is repatriating forceably the Vietnamese boat people with justification couched in different political and legal terminologies.

Many thinking people know the Hong Kong administration's actions are but the result of political decisions of the British Government. History has shown that the British are master in politics. The underlying purposes remain to be discerned.

There have been constructive voices in Hong Kong from time to time. One suggestion is as follows:

- a. As Hong Kong's costs are rising very quickly and as there is shortage of labour, the Hong Kong Government can have a policy of using the Vietnamese labour force on certain conditions.

- b. The policy can stipulate that any company in Hong Kong who has the intention to set up labour intensive industries, (e.g. garment, low-tech industries) in Vietnam would be encouraged to use the Vietnamese refugees. This arrangement can be for a fixed period of, say, three years. This policy will result in relieving the refugees' boredom, increasing their hope and income, as well as in training them to have a skill.
- c. If any country takes up the Vietnamese refugees, within the period of, say, three years, they can of course do so. For those refugees not taken up by the foreign countries within the period, they must be sent back to Vietnam.
- d. The arrangement will give the refugees an opportunity to prove their worth to the Hong Kong employers. At the same time, they will benefit by learning a skill, earning money and doing something useful.
- e. The three year period would allow the Hong Kong employers to have a better understanding of the Vietnamese labour force and to give them the confidence to open up factories in Vietnam. They can probably use the labour force they have trained in Hong Kong. The Vietnamese refugees would also benefit by this arrangement for they will have less reluctance and fear in going back to Vietnam. This arrangement should cover a large number of the present refugees who are thought to be economic refugees.
- f. This plan should be beneficial to the Vietnamese economy when the refugees go back to Vietnam. It is known that Vietnam now encourages foreign investments.
- g. PRC should have no objection as the problem is solved with no "costs" to PRC, economically beneficial to Hong Kong, and minimum bad publicity in the international media.
- h. This plan should not cause concern or problem to the developed countries including U.S.A. If there is any, the humanitarian approach in the resolution of this human tragedy should outweigh whatever concern or problem that there may be. It should be in the interest of the democratic countries that Vietnam could achieve a certain standard of success and prosperity. With the changes happening in Eastern

DAVID D. W. LING
1606-11 JARDINE HOUSE
HONG KONG

European countries, it should be a matter of time that Vietnam will change also. The faster the economic well-being of the people, the higher will be their demands and the quicker will the changes in Vietnam be.

- i. This seems to be a sensible, humane and business-like solution to a seemingly unsoluble human tragedy. It should be viewed more kindly by the international community as a good solution to the Vietnamese refugees problem.

The above is just an outline of a plan which I believe can be refined through consultation and further planning. I have heard from former Vietnamese boat people who are now in U.S.A. that those who landed in Taiwan had been much better treated both in living conditions and in the opportunity of finding jobs during their waiting time in Taiwan. The British always have their ways of doing things based upon their own reasons and explanations. The end result is usually unsatisfactory for the recipients. It is time that British should consider using less politics and more sensible, business approach in solving the society and human problems.

Yours sincerely,






MICHAEL D. ANTONOVICH
SUPERVISOR FIFTH DISTRICT

Board of Supervisors
County of Los Angeles

"Vietnamese To
Refugees"

12/20/85

Dear Sirhan.

I hope this helps
with our efforts —
Mike

Susan:
Thank you letter → 2/9

3

SYN. NO. _____

MOTION BY SUPERVISOR MICHAEL D. ANTONOVICH

December 26, 1989

Just as the Jews were denied entry into countries as they fled Hitler's reign of terror during the 1930's, history is repeating itself nearly 50 years later through England's forced deportation of Vietnamese boat people from Hong Kong.

The South East Asian refugees who are fleeing persecution and imprisonment from a totalitarian regime are being denied their freedom because British authorities have initiated a policy of forced repatriation.

Last June, at the request of the White House, I was a member of the delegation representing the United States at an international conference in Geneva which explored policies to allow people seeking refuge to find a home outside of a communist country.

The recent actions of the British Authorities in Hong Kong have eroded the progress that was made six months ago in Switzerland.

I, THEREFORE, MOVE that the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors:

1. Send a letter, signed by the Board, on behalf of all freedom loving people and the thousands of Southeast Asian residents of Los Angeles County, to the Secretary General of the United Nations urging the U.N. to re-convene the international conference on refugees to focus on the plight of these people and to prevent further violations of their human rights such as these forced repatriation efforts; and

2. Also send letters to President George Bush, Vice President Dan Quayle, Secretary of State James Baker, the Los Angeles County Congressional delegation, Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, and the members of the Los Angeles County Consular Corps.

MOTION

MDA:dj

Hahn	_____
Edelman	_____
Dana	_____
Antonovich	_____
Schabarum	_____

The Honorable Sichan Siv
Deputy Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Sent POTUS m 10/18 Oct 13 speech. File: Refugee Vietnam

September 26, 1989

Dear Mr. Siv,

The Vietnamese-American community has observed the developments following the Geneva Conference, June 13-14, with great concern. We understand that the Government of Thailand is still not granting access to the UNHCR to refugees arriving on its east coast and there are numerous reports that refugee boats are being pushed away from the coast of Malaysia.

In Hong Kong, we see that the British and Hong Kong governments have been carrying on unilateral negotiations with the Vietnamese with the intention of forcibly repatriating Vietnamese boat people into the hands of the communist authorities. Such action would, of course, be totally unacceptable.

We are extremely concerned about the problems the refugees are facing individually and collectively, in particular, the issue of force repatriation. We strongly support the U.S. stance in Geneva of remaining "... unalterably opposed to the forced repatriation of Vietnamese asylum seekers", and we urge the administration to stay on course. Yet, we remain seriously anxious that the lack of strong U.S. leadership in seeking a creative and humane alternative to forced repatriation could lead to the U.S. position being overridden at the Geneva conference this coming October. We also urge that U.S. raise the ceiling on Indochinese refugee admissions in light of this critical situation.

To further express our concern, the Interfaith Committee for Refugee Concerns, together with the Vietnamese-American community in the Washington D.C., metropolitan area plan to hold a demonstration in front of the State Department from 12 noon to 2:00 pm on Friday, October 6, 1989. Thereafter, we plan a march to the White House and expect to be in Lafayette Square from about 2:45 to 5:00 P.M.. We would be grateful if you would meet with us to receive our petition to President Bush at that time and to inform us of what plans the United States would have for dealing with this pressing situation.

Please let us know as soon as possible if you can join with us in this urgent action. We will be greatly honored and encouraged by your presence at the rally.

For further information, please contact:

Nguyen Xuan Nguyen
Chairman, Information and Liaison Committee
13199 Blue Fox Lane
Fairfax, VA. 22033
(202) 245-7272

FOR IMMEDIATE PRESS RELEASE
Demonstration For The Support of U.S. Policy Against Forced Repatriation
Organized by the Interfaith Committee for Refugee Concerns
and the Washington, D.C. and metropolitan area Vietnamese Organizations

The refugees are living through the darkest days in decades. This past June in Geneva, some 65 nations met under U.N. auspices to lay the foundation for a new policy that seeks to 'solve' the problem of the boat people by sending them back to Vietnam. At that meeting the nations drafted a 'comprehensive six-point plan of action', the basis of which is to re-categorize most of arriving boat people as 'economic migrants' and thus deny them refugee status. In this way they can be forced to return to communist Vietnam against their will. At Geneva, the U.S. opposed forced repatriation; and this mid-October there will be another international meeting. In the meantime,

Hong Kong - Fear and desperation toward forced repatriation are mounting every minute. The Vietnamese communists and the British government have been negotiating to forcibly repatriate Vietnamese boat people. Over 50,000 boat people are being incarcerated in warehouses, office buildings, ferries, and isolated islands. Many are being detained in isolation pending forced repatriation to communist Vietnam.

Malaysia - The government is currently towing boatloads of men, women, and children out to sea. Pirates have been killing an appalling number of boat people. Since January 1989 alone, 271 deaths have been reported (Associated Press, August 9, 1989).

Thailand - The government continues to refuse UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) access to refugees arriving on Thailand's east coast. Piracy is increasing with alarming brutality. Thai pirates massacred more than 130 Vietnamese refugees on April 16, 1989 (Associated Press, August 10, 1989).

* * *

To show your concern for the boat people, your support of the U.S. policy in remaining "... unalterably opposed to the forced repatriation of Vietnamese asylum seekers", please come join the Vietnamese-American community in a peaceful march and demonstration.

Date	October 6, 1989 (Friday afternoon)
Location	State Department, 21st & Virginia Ave. (12:00 - 2:00 PM)
& Time	March to White House, Lafayette Park (2:00 - 2:30 PM)
	White House, Lafayette Park (2:30 - 5:00 PM)

We will also be meeting with members of Congress, State Department officials, British and Hong Kong authorities to present our petition and voice our concerns. Specifically, we are petitioning the U.S. government and members of the Steering Committee to take the following actions:

1. Strongly oppose forced repatriation,
2. Increase the resettlement ceiling for Indochinese refugees,
3. Explore creative and humane interim solutions,
4. Pressure first-asylum governments to stop push-offs and push-backs and give UNHCR early access to arriving refugees.

We are appealing to all concerned citizens and governments of the Free World to alleviate the immeasurable sufferings of the boat people. Please lend us a hand.

For more information please contact:

Mr. Nguyen Tu Cuong	(703) 893-7285
Mr. Bui Van Lang	(301) 588-2798
Reverend Peter Long	(301) 622-4895

The Honorable Sichan Siv
Deputy Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison
The White House
Washington, D.C.

URGENT

September 29, 1989

Dear Mr. Siv,

This is to follow up on our invitation dated 9/26/1989 to you to meet with us this coming Friday, October 6, 1989, during our demonstration for the support of U.S policy against forced repatriation of Vietnamese asylum seekers at Lafayette Park, The White House, around 4:00 P.M.. The demonstration is organized by the Interfaith Committee for Refugee Concerns and the Washington, D.C. and metropolitan area Vietnamese organizations.

When you will meet with us and inform us of what plans the United States would have for dealing with the critical situation of the Vietnamese asylum seekers in Southeast Asia especially facing the coming Geneva Conference this month, we will present our petition package containing thousands of signatures collected across the nation to President George Bush. Attached is our petition letter.

Also, according to Mr. Shepard Lowman, you have not seen as of this weekend our invitation letter that was hand-delivered to you on 9/27/1989, we are enclosing a copy of that letter and the press release for your reference.

Please let us know as soon as possible if you can join with us in this urgent action. We will be greatly honored and encouraged by your presence at the rally.

For further information, please contact:

Nguyen Xuan Nguyen
Chairman, Information and Liaison Committee
The Interfaith Committee for Refugee Concerns
(202) 245-7272

**PETITION
COLLECTED BY
THE INTERFAITH COMMITTEE FOR REFUGEE CONCERNS
AND THE VIETNAMESE-AMERICAN COMMUNITY
REGARDING THE FORCED REPATRIATION
OF THE VIETNAMESE BOAT PEOPLE ISSUE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA**

SUBMITTED TO THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS AND ADMINISTRATION

Whereas recent statements emanating from the British Government have shown an increasing determination on the part of the Great Britain and Hong Kong to pursue a unilateral and systematic involuntary repatriation program of Vietnamese boat people presently in Hong Kong;

Whereas the United States has reiterated (the last time in a meeting between President George Bush and the British Foreign Minister in Washington) its categorical opposition to such schemes of forced repatriation - which would threaten the very principle of first asylum and refugee rights -;

Whereas the Socialist Republic of Vietnam continues to subscribe to criminal statutes (Article 85, 88, 89) and judicial practices to condemn and severely punish anyone who attempts to escape illegally from Vietnam;

Whereas there is no international mechanism to safeguard the personal safety and dignity for involuntary returnees;

Whereas the Government of Thailand is still not granting access to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to the Vietnamese boat people arriving on its east coast;

Whereas there are numerous and credible reports that refugee boats have been pushed away from the coast of Malaysia as recently as this past September; and

Whereas the Geneva Conference on Indochinese Refugees held in June 1989 has reiterated the principle that all measures and responses to the Indochinese refugee problem must be devised in concert with the international community as a humane and mutually agreed-upon mechanism;

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, HEREBY EXPRESS OUR STRONG CONCERNS ABOUT OUR FELLOW HUMAN BEINGS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA BY PETITIONING OUR GOVERNMENT AND ALL GOVERNMENTS OF THE FREE WORLD TO:

1. Strongly support the US moral stand of remaining "... unalterably opposed to the forced repatriation of Vietnamese asylum seekers" lest we jeopardize the principle of the right to first asylum - the sacred right which the Free World has so admirably espoused and championed for over four decades;

2. Increase the resettlement ceiling for Indochinese refugees and speed up the reception of "long-stayers" that the permanent resettlement nations promised to take up in Geneva in June 1989 in order to relieve the very heavy burden and very real pressures posed by new arrivals in first asylum countries;

3. Explore creative and humane interim solutions, while working out a humane and satisfactorily agreed-upon long term international solution to the problem of boat people in Southeast Asia;

4. Pressure first-asylum governments to immediately stop push-offs and give early access to UNHCR to arriving boat people.

The logo for IRAVE, featuring the word in a stylized, blocky font with horizontal lines above and below it.

Re\$ource Bulletin

Number Seven
July 1989

INFORMATION ON FUNDRAISING FOR MUTUAL ASSISTANCE ASSOCIATIONS

WISCONSIN MAA BUYS THEIR OFFICE SPACE

It seems hard to believe that the Hmong Association of Brown County (WI) has recently put together a successful bid to buy their own building. Koua Yang, the MAA's Executive Director attributes this remarkable accomplishment to a very supportive public environment. Both the city of Green Bay and Brown County work closely with their ethnic community agencies to ensure adequate services to these constituencies.

Founded in 1982, with ORR funding, this Hmong MAA also known as the Hmong Center, today receives about 60% of its income from private sector sources. The plan to secure the Hmong Center's long-term home stemmed from the information that other ethnic agencies had been able to purchase buildings at a special rate from local government. The initial plan was to buy from Brown County the building currently rented for the MAA's administrative offices. In 1988, as the proposal crystallized, the Hmong Association identified two local private foundations whose interests paralleled the MAA's needs.

The Fort Howard Paper Foundation, endowed by a local company, is one of many donors across the country who are interested especially in providing support for building funds. (Check *The Foundation Directory's* "Types of Support Index" for similar foundations in your locale.) The Hmong Center's research also turned up a private trust as a likely funding source — they submitted a proposal to both of these institutions and were awarded grants totaling \$94,000.

In the meantime, the MAA learned of another building — two stories in need of substantial renovation, but with additional parking — available from the city. After clearing the budgetary changes with the funding sources, the Hmong Association of Brown County was able to buy the building for \$1.00 and apply the grant money toward renovation costs.

Rehabilitating buildings is not new to this MAA — a few summers ago, a local church owned a house badly in need of repair. The Hmong Center had some money for job skill training. An arrangement was made for 8 refugees to receive construction guidance from an industrial arts teacher using the house as a training ground. Most of the materials were solicited from and donated by local businesses. Now the eight refugees are employed mostly in building trades and the Hmong Center has a Resettlement House which they rent for \$50 per month plus utilities.

This refugee serving agency serves as a model in other areas of resource development as well. More than three years ago they began discussions with — and became a member of — their local United Way. They currently are in a three year membership funding cycle and scheduled to come up for a rigorous review in 1990. The MAA also joined and is active in the local Chamber of Commerce. This visibility and a kind of "speakers bureau" presentation on refugees have encouraged mainstream men's and women's social clubs to frequently make small enabling grants for special projects and programs.

Recently the Private Industry Council notified the Hmong Association of \$30,000 in JTPA funding for their Summer Youth Project. The MAA will provide 30 Hmong and Lao young people with three weeks of training in computer, communication, and math skills, and will place these youth in summer employment with local agencies.

The state of Wisconsin has four contracts — mostly related to employment and training — with the Hmong Center at present. The State Coordinator's Office is pleased that the Center is in the process of becoming a contracting case management agency because they believe this will provide greater efficiency in refugee services. The MAA augments job specific services with ESL, Child Care, and they are moving into economic development (in conjunction with a university and the state Department of Development).

(Continued on page 8)

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their Office Space

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to Raise Money through
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Social Action Funds

People Give to People

Suggested Reading

ACTIVIST GROUPS COME TOGETHER TO RAISE MONEY THROUGH WORKPLACE CHARITY DRIVES

By Timothy Saasta

"We all see the same need — a stable source of money."

Cathy Lewis, Fund for Community Progress

Ten years ago in the Twin Cities, a group of funders and community leaders called a meeting to discuss a problem common to every area of the country: the lack of support for organizations that want to change their communities.

Minneapolis and St. Paul have more funding sources willing to support social change than most other cities, but still nearly every organization in the community was struggling to make ends meet. Could groups that have a common problem devise a common solution?

Ten years later, the answer is clear: they can.

A new organization eventually emerged from that initial meeting — the Cooperating Fund Drive (CFD). The idea underlying this organization was that groups with similar purposes and needs should work together on raising money.

The group began by jointly undertaking two somewhat traditional fund-raising events. But then they hit upon a brilliant idea: since none of these groups was getting money from the United Way, why not tap into the United Way's fabulous mechanism for raising money — workplace, payroll deduction campaigns?

The idea wasn't original: a Los Angeles-based group called the Brotherhood 'Crusade had been competing for workplace gifts to support black-run charities since 1968. But this was the first time a broad range of social action groups had tried it.

It took CFD about three years to begin workplace campaigning. But by 1987, it was raising more than \$480,000 in payroll deduction gifts from workers.

For years, CFD has been cited as an example of what community groups could do if they joined forces to do fund-raising, especially at the workplace. But the lingering question was whether CFD's success could occur in smaller cities, especially those with less progressive funders and workers. The past couple of years has shown that it can.

There are now 19 similar social action "alternative funds" around the country, with four more getting started this fall and another 10 or so in the planning stages, such as The Fund for the Hungry and Homeless in Springfield, Massachusetts. They range from Boston to Knoxville, Tennessee, from Baltimore to Anchorage, Alaska. In 1987 they raised \$1.53 million at the workplace, an increase of 377 percent in five years.

In addition, there are 14 funds that raised \$3 million in workplace gifts during 1987 for black-run community groups, local environmental organizations and local women's groups.

By 1989, these alternative funds will collectively be the largest funding source for social action in the country, surpassing the Catholic Church's Campaign for Human Development, according to Steve Paprocki, field director for the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy (NCRP). "There's a level of vitality and sophistication out there that is amazing,"

says NCRP Executive Director Robert Bothwell. His organization nurtured the alternative funds movement.

The amount of money most funds give to their member charities isn't huge. CFD members get an average of \$11,000 a year, for example. Some of the newer, smaller funds give less. "So far we've only been able to give about \$3,000 to each of our members," explains Peggy Matthews of Knoxville Community Share. "But for our groups, this money can really make a difference. It can pay for a newsletter for a year. It has helped one group hire a field organizer. And we're really just beginning." The Knoxville fund, which supports groups such as the Tennessee Hunger Coalition, Save Our Cumberland Mountains, Tennessee Task Force on Family Violence, the Tennessee Valley Energy Coalition and a black community-based theater group, ambitiously hopes to raise \$120,000 by 1990.

But the amount of money is only one part of the story. "Payroll deduction provides exactly the kind of money you need for general support — dependable and no strings attached," explained Katy Lowery of CFD.

Most of the money these funds raise has come from employees of federal, state and local governments. Access to public employees has been anything but easy, however. Throughout this decade, United Way and the Reagan administration fought to exclude social action groups from the \$140 million federal government charity drive, the Combined Federal Campaign. But that fight appears to be finally over thanks

to a law passed in 1987 that requires broad participation in the "CFD."

The next target will be private businesses, the vast majority of whom already allow the United Way to solicit their employees. A handful of major corporations (such as Apple Computer) along with many small businesses have allowed their employees to give to less traditional charities. Others may follow. "Corporations often tell us they don't want to be the first to allow other charities into their campaigns, but they are willing to be number three or four," explains NCRP's Paprocki, who was the first executive director of the Twin Cities' Cooperating Fund Drive.

Paprocki believes that allowing employees more choice of charities to support could be part of a trend towards choice within corporations, which are beginning to offer their employees more options in areas such as hours and benefits. He also notes the increasing number of women and minorities who are reaching positions of power within companies, people who may be more responsive to less traditional charities. Black United Funds, for example, have gained access to Bell Labs and IBM by working with Black employees.

United Way's main argument for its exclusive access to workplace campaigns — that competition would decrease giving and hurt United Way agencies — is crumbling. NCRP recently studied 227 campaigns in which United Way faced competition. Total giving went up in 93 percent of the campaigns. It went up more than 10 percent in nearly three-quarters of the campaigns. And United Way giving went up in 75 percent of the campaigns.

Gaining access to employees — private or public — has benefits that go beyond money. According to Nan Steketee, director of the Center for Responsible Funding in Philadelphia, a city with four alternative funds, "Going into the workplace to raise money gives us access to the marketplace of ideas. We can present our ideas about the need for dealing with the cause of social problems just as United Way presents its ideas about the need for recreation and food baskets."

WHY WORKPLACE FUND RAISING?

Why has the number of social action alternative funds increased from one to 19 during the past decade, with several more in the planning stages? The main reason is that workplace fund-raising is a great way to raise money.

First, unlike direct mail, it is an inexpensive way to reach individual donors. Rather than sending letters to each potential donor, you are included in a brochure that often goes to thousands of employees.

In part because of the ease of having gifts deducted from a person's paycheck, in part because of encouragement to give (some would say pressure to give) by many employers, a very high percentage of employees make gifts. In the federal government about 60 percent of employees makes gifts through the federal campaign. In contrast, direct mail specialists say you're doing well to get a two percent response to a direct mail appeal.

Finally, people give much more through payroll deduction. The average gift of federal workers is more than \$100. The reason is simple: it's much easier to get someone to agree to give \$2 a week than to hand you a hundred dollar bill. But at the end of the year, the \$2 a week adds up to more.

As the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy's Steve Paprocki puts it, "Probably the only fund-raising mechanism that is better than payroll deduction is the church collection plate."

"Because it communicates with tens of millions of workers every year, United Way has a huge impact on the way people think about social problems," explains Paprocki. "Alternative funds have really presented people with a viable option to social services as a way to deal with a community's problems. They've stimulated a real debate. I estimate that we already talk with one-half million employees a year. That is worth more than the money we raise."

Many of those employees, along with many other people, end up volunteering for the alternative fund and its member groups. "Alternative funds have become magnets for people interested in social change," Paprocki says. "They've given people a way to get into our networks. They're really becoming what we've always needed — communities of support." In Montana, 100 state employees have volunteered to help the fledgling Montana Community Shares. In Philadelphia, Women's Way, the largest women's fund, has more than 1,000 volunteers each year.

Even outside the workplace, alternative funds help increase the visibility of small community groups, according to Knoxville's Peggy Matthews. "Our groups are getting a lot more visibility. We just had a full-page story in the local newspaper on the Mountain Women's Food Co-op. Our three public service announcements, each of which focus on two of our groups, are on local television all the time."

Alternative funds have also made community groups more visible within the rest of the funding world, according to Paprocki. "They've made social change organizations an integral and accepted part of the nonprofit landscape in terms of funders. I remember just 10 years ago talking to progressive funders in Minneapolis who just didn't think of groups like tenants' unions as being permanent, viable organizations."

Finally, not only are alternative funds a magnet for individuals concerned about social change, they are also a magnet for organizations. "They've really helped

end the isolation of social change organizations," Paprocki says. "They've brought people together regularly over time. They share information and give each other support. Sometimes, they've given each other some critical technical assistance. In the early days of the Cooperating Fund Drive, our member groups' staff came out of the woodwork with legal and accounting problems they had been sitting on because they didn't know how to deal with them."

Paprocki also says that at least one fund has helped lessen tensions between two networks of community organizations

that have feuded for years. "An alternative fund is a long-term, working relationship. You have a common goal that transcends your organizational goals. It's very different from coming together to plan a protest rally or a public hearing."

How can you decide if a fund would work in your city or state?

Paprocki says there has been a change in thinking about what is needed to make a fund succeed. "We used to think that you had to have a certain number of employee, a high percentage

percentage of whom were public employees. We used to think that you needed to be in a fairly progressive area. But some of the newer funds have proven us wrong."

Knoxville's Community Shares, for example, is based in an area with a fair number of public employees (Tennessee Valley Authority and the University of Tennessee), but it's still a relatively small community and it's far from being progressive. But it seems to be working, raising close to \$20,000 in workplace gifts in 1987, only its second campaign.

Alaska's Community Shares also raised close to \$20,000 in its first campaign in a state with a tiny population. And Paprocki is optimistic about a new statewide fund in Montana, which is based in a city of but 25,000 people. "Size is just not as important as we used to think."

WHAT IS IMPORTANT?

A Nucleus of People and Organizations

Paprocki believes a fledgling fund needs five to seven people who commit to working on the fund for at least 18 months.

"This is very labor intensive. And it's usually two to three years before you see some money for your own group."

Bothwell emphasizes the need for one or two visionaries. "There has to be someone who sees the long-term purpose of what you are doing and can communicate that purpose."

A Vision for the Fund that Transcends Money

"You must have people who have a common goal," says Paprocki. "They have to see the fund as a long-term strategy for building a funding base for social change, not as a short-term fix for their organization's funding needs."

Up-front Money

"We couldn't have gotten started without dollars from outside," says Matthews. Her fund garnered grants from the

WILL WORKPLACE GIVING WORK FOR INDIVIDUAL GROUPS?

While there are many other benefits, the basic reason groups come together to form an "alternative fund" is to give them access to workplace fund-raising drives. It takes a lot of effort and many voices to convince most employers to give access to non-United Way charities. And often when they do, they only allow federations of charities to solicit their employees.

That said, many national activist organizations and a few local groups are getting workplace gifts without joining a federation.

One key is whether there are many federal and military employees in your community. If there are, you can join the federal charity drive in your area. In Washington, D.C., for example, My Sister's Place, a battered women's shelter, has been raising more than \$100,000 a year from federal employees.

The problem with the Combined Federal Campaign (CFC) is that there is a lot of competition, and if you're not well known, you're not likely to get much money. However, you can now promote yourself by doing things such as handing out brochures to employees as they enter their workplaces.

The deadline for applying for next year's CFC could be as early as February (it's been in the summer the past several years). For more information, contact the Office of Personnel Management in Washington to learn who runs your local federal campaign. And get the CFC information packet put out by the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy (2001 S Street, N.W.; Washington, D.C. 20009).

A few other campaigns are also open to individual charities, such those run by the states of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Maryland, California and New York.

But the NCRP's Steve Paprocki warns people not to get their hopes too high. "For the most part, workplace fund-raising is just not for individual organizations."

Public Welfare Foundation, JC Penney, Babcock Foundation, The Youth Project, and the Commission on Religion in Appalachia, among others. The Cooperating Fund Drive received some hefty grants in its early days. But other funds have gotten started with much less.

One key is whether a major campaign — say the state employee campaign — is already open to a broad range of other charities. If it is, a group may be able to gain access and raise some money quickly. "Money up front makes things go a lot faster," Bothwell believes. "But you can do it without a lot of money."

A Base of Volunteers Outside Membership

"Because starting a fund is so labor-intensive, it must involve people and groups that have connections to a lot of individual volunteers who can share the vision," Paprocki believes.

Willingness to Focus on Access to Workplace Campaigns

"We've had alternative funds that spent a year deciding the criteria for selecting members in the future," says Paprocki. "The important thing at the beginning is deciding which workplaces you can gain access to fairly quickly. And then doing it."

Ties to Employees; Ability to Organize Employees

"You need to involve employees early," says Matthews. "You need their support to get access and to run a good campaign once you have access. You need a personal approach. You can't rely on written materials — all they know is United Way. You need to talk to them directly. It's really basic grassroots organizing."

Bothwell agrees that ties to employees are crucial, but he believes you can develop those ties once you get started.

Ability to Communicate Effectively

"People need to understand how you differ from United Way," says Matthews.

"They need to see you as more than just another United Way."

"A new fund is competing with an organization that has mastered the use of effective images," Paprocki explains. "United Ways garner an extraordinary amount of positive publicity each year. You need to know how to get the media's attention and how to present your work positively."

"You've got to be able to present your case to employers and public officials," says Bothwell. "They've got to understand why there's a need for you."

Understanding the Lessons Learned by Other Funds

"A lot has been learned the past 10 years about what works," says Matthews. "We know that it wastes energy and momentum to confront and react to United Way all the time. We know we need to emphasize instead the unmet needs of the community. People who are considering starting a fund need to learn a lot before they begin."

"No one should underestimate the amount of work involved in starting an alternative fund," Paprocki says. "It can be quite frustrating at times. But it can also make a real, long-term difference in a community. It can help take social change organizations to a new level of stability and effectiveness."

The place to start is NCRP, which has just published a 16-page report on workplace fund-raising for nontraditional charities — *The Great Charity Drive Expansion*. NCRP, in conjunction with the Black United Fund and a new coalition of alternative funds called Alliance for Choice in Giving, also co-sponsor an annual conference.

This article is adapted with permission from the Center for Community Change's quarterly publication, *Community Change* (Fall 1988). The NCRP report, *The Great Charity Drive Expansion*, is available for \$5 from NCRP; 2001 S Street, N.W.; Washington, D.C. 20009.

SOCIAL ACTION FUNDS

Community Works, Boston

Fund for Community Progress, Providence

Bread and Roses Community Fund, Philadelphia

Community Share, Baltimore

Community Shares, Knoxville

Greater Cleveland Community Shares

A CHOICE, Milwaukee

Aid to Wisconsin Organizations, Madison

Madison Sustaining Fund

Community Shares of Wisconsin, Madison

Access to Community Services, Madison

Cooperating Fund Drive, Minneapolis-St. Paul

Community Services Fund, Lincoln

Montana Community Shares, Helena

Community Shares of Colorado, Denver

Valley Community Fund, Alamosa, CO

Community Share of Utah, Salt Lake City

The Progressive Way, San Francisco

Alaska Community Share, Anchorage

PEOPLE GIVE TO PEOPLE

To find out more about people-to-people fund-raising, the *Resource Bulletin* recently interviewed Elliot Berkowitz, Development Officer at the National Association of Social Workers (NASW). This 120,000 member organization aims to raise \$10,000,000 in its five-year fund-raising campaign — approximately half from its membership and half from the caring public.

Q First, could you tell us a little about how you got into development?

A When I was just out of college, a good friend (who was a social worker) was also a fund-raiser for the local Jewish community. He urged me to consider social work and fund-raising as a career. Back then, I wanted no part of it and went into communications, joined the army, went overseas. When I came back, I decided to get my MSW at the University of Connecticut, then worked in community centers, community action agencies for several years.

I began to experience the connection between fund-raising and social work/social change and made some inquiries into fund-raising positions. I got into the Jewish fund-raising world and have been involved in Jewish community fund-raising for 18 years. Now, I'm in community fund-raising here at NASW.

Q Most of the groups we work with — refugee self-help groups or MAAs as they're called — got their first grants in 1980-83. The earliest ones are really getting into development now. On a personal level, about how long would you say it took on the streets, so to speak, before you took that first leap from service to development?

A That was '62-'69, about seven years.

Q As you know, IRAC is working with the MAAs to help expand the resource base beyond the Federal dollars, especially refugee-specific funds. Let's talk a bit about how to start.

A You mean what we call "changing the ratio," I take it. You have to start with leadership, committed individuals. Let me explain what I mean by commitment, because that's really the key. It's the quality of the commitment that counts, in two ways:

- 1) The gift an individual (fund-raising leader) gives; and
- 2) The level of energy that individual is willing to put into asking others to give.

It goes beyond simply writing out a check or volunteering; what I mean by committed leadership is someone who's giving at a level that to him or her is somewhat of a

sacrifice. A gift of \$100 from a person who's making \$15,000, is of higher quality than a gift of \$1,000 from someone with a \$150,000 annual income. Of course, you want the \$1,000 gift too, but it's easy to see which individual is going to have the higher leadership credibility.

Q OK, I understand — it's proportional to the individual's resources and personal situation. What about the energy part of this equation?

A That has to do with a real willingness to ask others. To say, "here's what I'm giving, and I want you to commit X amount of dollars over the next five years." It takes putting one's personal credibility on the line — and asking. Some people are better at it than others, but anyone can learn. In fact, I've never met a committed fund-raising leader who could not ask others.

Q I'm assuming these fund-raising leaders are people in the community — volunteers. What about the official leaders of the organization, members of the Board of Directors?

A I've found, over the years, that there often are two kinds of fund-raising leadership — the "official" leaders who often serve on the Board and the "indigenous" leaders. Sometimes a person will be both; other times (like in the case of our \$15,000 a year friend with six kids), the person who's recognized as a fund-raising leader in the community will be too busy working for the cause (and trying to make ends meet on a personal level) to serve on a Board. You do need both kinds. It's very important that the "official" leaders know what the "indigenous" leaders are doing on behalf of the organization. It's absolutely critical that the "official" leaders really support the fund-raising campaign, its staff and volunteers. That's the only way you can be sure that all communication tools (newsletters, etc.) highlight the fund-raising aspect whenever appropriate — and remember, it's almost always appropriate.

Q We started out talking about how to begin what you so aptly labelled "changing the ratio." Regarding this initial step — identifying the fund-raising leadership — is there any difference for a small MAA as opposed to an MAA with a \$250,000+ budget?

A No. Except that the small MAA may be better positioned, with more committed volunteers.

I want to emphasize, once again, that fund-raising leadership works from the top down. You just cannot ask others to get involved, give money and time and quality energy unless you're already doing that yourself.

Q We've talked a lot about quality commitment. I assume that means staff as well as Board. How realistic is it to ask staff who are underpaid and overworked to make a financial contribution?

A The staff, especially the top staff, need to understand that giving (within their ability) sends a message that goes far beyond words. It sets an example. I feel that all staff should give. If that's unrealistic at first, ask senior staff to take the lead now; ask everyone to participate next year. It's a matter of organizational credibility. How can you ask others to contribute if you are not already making a significant financial contribution?

Q What about in-kind staff contributions?

A That doesn't pay the bills. We're running a fund-raising campaign here; in-kind contributions don't count. They may help reduce the total amount we need to raise, but in-kind doesn't help us meet the annual fund-raising goal we have set for ourselves. That's simple arithmetic.

Q Everyone says it's important to raise money from within your own constituency. Considering that this constituency is recognized as disadvantaged, how important is it for us?

A It's a matter of credibility. How can you ask outsiders to write out checks until you can demonstrate that your own constituency is willing to support you — and is making contributions?

Q How would you recommend targeting potential donors?

A Figure out who's sympathetic, who cares. Who helped the refugees in your community settle in? Find a core group, and create networks. Who benefits from your MAA's work? Satisfied employers have a reason to support your work. Ask them to contribute. Beyond this natural network, it gets to the point where you have to go out and create interest, educate people and cultivate them.

Q How would you recommend approaching major donors?

A The critical element in prospecting — prospect research — is connecting people. You have to find out who cares, who knows whom, and keep it growing in concentric circles. MAA clients can be really effective for example in soliciting their own doctors and lawyers, probably more effective than the Board or staff.

Q Is it worth it to solicit gifts of \$25 or less? How can we increase the giving level?

A Look at your small donor list, those people are your constant supporters. Some may give more than once a

year; they may really be \$100 donors. That list is one of your best resources; they already believe in your MAA; they can solicit others.

There are a couple of ways to increase donations from your constant giving list:

- *Ask for an additional contribution of X dollars. For example, to get a \$20 contribution up to \$30, say, "I'm only asking you for \$10. You're already giving \$20."*
- *Ask for a multi-year pledge of, say, \$50 a year for the next five years.*
- *To increase gifts, explain what more could be done with an increased gift; 25 dollars accomplished Y; 50 dollars would make Z possible.*

Q Any other tips?

A I'd like to highlight what I've been saying throughout this interview — the person-to-person approach works. You might want to consider small gatherings at someone's home; this doesn't cost much and has been very effective for us. Ask a donor to invite some friends who could become contributors. Either the host or another contributor can make the "pitch" — describe your MAA, what it does and your need for support. Be sure to ask each guest to make a donation before they go home.

- *It's all in the relationships — who knows who and how you ask.*
- *You have to ask — overcome shyness or hesitancy.*

One more point: you have to find out who the economic starters in your community are and nurture them and enlist them. They're going to be your long-term source of support.

SUGGESTED READING

For more on people-to-people fund-raising, try Elton J. Kerness's practical, no-nonsense guide for groups that need to raise money. *Fund-Raising* discusses many aspects of raising money, from individual solicitations and small meetings to telephone and by-mail solicitation, the role of professional staff, and capital campaigns. With the caveat that grants can be turned on and off like water faucets, a second section describes grants (funding sources, writing and submitting a grant proposal) and endowment funds.

Known as *The One-Minute Manager* for fund-raisers, this short book is available at bookstores or from Cottage Press; Box 1265; Englewood Cliffs, NJ 07632. If enough readers are interested, RB may negotiate a bulk order discount.

RB staff chatted with a program officer at a small foundation which has made several creative grants to refugee organizations. She offered this guidance:

- *Be careful to develop personal, human relationships with foundation staff, but always remember even foundation program people can do only so much -- foundation funding decisions usually rest with the Board of Trustees.*
- *Be persistent, open to subtle suggestions, and don't be afraid to reapply. Learn when a "no" is really a no and when the door is still open.*

(Continued from page 1)

The Hmong Association has been applauded for its 3 to 1 ratio of Southeast Asian to American staff. Yet program staff like those in many nonprofit agencies are overextended as they try to continue development efforts plus keep up with their own program responsibilities. Most donor research is done at the Green Bay Library where staff have found directories of state and national foundations.

Coping with a foundation's decline to fund has been instructive for the Hmong Center and its Board. The MAA carefully worked out a video orientation project to benefit especially refugee women and children. The proposal was submitted to an identified foundation making grants for this type of program. The Hmong Association along with many of its supporters were pleased when the foundation staff demonstrated their interest by making a site visit. Unhappily the foundation Board, which places a strong emphasis on projects being run by members of the target population, declined to fund this proposal because they were not convinced that Hmong and Lao women were clearly in decision-making and administrative roles.

Proportionately, the Hmong Association of Brown County is a small MAA with

an annual payroll of about \$130,000 and restricted funding of about \$150,000. As often happens when a group begins to "make it," other previously inactive groups begin to compete for control of the refugee service dollars. However, the secret to this MAA's success is to welcome all refugees and to maximize financial contracts and contributions through the use of volunteers and material and other in-kind contributions. As one of the Hmong Center's staff summed it up, "we always do a lot with a little."

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RESOURCE BULLETIN

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Mr. LE XUAN KITHA



Humanitas

INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE

P.O. Box 818
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California 94026
(415) 324-9077

Joan C. Baez, President • Jeanne Triolo Murphy, Vice President

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:
December 22, 1989

For information contact:
Edward Lazar
415/324.9077
(Leave messages on machine
which will be monitored
Christmas week.)

A Call to End the Forced Repatriation of Vietnamese Boat People Seeking Asylum in Hong Kong

Joan Baez and noted international human rights activist Ginetta Sagan have released an Open Letter to Prime Minister Thatcher (see enclosed) in which they protest the recent forcible repatriation of 51 Vietnamese women and children asylum seekers, from Hong Kong to Vietnam.

They stated that "this reprehensible action by the British and Hong Kong governments cannot be condoned and stands condemned under established human rights standards." They further noted that "When deported to Vietnam, these boat people face a substantial risk of human rights violations and a lack of guaranteed safety and dignity."

While recognizing the problems facing Hong Kong, Baez and Sagan challenged the existing screening process, and stated that there must be no more repatriations "until a solution is found which honors the human rights of the refugees" who already have risked their lives to flee Vietnam.

Joan Baez, President of Humanitas Human Rights Committee, and Ginetta Sagan, Executive Director, Aurora Foundation, were joined by twenty-two co-signers including representatives of several U.S. Vietnamese human rights and refugee groups.



Humanitas
INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE

P.O. Box 818
Menlo Park
California 94026
(415) 324-9077

Joan C. Baez, President • Jeanne Triolo Murphy, Vice President

Open Letter to Prime Minister Thatcher

December 21, 1989

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher
10 Downing Street
London, United Kingdom

Dear Mrs. Thatcher:

We are writing in regard to last week's forcible repatriation of 51 Vietnamese boat people from Hong Kong to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (SRV). This repatriation signifies a landmark violation of fundamental human rights standards accepted by civilized nations. The clandestine operation, executed under cloak of darkness by security forces in full riot gear, ended when the Vietnamese, flown to Hanoi, were delivered to SRV officials.

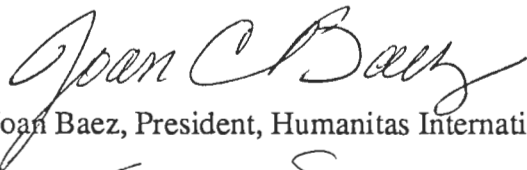
British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd is quoted as saying that no force was used in the repatriation. When armed guards are used to move unarmed defenseless women and children, against their will, into a plane, and to return them to a land which they had just risked their lives to escape, this is as clear a use of force as can be imagined. This reprehensible action by the British and Hong Kong governments cannot be condoned and stands condemned under established human rights standards. These standards (including Article 33 of the U.N. Convention on Refugees and Article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights) prohibit the return of refugees or asylum seekers to the country from which they are fleeing when they would be subject to substantial risk of human rights violations.

When deported to Vietnam, these boat people face a substantial risk of human rights violations and a lack of guaranteed safety and dignity. Although the Hong Kong government reported that Hanoi had agreed to accept the involuntary returnees without punishment or persecution, no group has appeared available to monitor their fate or hold the SRV officials to their word. Moreover, the SRV has refused to repeal portions of its Criminal Code which penalizes those caught fleeing the country with terms of

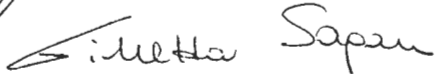
imprisonment ranging up to two years for illegal emigration (Article 89) and up to twelve years for "fleeing with the intent to oppose the people's government" (Article 85). There is no clear assurance that the boat people forcibly returned will not be subject to these and other forms of reprisal.

A Hong Kong screening process which labels some boat people as "economic migrants" as distinct from "political refugees," and makes such people subject to involuntary repatriation, makes no sense in terms of the past record of Vietnam. Amnesty International has reported that "some (Hong Kong) immigration officials appeared to have so little knowledge of the political and human rights situation in Vietnam that they could not make a reliable assessment of the risks individuals might face if returned." Almost all Vietnamese boat people have had their refugee status rejected, even some who have claimed persecution based on harsh re-education, forced labor and severe discrimination. Given Vietnam's continuing record of human rights violations it makes more sense to consider any Vietnamese emigree, by definition, a political refugee.

It is ironic that at a time when democratic nations are applauding and opening their arms to East European refugees, your government is refusing to give asylum to Vietnamese boat people seeking to live in a democratic society. We protest the involuntary repatriation of Vietnamese refugees from Hong Kong, and urge you to grant asylum to all the Vietnamese refugees who remain in Hong Kong. We recognize the problems faced by the Hong Kong government in regard to a continued flow of Vietnamese boat people. This is a problem the world community must face up to, in association with the governments of Hong Kong and the United Kingdom. An acceptable solution has not been found yet and must be found -- but until a solution is found which honors the human rights of the refugees they must not have these rights denied -- there must be no more forced repatriations.



Joan Baez, President, Humanitas International Human Rights Committee



Ginetta Sagan, Executive Director, Aurora Foundation

Additional co-signers listed on attached sheet.

Co-Signers List
Open Letter to Prime Minister Thatcher
December 21, 1989

Tong Nhien
Chairperson, Council For Refugee Rights

Hung Lai
Secretary General, Coalition of Vietnamese Organizations of Northern California

Margaret Howe
National Coordinator, Buddhist Peace Fellowship

Lieu Dang
Regional Director, International Rescue Committee, San Jose

Steve Denney
Editor, Indochina Journal

Chi Nguyen
Executive Director, Vietnamese Refugee Resettlement Association

Vu Van Loc
Executive Director, Indochinese Resettlement and Cultural Center, San Jose

Ton That Nien
President, Vietnamese Medical Association of U.S.A.

Hoa Pham
Council For Refugee Rights

Chi Nguyen
Executive Director, Vietnamese Refugee Resettlement Association

Tran Quan Long
Association of Vietnamese Artists

Ngo duc Diem
Chairman, Vietnamese Forum

Dr. Nguyen Van Canh
Hoover Institution, Stanford University

Arnold Kotler
Publisher, Parallax Press

Nguyen Duc Lam
Co-Chair, Santa Clara County Community Forum for Refugee Affairs

Huu Nguyen
Executive Director, Aid to Refugee Children Without Parents

Thomas Can Nguyen
Attorney

Marguerite Green

Philip Phu Bui

Than Gia Hoa

Therese Fitzgerald

Edward Lazar
Co-Director, Humanitas International Human Rights Committee

Titles and/or affiliations listed for identification purposes only.



C Bacarisse (F-11)

TỔ QUỐC VIỆT NAM

CHÍNH PHỦ QUỐC GIA VIỆT NAM LÂM THỜI

JANUARY 7, 1991

Dear Sir,

As per many documented reports from many political refugees camps in far east Asia, where there were many mass suicides to protest the local governments regarding their forced repatriation upon these innocent political refugees and in as much as your government policy regarding human rights and the just cause to stop atrocities and in human treatments from these governments and communist regime in Vietnam.

We call to your attention and conscience as a last resort signal of distress S.O.S. and the democratic just cause to interfere as soon as possible to the Indochinese refugees camps in far east Asia to stop mass suicides which were and are in process due to people's depression and maltreated in these refugees camps.

We understand that you are pre-occupied with Desert Shield Operations in the Middle East. However, we believe your administration is always the leader on today world's affairs and never let down any S.O.S. call from any place on earth.

We would suggest that your government delegates and/or supports our newly formed Vietnam's Provisional Government which we have informed you last month to visit, survey and report to your government regarding these human rights violations from these local host countries' governments, who perhaps are exerting a political pressure or manipulating these innocent political refugees in order to achieve their government unjustified goals.

We also would suggest your policy making advisors regarding this global strategies that we already suggested by our previous letters to your government attention regarding this globally advantageuos strategies in iterfering to establish, neutralize and democratize the entire Indochina's political situation, therefore all the gentle people of Kampuchia, Laos and Vietnam shall spontaneously, automatically and wholehartedly returning to their homelands hence will be automatically alleviating all of social, economic as well as political burdens are now being exerted on your bureaucracy, domestically as well as internationally.

Best regards and we await your fast and favorable response.



Mr. Dao Minh Quan

MR. DAO MINH QUAN

Interim person in charge to The Provisional Government of Vietnam

HIS EXCELLENCY GEORGE BUSH

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A Holding Center for Vietnamese Boat People in Southeast Asia

Why a Holding Center?

- The United States stands strongly against forced return of Boat People to Vietnam. The Vietnamese/American community strongly supports this position.

- Even if the international community wished, Vietnam would probably not take people returned forcibly.

- But the United States agrees that not all Boat People can be accepted for resettlement in the United States or Third countries.

- And the United States also agrees that some Boat People do not qualify as refugees under international law and must some day return to Vietnam.

- This position requires some interim plan for dealing with those Boat People who will not be resettled.

- That plan cannot be to leave them in the first asylum countries with no other action or they will be treated brutally and thousands will be sent back to sea to die.

* Hong Kong and the ASEAN states have already given the United States an ultimatum to come up with an acceptable alternative by July 1, 1990. Otherwise, they reserve the right to withdraw first asylum.

* The ASEAN states are fully capable of this. Both Thailand and Malaysia pushed back boats in 1979.

* Again in 1988, Thailand sent almost 4000 innocent people back to sea.

* In 1989-90, Malaysia has sent back over 8000 people.

* Indonesia and the Philippines are making warning moves. For the first time the Philippines refused to disembark refugees picked up by a U.S. Navy ship.

* If all or most ASEAN states institute a coordinated push-off policy, we face major tragedy.

- A Holding Center could buy time.

- A Holding Center could be an effective platform for a voluntary return program.

- A Holding Center could be a humane way to provide for those who cannot be returned now to Vietnam but who cannot be resettled.

- A Holding Center could be presented to our ASEAN friends as an interim measure while we discuss the appropriate modalities and safeguards for the forcible return of these people to Vietnam when the international community can agree that conditions there permit.

Where should a Holding Center be located?

- U.S. trust territories have been suggested and would, of course, be easier than trying to persuade another country to take the Boat People.

- But there are constitutional and legal problems to be overcome and a Center in the United States could be a strong magnet for those hoping for eventual resettlement in the United States.

- If possible, the better answer would be to locate a Holding Center in a Third country - probably an ASEAN state. The Philippines and Indonesia both have excellent easily expandable facilities at Bataan and Galang Island respectively.

- The common wisdom is that no ASEAN country would agree, but some ASEAN observers say that this is partly because the United States has never really pushed the idea.

- It is entirely possible that a Holding Center site could be found if a strong commitment to this concept is made by the President, himself, a commitment fully in harmony with his policy of no forcible return.

- At a recent hearing before the House Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, the private voluntary agencies recommended the appointment of a Special Ambassador to represent the Administration in dealing with this crisis and negotiating an appropriate solution. This might well prove helpful but only with the President's personal backing and support.

Who would manage a Holding Center?

- The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) comes first to mind. Former High Commissioner Hocke was against UNHCR involvement because these are people found not to be refugees. The new High Commissioner Stoltenberg may be more open to this role for UNHCR.

- If not UNHCR, the Director General of the International Organization for Migration has indicated willingness for IOM to take on this task if the international community considers this the best solution and requests IOM to do so.

- UNHCR or IOM would provide care and maintenance for the Boat People, including medical and educational assistance. Very substantial help could be expected from the private voluntary agency community. The Vietnamese/American and other overseas Vietnamese communities would surely also volunteer considerable help; financial, material and personnel. Together, these communities number more than one million persons.

How would a Holding Center be managed? What would go on there?

- Boat People would only be transferred to the Holding Center if they had been found not to be refugees by an internationally approved screening procedure.

- They would be informed that they could return voluntarily to Vietnam at any time but could not be considered for resettlement to Third countries.

- They would be assisted in getting reliable information about Vietnam and in communicating with family and friends there.

- No resettlement screening or activity would be allowed in the Holding Center.

- If they did not return voluntarily to Vietnam, they would remain in the Holding Center until the international community could agree that forcible return was acceptable and satisfactory safeguards and modalities were in place.

- Information programs should be put in place in Vietnam to make it clear that the Holding Center offers no possibilities for onward resettlement; only for eventual return.

- The internal organization of the camp should be largely managed by the Boat People themselves.

- Every effort should be made to encourage productive activity; partly to help meet the care and maintenance and operating expenses of the Center and partly to help the Boat People to lead as productive and psychologically healthy lives as possible.

- It is in this area of activity, in particular, that the overseas Vietnamese communities may prove helpful.

The Interfaith Committee for Refugee Concerns
2252 North Beauregard Street, Suite 2, Alexandria, Virginia 22311 USA

Ms. Bobbie Greene Kilberg
Assistant to the President
& Director of Public Liaison
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

June 1990

Dear Ms. Kilberg:

Time is running out. The Vietnamese boat people in the South East Asian region are in greater danger than ever. In a communique from Manila on May 18, the countries of temporary refuge have declared that they are moving forward with forced repatriation or abandoning the first-asylum rights as early as July 1st, 1990 unless the United States of America takes a leading role in establishing a regional holding center for the screened-out Vietnamese freedom seekers.

In this most crucial time, we hereby submit our most urgent petition that you exercise all your influence to ensure that:

1. the U.S. actively searches for a location and establishes a regional holding center for the screened-out freedom seekers immediately;
2. all forms of forced repatriation and the abandonment of first-asylum rights would not be implemented.

We strongly agree with you that the problem of the boat people calls for a long, hard look at the root cause: the absence of basic human rights and political freedom in Vietnam. However, while the international community is applying appropriate pressure on the Hanoi regime to move it toward political liberalization, there should be no resort to cruel, callous, panicky measures such as forced repatriation or the abandonment of temporary refuge.

Please act now!

Very truly yours,



Dr. Nguyen Xuan Nguyen
Chairman, Information and Liaison
The Interfaith Committee for Refugee Concerns

12

262 Melrose Avenue
E. Lansdowne, PA 19050
June 11, 1990

The Honorable Bobbie Greene Kilberg
Assistant to the President &
Director of Public Liason
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington DC 20500

Your Honor Bobbie Greene Kilberg,

I am deeply concerned about the rapidly deteriorating situation of the Vietnamese refugees in Southeast Asia and am writing to ask you for help.

Over 55,000 Vietnamese are living in squalid camps in Hong Kong. According to recent press reports, an agreement has been negotiated with Vietnam providing for forcible return of Vietnamese who fail to prove that they fled for reasons related to persecution. The first group was returned on December 11. Many more are sure to follow. Reportedly, Hong Kong will be paying Vietnam \$620 for each person returned.

I am particularly concerned about the proposed screening of refugees which will eliminate for resettlement those considered to be "economic migrants." I believe the applied definition of "economic migrants" would include thousands of Vietnamese who had fled the country because of discrimination which denied them the humane right to earn a livelihood. This is true for all those forcibly settled without tools or equipment in the New Economic Zones. It is also true for those belonging to any religious denomination or ethnic minority, or those whose parents had fled the country illegally. These people are barred from school and eliminated from job-lists. They are direct victims of discrimination and persecution and, in fleeing the country, are refugees under the 1951 amended Refugee Convention.

The concept of repatriation is incompatible with international law and all United Nations Conventions. Moreover, the security of people repatriated cannot be guaranteed. The Socialist Republic of Vietnam stipulates in its 1985 Criminal Code that leaving the country clandestinely is illegal and punishable by prison sentences ranging from 20 years to life. Previous examples of voluntary repatriation have had disastrous consequences:

e.g. the 1,500 Vietnamese refugees arriving in Guam in 1975 on the ship "Thuong Tin" who were voluntarily demanded repatriation and, upon their return, were incarcerated in reeducation camps where a great number of them are still held today.

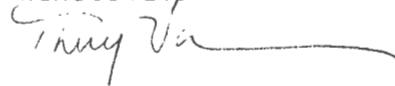
I urge you to join your colleagues in Capitol Hill

in:

- * Encouraging the United States to stand firm against Great Britain and Hong Kong in opposing forced repatriation, and to seek a grace period to allow voluntary repatriation to work before considering forced repatriation; and
- * Pressing the United States to take creative and energetic steps to restore and maintain first-asylum for Vietnamese;

Please take my concerns to heart. Lives are at stake! I believe you have the power to influence the future of these refugees.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Tony Van", followed by a long horizontal flourish line.

SELF-SUSTAINING REGIONAL HOLDING CENTER
FOR THE VIETNAMESE BOAT PEOPLE

A project of the AMEVIE Program for Refugee Resettlement
in the Palawan Island, the Philippines

The only solution to the problem of the boat people facing forcible repatriation to Vietnam is the opening of a self-sufficient regional holding center to temporarily house those who do not qualify for resettlement in any country.

For humanitarian reasons, we must provide these people with a place to live until conditions in Vietnam will permit their return home. We must alleviate the unbearable burdens of the countries of first asylum and prevent the loss of lives that would result from these countries pushing refugee boats back to sea. The opening of the regional holding center will reassure these countries that they can give asylum to the boat people in distress - confident that those not accepted for resettlement will go to the holding center and will not stay indefinitely on their lands. Once a regional holding center exists, the countries of first asylum will no longer feel the need to push refugee boats back to sea.

The specifics of the regional holding center are:

1. Location: In the southern part of the Philippine Palawan Island, Village of Sarap, Municipality of Bataraza, Province of Palawan.
2. Area: Two thousand nine hundred thirty three hectares (2,932 Ha) of arable land with five kilometers of sea-shore, the site is very suitable for agriculture, fishing and aquaculture. Its tropical climate under the monsoon regime will make the Vietnamese settlers feel at home.
3. Duration The duration of the lease agreement between AMEVIE and the landowners is fifteen years, renewable for another fifteen years if needed.
4. Funding A trust fund will be established to solicit donations from aid donor nations of N. America, Europe and Asia, from private industries and from individual benefactors. Aids will be aimed at creating jobs for the refugee settlers. United Nations funds currently used for the refugee upkeep, and which are completely consumed, can be put to more productive use by providing refugees with the means to earn a decent living.

Funds is needed to build a community infrastructure to permit the settlers to start a self-sufficient life. That will help the refugees regain their sense of self-worth that years of confinement and idleness in refugee camps have robbed them.
5. Jobs The primary source of jobs will come from farming and fishing and related industries. Because of the modest size of the area, more intensive use of the land is preferable.

American private industries, Asian and European enterprises will be invited to set up assembly lines, processing plants for fishing and aquaculture products to permit the settlers to earn a living as fishermen, assemblers, factory workers etc... The companies will benefit from low-cost labor, a labor force very eager and grateful to be given a job.

Aid donors can provide aid in the form of teachers, plant seeds, fishing vessels and nets, refrigeration facilities and other production implements.
6. Eligibility Is eligible any Vietnamese refugee willing to work and to abide by the law of the host country and the rule and regulations of the holding center. Priority will be given to the "screened outs", applicants judged unqualified for resettlement in a third country. Those classified as refugees will eventually go for resettlement; they can stay where they are until such time.

The holding center accepts those classified as non-refugees who would be forced to go home.

There will be absolutely no opportunity for resettlement from this holding center. The only country the refugees will go to is Vietnam. It will be repatriation, but not forcible.

This will eliminate the risk that the holding center will become a magnet for more boat people.

7. Community infrastructure

Start-up funds will be needed to develop the basic infrastructure for the settlement: Housing, roads, electricity, sewage, drinking water, schools, hospital, marketplace.

Trade schools and job training facilities.

8. The settlement will be self-governing in accord with democratic principles.

9. Self-Sufficiency

Special incentive will be designed to encourage the refugees to become self-sufficient in the shortest period of time.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: June 28, 1990

FOR: Sichan Siv

FROM: ANDREW H. CARD, Jr.

- ☒ Action
- ☐ Your Comment
- ☐ Let's Talk
- ☐ FYI

The Interfaith Committee for Refugee Concerns
2252 North Beauregard Street, Suite 2, Alexandria, Virginia 22311 USA

Mr. Andrew Card
Assistant to the President
& Deputy Chief of Staff
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

June 1990

Dear Mr. Card:

Time is running out. The Vietnamese boat people in the South East Asian region are in greater danger than ever. In a communique from Manila on May 18, the countries of temporary refuge have declared that they are moving forward with forced repatriation or abandoning the first-asylum rights as early as July 1st, 1990 unless the United States of America takes a leading role in establishing a regional holding center for the screened-out Vietnamese freedom seekers.

In this most crucial time, we hereby submit our most urgent petition that you exercise all your influence to ensure that:

1. the U.S. actively searches for a location and establishes a regional holding center for the screened-out freedom seekers immediately;
2. all forms of forced repatriation and the abandonment of first-asylum rights would not be implemented.

We strongly agree with you that the problem of the boat people calls for a long, hard look at the root cause: the absence of basic human rights and political freedom in Vietnam. However, while the international community is applying appropriate pressure on the Hanoi regime to move it toward political liberalization, there should be no resort to cruel, callous, panicky measures such as forced repatriation or the abandonment of temporary refuge.

Please act now!

Very truly yours,



Dr. Nguyen Xuan Nguyen
Chairman, Information and Liaison
The Interfaith Committee for Refugee Concerns

Post-It[®] brand

Fax Transmittal Memo

To MR. SICHAN SIV
Company WHITE HOUSE PUBLIC LIAISON
Location WASH D.C.
Fax # 456 - 6218
Comments

Telephone #

7872

No. of Pages

1

Today's Date

6/28/90

Time

11:45 AM

From

N.N. BICK

Company

NCVA

Location

Dept. Charge

Fax #

Telephone #

358 - 3268

Original
Disposition:

☐ Destroy

☐ Return

☐ Call for pickup

Attach Document All

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June 27, 1990

Honorable Sichan Siv
Office of Public Liaison
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

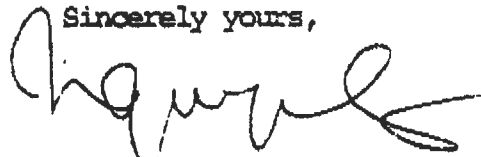
Dear Mr. Siv:

The National Congress of Vietnamese in America (NCVA) would like to add our voice to those in the rest of the country in asking:

- 1/ That the United States maintain its principled opposition to forced repatriation of Vietnamese "boat people" and refugees to communist Vietnam, especially at a time when arrests are being carried out by the thousands throughout the country, and that the U.S. reiterate its humanitarian concern that first asylum be preserved for refugees in Southeast Asia.
- 2/ That the United States increase its refugee admission rate from Southeast Asia to respond to a genuine concern by countries of first asylum that their facilities are being stretched to the maximum.
- 3/ That an active search for a holding center in Southeast Asia be implemented so as to provide an interim solution for those screened out as long as conditions are not obtained for safeguarding their rights once they are repatriated to Vietnam.

Hoping that you can act swiftly on the above, we remain,

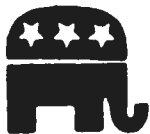
Sincerely yours,



Nguyễn Ngọc Bích
Secretary General, NCVA
6433 Northanna Drive
Springfield, VA 22150
Tel: 358-3268 (O)
971-9178 (O)

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Vietnamese American Republican National Heritage Federation

A Charter Member of the National Republican Heritage Groups (Nationalities) Council.
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june 21st, 1990

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Comptrollers

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Mai Van Duc

President George Bush
The White House
Washington, DC . 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I want to call your attention to the desperate plight of the Vietnamese boat people who are about to be pushed off throughout southeast asia.

Already over 8,300 Vietnamese have been pushed out to the sea by Malaysian government

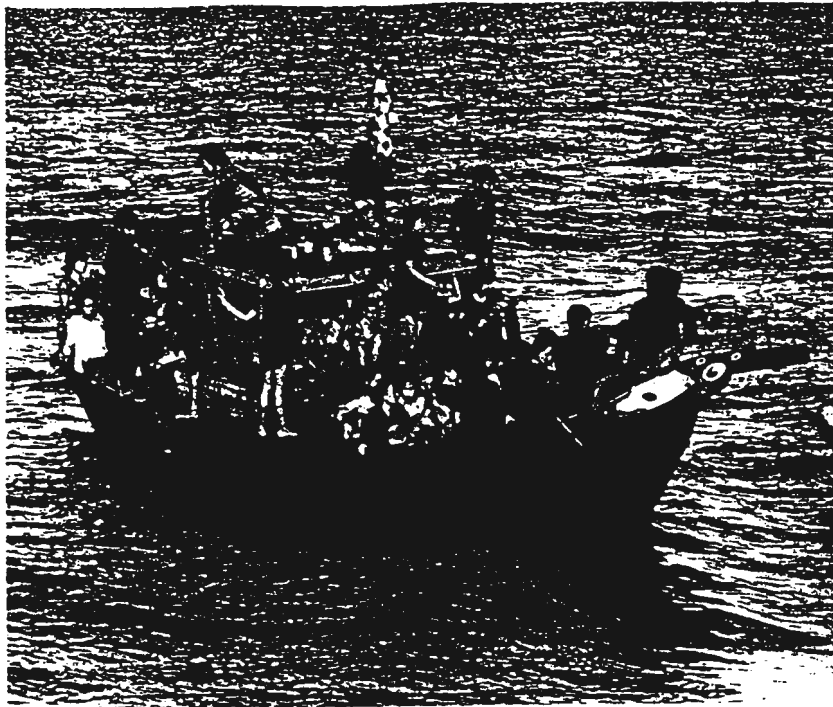
Please read the attached material and act now to maintain first asylum.

Only your personal involvement can save the situation and the lives of our compatriots

Sincerely yours

Truong-quang - Si
National Chairman

TQS/td



Mr. President: SAVE OUR PEOPLE!

The countries of Southeast Asia are threatening to follow Malaysia's lead by closing the door to the Vietnamese boat people.

On May 16 in Manila, the ASEAN countries of asylum declared that they will abandon refuge if a solution is not soon reached.

Already, Malaysia has pushed back to sea over 8,300 innocent children, women and men within 12 months. Nobody knows how many boat refugees have died so far on this forced, second leg of their journey.

The U.S. has taken a strong stand against mandatory repatriation, but has offered the countries of refuge no new or creative initiatives, such as a regional holding center, to deal with this crisis effectively.

Soon, the boat people may have nowhere to land. The U.S. must act immediately.

U.S. leadership is needed now to restore and sustain refuge for the boat people and avert a major foreign policy set-back and a humanitarian disaster.

**PRESIDENT BUSH,
SINCE 1975 THE THREE PRESIDENTS BEFORE YOU
HAVE ACTED TO MAINTAIN FIRST ASYLUM.
PLEASE DON'T ABANDON THE BOAT PEOPLE.**

This message is supported by a coalition of community organizations and voluntary agencies including:

Boat People S.O.S. Committee
Committee for the Relief of Vietnamese Refugees, Washington, DC
Council for Refugee Rights, California
Democracy for Vietnam Movement, Washington, DC
Dien Dan To Do Newspaper, Virginia
Episcopal Migration Ministry
Families of Vietnamese Political Prisoners Association, Washington, DC
Federation of Young Vietnamese Volunteers and National Vietnamese Forces, California
Greater New York Vietnamese American Community, New York
Hoa Thinh Don Newspaper, Virginia
Indochina Resource Action Center and friends
Interfaith Committee for Refugee Concerns, Washington, DC
International Committee for a Free Vietnam, Washington, DC
International Rescue Committee
National Congress of Vietnamese in America
National Vietnamese American Business Conference, Minnesota

Ngay Nay Newspaper, Texas
Nguoi Viet Newspaper, California
Project Ngoc, California
Refugees International
Texas Federation of Vietnamese Associations, Texas
United States Committee for Refugees
Vietnamese Community of Southern California, California
Vietnamese Community of Washington, DC, Maryland and Virginia
Vietnamese Federation of San Diego, California
The Vietnamese Marine Association of Washington, TX
Vietnamese Medical Association of the USA
Vietnamese Parents Association, Washington, DC
Vietnamese Refugee Relief Committee, California
Vietnamese Senior Citizens Association, Virginia
Vietnamese Veterans Association Northeastern USA
Vietnamese Youth Association, New York
The Washington Area League of Vietnamese Associations, Washington, DC

MONDAY, JUNE 11, 1990

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

The Tragedy of the Boat People

UNDER THE NEW international rules for boat people adopted last June, "first asylum" countries in Southeast Asia agreed to keep accepting political refugees for resettlement elsewhere, but only on the condition that Vietnamese "screened out" as economic migrants would be sent back, if necessary involuntarily. The United States rightly objected to the repatriation part of the arrangement. The distinction between economic and political fugitives from brutal places like Vietnam has always been a chancy and tenuous one to sustain. But as a result of this policy impasse, Malaysia, which resists a buildup of unresettleable illegals as well as not-yet-resettled refugees on its territory, now cruelly pushes off new arrivals, back into the sea—7,700 at latest count. Hong Kong, which holds upwards of 30,000 Vietnamese facing repatriation, vigorously seconds Malaysia's insistence that Washington either condone the practice of involuntary repatriation or provide alternatives to it. That is the dilemma. It is urgent, and not nearly enough public attention is being paid to it.

The United States forcibly repatriates Latin and Caribbean immigrants who have entered the country illegally and repatriates them by the millions. So whatever you may think of this practice, the principle, anyway, has been widely accepted in this country. And, if you are willing to make the difficult distinction among refugees, it is also true that many, perhaps most new boat people do appear to fit the economic as distinct from political category, not refugees who fled for strict political reasons, though their treatment now after their flight and forcible return presum-

ably would transform their condition. And, in any event, the notion of sending anyone back to Communist Vietnam is hard to stomach or to justify.

What, first, are the short-term emergency measures to be taken? One is for the United States to find a place, perhaps Guam, to hold screened-out so-called economic refugees temporarily, rather than letting them be forcibly sent back. The United States continues, as it should, to press Vietnam to permit international oversight of the repatriation of those who voluntarily return. And both to discourage unmanageable flight and to discharge a larger moral and political obligation, this country is taking another 50,000 immigrants this year straight from Vietnam (former prisoners, Amerasians, relatives of the 1 million refugees accepted earlier), plus more from first-asylum countries. We believe first-asylum countries must speed up screening so as to shrink the political irritant of Vietnamese populations on their soil with all the ugly consequences that has had. And we also believe that Australia, France and other refugee resettlement countries must be more generous in their willingness to take in these refugees.

These measures, however, urgent as they are, are short term and can be expected to affect the core problem only marginally. The only true resolution will follow if and when Vietnam is restored to civil peace and economic growth so that its citizens will no longer choose the awesome perils of flight. As a practical matter, this requires reform in Vietnam, a lifting of the American-led economic embargo and, for the lifting, Vietnam's full cooperation in a political settlement in Cambodia. The toll on its citizens in continuing cruelty, both inside and outside their country, is an international disgrace.

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Manila Communique
May 17, 1990

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-18

CRUCIAL ELEMENTS OF THE CPA HAVE EITHER NOT BEEN GIVEN DUE FOCUS OR TOTALLY IGNORED. IN PARTICULAR, CLANDESTINE DEPARTURES FROM VIETNAM HAVE CONTINUED AND TWO CPA PARTICIPANTS HAVE BLOCKED REPATRIATION OF NON-REFUGEES WHO DO NOT VOLUNTEER TO RETURN.

- IN LIGHT OF THE ABOVE, COUNTRIES OF TEMPORARY REFUGE WISH TO STRESS THE FOLLOWING:

- 1) RESPONSIBILITY FOR SOLVING THE PROBLEM OF VBP RESTS PRIMARILY WITH VIETNAM AS THE COUNTRY OF ORIGIN;

- 2) VIETNAM SHOULD TAKE MORE EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO DETER CLANDESTINE DEPARTURE AND PROMOTE ODP AS THE SOLE MODE OF DEPARTURE FOR EMIGRATION. ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS, ALL CPA PARTICIPANTS HAVE A DUTY TO COOPERATE TO BRING TO AN END CLANDESTINE DEPARTURES INVOLVING RISKY JOURNEYS ACROSS THE SEA OR OTHERWISE;

- 3) THE NEAR CONSENSUS REACHED AT THE STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING IN JANUARY 1988 IN GENEVA, PARTICULARLY THE DATE FOR ENDING THE MORATORIUM ON REPATRIATING NON-REFUGEES WHO DO NOT VOLUNTEER, SHOULD BE IMPLEMENTED AS FROM 1ST JULY 1988;

- 4) THE REPATRIATION OF NON-REFUGEES WHO DO NOT VOLUNTEER TO RETURN IS ESSENTIAL TO THE CPA'S VIABILITY AND SURVIVAL. WITHOUT IT, THE STATUS DETERMINATION PROCEDURE HAS NO MEANING OR PURPOSE;

- 5) THERE IS AN OBLIGATION ON ANY COUNTRY WHICH OPPOSES THE REPATRIATION OF NON-REFUGEES WHO DO NOT VOLUNTEER TO OFFER AN EFFECTIVE INTERMEDIATE SOLUTION, SUCH AS THE SETTING UP AND FINANCING ON ITS OWN TERRITORY OF A REGIONAL HOLDING CENTER FOR ALL NON-REFUGEES, AS ENVISAGED IN THE CPA;

- 6) IN THE EVENT OF FAILURE TO AGREE EVEN AN INTERMEDIATE SOLUTION TO THE VBP PROBLEM, COUNTRIES OF TEMPORARY REFUGE MUST RESERVE THE RIGHT TO TAKE SUCH UNILATERAL ACTION AS THEY DEEM NECESSARY TO SAFEGUARD THEIR NATIONAL INTERESTS, INCLUDING THE ABANDONMENT OF TEMPORARY REFUGE.

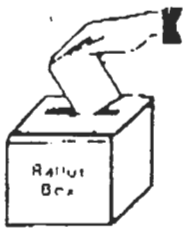
- COUNTRIES OF TEMPORARY REFUGE EXPRESS THEIR CONCERN AT THE RECENT UPSURGE OF CAMBODIAN BOAT PEOPLE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, NOTING THAT THIS CATEGORY OF BOAT PEOPLE IS NOT COVERED BY CPA. END QUOTE.
PLATT

2. BEGIN QUOTE:

- FOR OVER 13 YEARS, COUNTRIES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND HONGKONG HAVE PROVIDED TEMPORARY REFUGE TO VIETNAMESE BOAT PEOPLE AT TREMENDOUS COST TO THEMSELVES. THIS BURDEN HAS BECOME INTOLERABLE AND CANNOT CONTINUE.

- THE CPA ADOPTED BY THE ICIR IN JUNE 1988 IS AIMED AT SECURING A DURABLE SOLUTION TO THE VBP PROBLEM WITHIN A DEFINITE TIME FRAME OF THREE YEARS THROUGH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL ITS INTERDEPENDENT PROVISIONS.

- THE VIABILITY OF THE CPA, HOWEVER, HAS BEEN UNDERMINED BY SELECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION OF ITS PROVISIONS. WHILE COUNTRIES OF TEMPORARY REFUGE HAVE BEEN URGED TO CONTINUE TO PROVIDE FIRST ASYLUM,



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Wesley Tao

June 6, 1990

President George Bush
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

After the Manila meeting on May 17-18, 1990, the first asylum countries in Southeast Asia gave the United States and Vietnam six weeks to accept forced repatriation or accept responsibility for the consequence.

We are writing in extreme concern that Vietnamese boat people will be rejected by countries of first asylum throughout the region. Already over 6,000 boat refugees forced back to sea by Malaysian authorities have subsequently arrived in Indonesia. Nobody knows how many refugees died on the second forced leg of journey in their small boats.

In Manila recently the first asylum nations served notice that they will begin forcing refugees back to sea after July 1 unless there are new measures to deal with refugees screened out.

Mr. President, we know that you have been preoccupied with the Summit and other vital matters. We believe that the U.S. must exert immediate leadership to prevent the total collapse of first asylum.

We urge you to give your personal weight to prevent the abandonment of refuge for Vietnamese. Since 1975, three Presidents have sustained first asylum, one of our most important humanitarian achievements since the Marshall plan. We need your help now to save the situation. Thousands of lives and U.S. credibility are at stake.

We would like to hear the final decision from you on this subject before the full steering committee meeting in Geneva next June 26 and 27, 1990.

Sincerely,

Frank Vinh
National Chairman

Asians to Press U.S. on Boat People

By PAUL LEWIS

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, May 31 — Britain and six Southeast Asian nations plan a new attempt to persuade the Bush Administration and the Vietnamese Government to agree to the forced return of thousands of Vietnamese boat people later this summer.

The six Asian nations are warning that unless the forcible repatriation is accepted, they will no longer allow boat people to land, and an international plan for looking after these refugees will collapse.

The diplomatic campaign, which diplomats say will involve high level appeals in Washington and Hanoi next month is intended to secure American and Vietnamese backing for the return of boat people who are deemed to be economic migrants rather than political refugees by July 1.

Asians Present an Ultimatum

This deadline was set at a meeting in Manila earlier this month of the 29 countries that drew up the Comprehensive Plan of Action on Indochinese Refugees at a United Nations-sponsored conference in Geneva last year. If the United States and Vietnam agree, these countries will meet again in Geneva on June 26 to prepare the repatriation.

The six members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations — Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand and Brunei — which are caring for about 50,000 Vietnamese boat people, warned that unless the United States and Vietnam agree to forced return of economic migrants, they will refuse to accept any more boat people, as Malaysia is increasingly doing already.

This would effectively destroy the Comprehensive Action Plan, diplomats say, under which these countries and Hong Kong agreed to offer asylum to boat people fleeing Vietnam but to resettle only those deemed genuine political refugees.

Britain has said it also wants to send back the roughly 8,500 Vietnamese boat people in Hong Kong to whom it has already refused refugee status as soon as another 1,700 who have agreed to go back on a voluntary basis have been sent home.

By the end of the year British officials say about 40,000 of Hong Kong's estimated 55,000 boat people will probably have had their requests for asylum denied and be designated for forced repatriation.

Britain and the six Asian nations want the forced repatriations to be carried out under the supervision of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to ensure that the returnees are well treated by the Vietnamese and found housing and jobs.

But the United States has blocked their plan, arguing that conditions in Vietnam are too bad for the refugees to be sent back there. Privately, British and Southeast Asian officials feel that the Bush Administration's attitude is chiefly influenced by fear of a political backlash among Vietnamese Americans if the United States supports repatriation.

Britain Calls for Special Camp

As a result, Britain has proposed that the Bush Administration build a special camp for the boat people on Guam, the American Pacific island, and accept boat people denied refuge there until it judges that conditions in Vietnam have sufficiently improved for them to go back.

The Administration has refused both requests, saying it cannot accept people who are not genuine refugees and that, in any event, housing them on American soil would only encourage more Vietnamese to flee the country.

While Hong Kong's overcrowded refugee camps have forced Britain to take the lead in pressing for forced repatriation in the past, refugee officials say fewer refugees are arriving there now and conditions are easing. In the Southeast Asian countries, on the other hand, the flow of new arrivals is still running at relatively high levels, and the governments are increasingly anxious to start sending boat people home, by force if necessary.

According to the latest United Nations figures, Indonesia has received 5,087 boat people so far this year, lifting the total to 12,169. Thailand has taken in 3,772, giving it a total of 13,069. Malaysia, which already cares for over 19,000 boat people, has received another 988. And the Philippines with 9,092 has taken in another 200 this year.

Six-week ultimatum over Viets

From FIONA MACMAHON
in Manila

THE United States and Vietnam have been given six weeks to accept forced repatriation of boat people or accept responsibility for the consequences.

Pressure on the issue has been building since the Comprehensive Plan of Action (CPA) was signed in June last year and it came to a head at the working level Steering Committee meeting in Manila yesterday.

The first asylum countries, including Hongkong, demanded to be able to proceed with forced repatriation from July 1.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) says it supports the need to resolve the question of mandatory repatriation, and a full steering committee meeting has been tentatively set for June 26 and 27 in Geneva.

The majority of the delegates in Manila agreed that people found not to be genuine refugees "have to be returned to their country of origin in accordance with international practice reflecting the responsibilities of states towards their own citizens, in safety and dignity under international monitoring arrangements".

However, US delegation leader, Mr Allan Jury, said

his country's final decision would have to be made at the highest level - by the president and the secretary of state.

Mr Jury said the first asylum countries had presented the clearest and most unified stand on the question of mandatory repatriation at the meeting and would "certainly make people in Washington think".

"We will listen very seriously, but at the same time our objections are very strongly held. It is difficult to predict the outcome," he added.

Mr Jury conceded that the ball was very much in America's court but said: "On questions of principle, countries were some times prepared to stand in a difficult corner."

Delegates have also been pressing the US to agree to disagree if they cannot accept forced repatriation.

But Mr Jury said he believed there was a reluctance to acquiesce to behaviour that runs counter to principle.

The alternative plan of having a regional holding centre for boat people is regarded by most countries as having little viability or simply sidestepping the issue.

The Vietnamese Government was represented by their ambassador to Manila, Mr Hoang Manh Tu, who refused to comment on the united front presented by regional delegates.

The US and Vietnamese say their opposition to forced repatriation is based on humanitarian principles.

The leader of the British-Hongkong delegation, Mr David Colvin, head of the Foreign Office South-East Asia Department, said his Government had achieved its objectives in Manila.

"We have successfully isolated the Vietnamese and Americans," he said, adding that opposition to forced repatriation could "sink the CPA".

The chairman of the meeting, the UNHCR's head of the Asia and Oceania Bureau, Mr Sergio Vieira de Mello, said he still feared the collapse of the CPA.

But he said he was encouraged by the way in which delegates had conducted their deliberations.

The UNHCR and regional governments will now approach the Vietnamese and Americans with constructive ideas to achieve "a long overdue consensus".

Meanwhile, Vietnam's Foreign Minister, Mr Nguyen Co Thach, has asked Italy to mediate between his country and Britain on forced repatriation.

But British officials were bemused by the request. Vietnam and the UK hold discussions at ministerial level and discussed the boat people issue at senior government level earlier this year.

SAM M. GIBBONS
7TH DISTRICT, FLORIDA



WAYS AND MEANS
COMMITTEE

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

May 1, 1990

The Honorable Dato' Albert Talalla
Ambassador of Malaysia
2401 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

I would be most grateful if you would make sure that Prime Minister Mahathir gets the attached letter I am writing to him concerning the push-off of Vietnamese boat refugees seeking asylum in Malaysia.

Thank you for your personal attention to my request.

Sincerely,

Sam M. Gibbons
United States Congressman

SMG:f
Enclosure

WAYS AND MEANS
COMMITTEE

SUBCOMMITTEES:

TRADE, CHAIRMAN
SOCIAL SECURITY

JOINT COMMITTEE
ON TAXATION

SAM M. GIBBONS

7th DISTRICT, FLORIDA

Congress of the United States

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

May 1, 1990

PLEASE RESPOND TO:

- ☐ HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
TELEPHONE: (202) 225-3376
- ☐ 101 E. KENNEDY, #1425
TAMPA, FLORIDA 33602
TELEPHONE: (813) 228-2101
- ☐ 201 S. KINGS AVE., #6
BRANDON, FLORIDA 33511
TELEPHONE: (813) 689-2847

JANICE STOORZA
WASHINGTON OFFICE MANAGER

MARGO O'CONNOR
FLORIDA OFFICE MANAGER

The Honorable Dato' Seri Mahathir Bin Mohamad
c/o Embassy of Malaysia
2401 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Prime Minister Mahathir:

I am writing to express my extreme concern about the push-off of Vietnamese boat refugees seeking asylum in Malaysia. I understand that over 4,500 boat refugees have been turned away from Malaysian shores and have arrived in Indonesia. There is no way to know how many refugees perished after being pushed off.

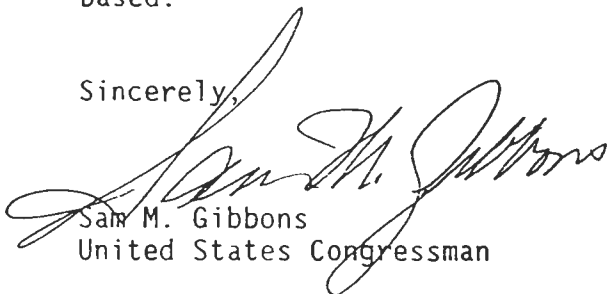
Mr. Prime Minister, we know that Malaysia has been generous in providing first asylum since 1975. Your country's humanitarian record has won for it much international support and praise.

In the past fifteen years the Vietnamese refugees have established one of the most prosperous and distinguished communities in America. We cannot abide the continued denial of asylum and pushing into the open seas of the relatives and friends of our Vietnamese-American population.

I am writing to underscore how serious the concern has become in the U.S. Congress over the denial of asylum to the boat refugees. This concern is on the verge of threatening the core aspects of our bilateral relations, including trade and tourism.

We are ready to support Malaysia in any way necessary in the restoration of first asylum. I hope that you will be able to lead your country in the humanitarian direction upon which Malaysian-international cooperation is based.

Sincerely,



Sam M. Gibbons
United States Congressman

SMG:f

cc: The Honorable George W. Bush, President of the United States
The Honorable James A. Baker, III, Secretary of State
Mr. Brent Scowcroft, National Security Council

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC

May 8, 1990

The Honorable Mahathir bin Mohamad
Prime Minister
c/o Embassy of Malaysia
2401 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I am writing to urge that you restore first asylum for Vietnamese boat people seeking to land in Malaysia. I understand that over 6,000 such asylum-seekers have been pushed off from the shores of Malaysia. This figure, of course, does not include the unknown number of Vietnamese who do not survive the subsequent voyage to Indonesia.

Malaysia has a long record of humanitarian concern for the refugees of Southeast Asia. I commend you for that. I must report to you, however, that there is growing concern here in Congress over the treatment of Vietnamese asylum-seekers by Malaysia. At a May 7 Congressional hearing, I indicated that the United States may be forced to link trade, tourism, and other matters with the denial of first asylum.

I understand your frustration with implementation of the Comprehensive Plan of Action, particularly with regard to the screened out. I support full implementation of the CPA and will do everything I can to assist you in reaching that goal. Denial of first asylum, however, will not speed implementation of the CPA. In fact, such practices will likely lead to a total breakdown of the plan. The human cost is and will be incalculable.

Thank you for your consideration. I hope you will be able to restore first asylum without delay and look forward to working with you and others to ensure full implementation of the CPA.

Sincerely,



Mark O. Hatfield
United States Senator

MOH:bs



RI BULLETIN

A GLOBAL VOICE FOR THE WORLD'S DISPOSSESSED

Lionel A. Rosenblatt

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, MAY 22, 1990

Pushed Out to Sea by Malaysia

Events in Eastern Europe are overshadowing the gravest crisis for Vietnamese refugees since 1979. Thousands of people are being pushed out to sea by Malaysia, a country that has in the past given temporary refuge to more than 250,000 boat people.

At last count, 6,577 Vietnamese asylum seekers had been forced back to sea in the past 10 months by Malaysian authorities. They are the lucky ones—those who survived the forced voyage to find refuge in Indonesia. No one can say how many others pushed off by Malaysia will never be heard from again.

The situation is now extremely grave. Some months ago, only a portion of refugees attempting to land in Malaysia were pushed off. But for the past two months virtually all arriving boats have been "redirected," as the Malaysians euphemistically put it.

The "redirections" have also become progressively more dangerous. Malaysian authorities formerly made a practice of at least reprovisioning refugees and repairing their boats. But in some recent instances, the craft have not even been refueled. Boats laden with women, men and children are towed out to sea at unsafe speeds before being cast off to fend for themselves. With thousands pushed off, who knows how many entire boatloads have perished and with them the news of their terrible ordeal?

One story that did get through was told by some survivors late last year. It involved a boatload of 68 Vietnamese, mostly women and children, who finally reached Malaysian waters after six weeks at sea. Their engine had broken down three days out of Vietnam, and despite rationing, they had eventually run out of food and water. One man had already died of dehydration when a Malaysian naval or police vessel approached the 50-foot craft, and the refugees were informed that they would be towed to shore and safety.

Instead, however, the Malaysians towed the Vietnamese out to sea for 19 hours and then, without warning, cut the boat loose. For an agonizing four days the boat drifted helplessly. Another man and a woman died before a Greek merchant ship rescued the refugees. The survivors were in very weak condition, and two more women died after rescue, both leaving small children.

More recently, in March, a boatload of refugees was rescued off the coast of Malaysia by a merchant vessel. The Vietnamese aboard were dropped off in a Malaysian port, supposedly delivered to safety. But even their lack of a boat was not enough to keep them from being forced back out to sea. Malaysian authorities simply put them on another small boat and towed them for two days before abandoning them. In this case all the refugees



ASSOCIATED PRESS

survived, but there is no better illustration of Malaysian government determination to end asylum for Vietnamese refugees than this cold-blooded expulsion.

The restoration of the principle of first asylum in Malaysia has become the top priority in the protection of Vietnamese boat refugees. The lives of boat people are at grave risk unless the government of Malaysia can be persuaded to alter course.

The Bush administration has in fact tried to persuade Malaysia to restore refuge, but so far without success. That country's prime minister, Datuk Seri Mahathir, appears determined to continue to push off Vietnamese refugees.

Clearly, it is time for President Bush to engage other heads of state in an urgent collaborative effort to restore first asylum in Malaysia.

The message to Prime Minister Mahathir from around the world should be the one increasingly voiced in Congress. House trade subcommittee chairman Sam Gibbons (D-Fla.) and Sen. Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.) both have written sharp letters to Mahathir. Said Gibbons:

"In the past 15 years the Vietnamese refugees have established one of the most prosperous and distinguished communities in America. We cannot abide the continued denial of asylum and pushing into the open seas of the relatives and friends of our Vietnamese-American population."

Over a period of 15 years, three previous administrations, backed by the American people and Congress on a bipartisan basis, have taken the lead in maintaining first asylum for refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. This has been one of the most significant international achievements since the Marshall Plan.

Once before, in the last year of the Carter administration, first asylum in Southeast Asia disintegrated. Hundreds, perhaps thousands, of lives were lost before refuge was restored with vigorous American leadership from the top echelons of government. Eleven years later, many Indochinese refugee lives are again on the line. Never before has American leadership been more needed.

We must reiterate to Malaysia that the deliberate endangering of human life by a state is unacceptable. This is a principle embodied in any number of international protocols to which Malaysia is a signatory.

At the same time, it must be acknowledged that Malaysia and other countries of first asylum have a problem. The problem with maintaining first asylum is the fear that it may become permanent asylum. This is a fear which only the United States and the developed world can address. And there is not much time. At a meeting last week in Manila, the first-asylum nations said that unless the United States comes up with something positive by July 1, first asylum may be abandoned.

We must either find a way to move people on from countries such as Malaysia in order to relieve the burdens and pressures of first asylum, or we must acquiesce in mandatory repatriation with acceptable safeguards. To do otherwise is to let refugee collapse throughout the region and to be complicit in the deaths of thousands.

The writer is president of Refugees International, a Washington-based refugee advocacy organization. He recently made a trip to Southeast Asia to survey the Indochinese refugee situation.



Indochina Resource Action Center

1628 16th St., N.W. 3rd Floor, Washington D.C. 20009 Tel:(202)667-4690 Fax:(202)667-6449

FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL SHEET

Date: June 21, 1990 Time: 6:40 pm
Receiver's Name: Sichan Sir
Organization: The White House
State or Country: D.C.
Fax Number: 456-6218
From: Le Xuan Khua
Account Number: 32

This is page 1 of 3

Reply Needed: Yes ☐ No ☐

Message:

The enclosed article in The Bridge three years ago
"An Island for Long Stayers" might be useful
to the creation of a regional holding center
for screened out people.

Please let me know your opinion on this.

Khuu

Summer 1987

The Bridge

3

AN ISLAND FOR LONG-STAYERS

By Lat Nguyen

Since 1975 hundreds of thousands of refugees were forced to flee the communist regimes of Southeast Asia and seek freedom in the West. Many thousands have successfully resettled in the United States, Canada, Australia, and other countries and have gone on to become productive citizens.

However, many other thousands still languish in the Southeast Asian refugee camps. Of these people, some will be able to join family members who have already been resettled in Western countries. The rest have been in the camps for years and see no future resettlement possibilities. These are people who have no family ties in the West nor any overwhelming reasons -- political or otherwise -- for their resettlement. They have become people without a country, unable to return to their homeland without fear of reprisal, unable to be resettled in the West, and unwelcome refugees in the first asylum countries.

THE CURRENT DILEMMA

The support of these refugee camps is a continuing burden on the economy of the United States and other Western countries. Is this a situation that will continue indefinitely like the Palestinian situation, only to become another international problem without a solution? If these people are not allowed to leave the refugee camps for Western countries and are not wanted in the countries of first asylum, the only thing that can be done is to continue to support them financially by the United Nations and other Western countries and charitable organizations. Today, there is a new generation of refugees being born in the camps; shall we continue to squander the valuable resources of the United States to support these people in camps with no solution to the problem?

This wasted amount of manpower, with the tremendous reservoir of energy manifested in hazardous escapes should be channeled into a more productive force instead of remaining a burden on others.

A solution must be found. Life in the refugee camps is bleak; most of the camps are situated in areas not wanted by the host countries. The refugees are provided with a minimum of food, clothing, and nothing more. Their lives become a monotony of merely existing, not living. These horrible social conditions have begun to foster

the typical problems of crime, extortion, prostitution, and rape. Tragic suicides by refugees unable to cope with these conditions are frequently reported.

All these conditions dehumanize people who have already suffered the loss of their homeland. Can we continue to ignore the situation? We must look at this dilemma from both a humanitarian perspective and from an economic perspective. It is not right that these people remain in these conditions; and it is bad business to continue to support a no-win situation.

A SOLUTION

An approach to channel the energies of these people into a productive path is needed. Even though they may not be able to return to their native land in the near future nor may they be accepted into the United States or other Western nations, somehow they must build a new life for themselves and for their children that are being born into this environment. In developing a solution to the problem, we must realize that **these people must be settled in an area where they will be under the care and protection of the United States, yet not in a position to become either citizens of the United States or resident aliens of the United States** because if we were to make that a possibility, then we should just go ahead and let them into the country now.

One possible location that would meet both of these criteria would be the area in the South Pacific, known as the United States Trust Territory of the Pacific. The United States has territorial control over the areas; however, they are not part of the territory of the United States nor do the residents have all the rights and privileges of United States citizens. We think that it would be advantageous to choose one of the islands without an indigenous, local population to develop a model refugee resettlement center and begin to integrate people from existing refugee camps throughout Southeast Asia into this model resettlement center. The center would become a permanent resettlement area with a supportive and positive environment in which the refugees could become productive, self reliant people, capable of supporting their families in the future. Until they can return to their native lands, the refugees (and their children) will become educated and productive individuals,

(Continued on page 4)

AN ISLAND...

(Continued from page 3)

provided with basic human rights, without cost to the United States welfare system. The U.S. welfare system has in effect spoiled many refugees who came after 1979 (not the earlier, more educated and trained people, but the later refugees who have fled terrible hardships in their homeland and the refugee camps) to the United States and found out how easy it is to get things such as food stamps, welfare, supportive housing, etc. which has largely destroyed the initiative to become fully assimilated and to work toward a better future. The settlement would have to be supported initially with some assistance from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the U.S. Government. Because it would save money spent maintaining the refugee camps, the project would not cost additional funds.

In order to develop into a self-supporting community, it is important that the operation be initiated from the beginning along very business-like lines. **The operation and development of this project should be carried out by U.S.-based companies knowledgeable of both cultures and whose objective is to make the permanent resettlement area a self-supporting community.** Once such a project is established, an appropriate Indochinese-American firm with the requisite expertise could work with other U.S. companies to develop employment opportunities for the residents of this community. Currently many U.S.-based companies have set up plants throughout Southeast Asia, Mexico, South America, and elsewhere for the assembly and partial manufacture (and sometimes complete manufacture) of components and products. When these U.S. companies set up "off-shore" production facilities they do not often have the protection of U.S. laws in these countries. Foreign governments can nationalize their factories. They could be at the mercy of local suppliers, labor, authorities, etc... which could cause production cost increases beyond their control. If these same factories were developed in this permanent resettlement area and people began to earn a better living, government support could be decreased to a point where the project would not only be self-sufficient, but even able to return the investment. Products being assembled within the U.S. Trust Territories could be brought into the U.S. without import duties, therefore, becoming a more profitable investment for the U.S.-based companies located there. This would generate more income within the U.S., generate more taxes, bring more income to the government. This means U.S. dollars not leaving U.S. territory. When products are assembled in Hong Kong, Taiwan, Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia,

etc., these dollars go outside the U.S. with no return. Once the people inside the settlement areas become self-sufficient and begin making money, they will become consumers of U.S. products; purchasing their necessary consumer goods from the U.S. with dollars that they earn from U.S. companies. This will have a very positive impact on the balance of trade. So many of our products (electronics, fabrics, automobiles, tires, etc.) are now being imported from Asian countries. If even a small dent could be made in this flow of imports by developing this permanent refugee resettlement area, then it will create a major impact on the U.S. balance of trade. The set up and training of these people would be quite easy. Thousands of Indochinese refugees have been resettled in the U.S. They have gone on to become proficient in all types of engineering fields and also have become bilingual. They are willing to impart knowledge and training to people in the permanent resettlement area. Also, one added advantage to this type of operation is that, with this being within the territory under control of the U.S., setting up high tech assembly programs in the project would decrease the chance of our technology going to other countries. We would be able to better protect certain technologies and keep them within U.S.-controlled territories and still get the advantage of low cost labor.

CONCLUSION

In order to pursue this concept to determine the most cost effective method we would have to:

1. Develop statistics on what the U.S. and other Western countries are currently spending on refugee relief in the existing camps.
2. The nature and location of each of the existing camps and their population density.
3. Determine existing technical skills now available.
4. Present education level.
5. Age, background, etc.
6. Find out what the interest level would be of the U.S. companies toward this project, in terms of setting up off-shore production facilities in the permanent resettlement center.

Lat Nguyen is President of LATCO International, a consulting firm on real estate development in Savannah, Georgia. Mr. Lat himself is an excellent example of successful resettlement in the U.S.



Indochina Resource Action Center

1628 16th St., N.W. 3rd Floor, Washington D.C. 20009 Tel:(202)667-4690 Fax:(202)667-6449

FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL SHEET

Date: June 21, 1990 Time: _____
Receiver's Name: Sichan Sir
Organization: The White House
State or Country: D.C.
Fax Number: 456-6218
From: Le Xuan Khao
Account Number: _____

This is page 1 of 4

Reply Needed: Yes _____ No _____

Message:

- As promised, I'm sending you the following:
- (1) Estimated Stats of Vietnamese in California.
Please note that these numbers do not include
the increase of population since 1975.
 - (2) My article in The Bridge last month, re IRAC's
position on the solution to the refugee problem.

With best regards,

Khao



Indochina Resource Action Center

1628 16th St., N.W. 3rd Floor, Washington D.C. 20009 Tel: (202) 667-4690 Fax: (202) 667-6449

April 1980 census – Vietnamese foreign-born

• San Francisco/Alameda	9,520
• Santa Clara County	10,424
• Los Angeles County	25,322
• Orange County	16,485
• San Diego County	not listed ¹
• Entire state	78,408

Estimated Vietnamese arrivals for 1980 through the end of FY'82 (Represents 50% of all SEA arrivals)

• San Francisco	5,629
• Alameda County	2,462
• Santa Clara County	5,104
• Los Angeles County	14,544
• Orange County	6,955
• San Diego County	5,221

Actual Vietnamese arrivals for FY'83 through FY'89

• San Francisco	4,864
• Alameda County	3,036
• Santa Clara County	11,033
• Los Angeles County	18,062
• Orange County	11,508
• San Diego County	4,339

These figures do not take into account the following two variables:

- ♦ Secondary migration (in/out)
- ♦ Births and deaths

¹Breakdowns for counties with less than 10,000 population (both native and foreign-born Vietnamese) are not listed separately in the 1980 census data.

the IRAC bridge

Vol. 7, Number 1

SPRING 1990

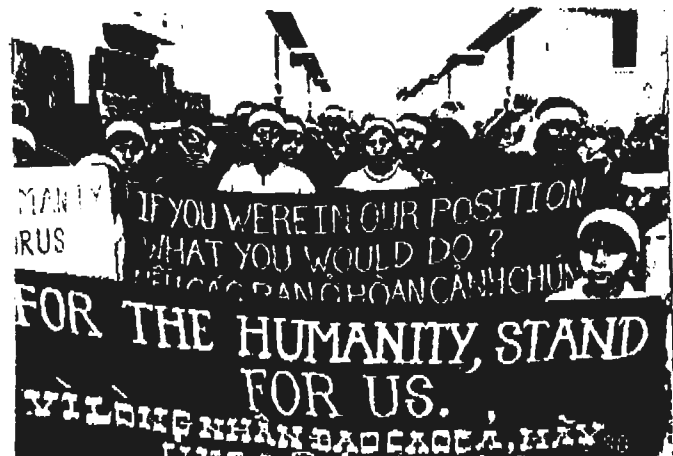
THE GREAT CHALLENGE

The year 1990 marks the fifteenth anniversary of the first wave of Indochinese refugees in the United States. It also marks the fifteenth year of a human tragedy which has continued unabated: push-backs, pirates on the high seas, human rights abuses in border camps and detention centers throughout the region. Last year, the International Conference in Geneva adopted a Comprehensive Plan of Action (CPA) with the clear intent to achieve humane and durable solutions to the Indochinese refugee problem. Unfortunately, the agreements on reception, screening, and voluntary repatriation have been improperly implemented and the whole plan is currently on the verge of collapse.

Ten months after the CPA went into effect, more than 6,000 boat people have been denied asylum and "redirected" to other shores by the Malaysian authorities. Bi-lateral negotiations between Britain and Vietnam have been going on with a view to forcibly returning an estimated 40,000 "screened-out" people from Hong Kong. Indonesia recently indicated that the number of asylum-seekers has become a new problem, and some boat people have been "helped" to continue their journey to Australia. In the meantime, piracy acts continue the trend of recent years, with an increasing degree of brutality — the pirates tend to do away with all witnesses. According to UNHCR, there have been 250 known pirate attacks with nearly 2,000 dead or missing during the past two years.

A Letter from the Editor

The first asylum countries strongly resent the continuing flow of Vietnamese asylum-seekers, and contend that forced repatriation of the "screened out" is the only workable alternative. However, a CPA Steering Committee meeting on January 23-24 failed to reach consensus on the date when forcible repatriation could be officially started. Refugees and humanitarian organizations are extremely worried about the approaching June 30th deadline set by the British government and endorsed by all Steering Committee members, with the exception of the United States and Vietnam.



Demonstration against forced repatriation — Hong Kong

There has been some argument for a relaxation of the first asylum policy, pointing to the fact that although the sailing season has begun, the number of new arrivals in Hong Kong is remarkably low: 848 in the first four months of 1990 vs. over 4,000 in the same period last year. This indication, however, is not going to change the tough stance of the countries of first asylum because it has been crystal clear that the flow of boat people will continue as long as economic and political conditions in Vietnam are not improved. One must bear in mind that Vietnam still has to deal with the problem of maintaining or demobilizing some 200,000 troops withdrawn from Cambodia. Worse still, another 200,000 Vietnamese guest workers have become *persona non grata* under new democratic regimes in Eastern Europe and will likely be sent back to poverty and lack of freedom in a not too distant future.

With this as a backdrop, 1990 poses a great challenge to the Indochinese-American community with regard to the resolution of the refugee problem. It is now clear that the CPA is only a temporary mechanism, a holding action designed to maintain refuge and first asylum. It might be disregarded by first asylum countries unless effective measures are taken to stem the outflow of asylum-seekers.

(Continued on page 24)

LETTER FROM THE EDITOR . . .

(Continued from page 1)

- Forcible or mandatory repatriation of "screened out" people — however logical it may appear — is not acceptable in the case of tens of thousands of boat people who have risked so much to escape. Furthermore, there is no guarantee that they will never be punished after their return. And besides, how can forcible repatriation be justified when the screening system in Hong Kong has been universally criticized as flawed and unfair?
- A regional holding center for persons determined not to be refugees has been proposed as an interim solution pending their eventual return to the country of origin. So far, this initiative has not been approved for several reasons: no country wants to set up a regional holding center on its own territory; the high cost for running such a center; and, most importantly, fears that it will become a magnet that attracts new arrivals. A regional holding center, therefore, will not likely become a reality unless effective measures can be found to stop the refugee flow.
- In any case, the Indochinese refugee problem cannot be resolved by inhumane or halfway measures. Efforts should be made towards a permanent solution resulting in the prevention of the refugee movement, not in the detention or forcible repatriation of those who have fled. It is time now for all parties concerned, especially the United States and Vietnam, to begin taking steps to address those conditions which are at the root of the refugee exodus. Because until economic and political conditions improve in Vietnam, people will continue to flee the country. This long term solution should be a two-way process to be implemented gradually to guarantee the result of each step. The process might be long but, once it is started, its beneficial effect will be felt immediately.

The big question now is whether the Indochinese-American community, particularly Vietnamese-Americans, are prepared for this great challenge — a challenge for peace, democracy, and development in the whole region.

* * *

Feature articles in this issue begin with a legal discussion by *Nga Thi Tuyet Tran* about a litigation between the U.S. Coast Guard and the Vietnamese fishermen in California regarding the enforcement of the Jones Act (which requires that the owners and pilots of large commercial fishing boats operating in federal waters be United States citizens). Referring to amendments of the Act over the years, the author demonstrates the irrelevance of this 200-year old law in the case of the Vietnamese fishermen. In an article on the post-war reconstruction of Cambodia, *Sin Meng Srun* assesses significant losses of human and material resources during the past three decades. The ten programs he outlines for implementation during the first two post-war years are described with full awareness of severe constraints on the technical and administrative capability of the public sector to manage reconstruction efforts and operate the economy. *Diana D. Bui*, in a brief but moving report of her recent visit to Hong Kong's detention centers, reveals the subhuman conditions of refugee women and children in the Crown territory. She presents a list of practical recommendations on what refugee advocates can do to help improve conditions both in the camps and in Vietnam. *James Banerian*, who has worked with Indochinese refugees for more than ten years, addresses the many unique issues facing young Indochinese in America whose education, professional training, and social life are quite different from their parents and grandparents. The challenge for this young generation of Indochinese-Americans is to rebuild community confidence and bring to their people unity and a sense of purpose.

♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦

Editor's Note: The opinions expressed in The Bridge are solely those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the publisher's position or that of IRAC. In its role as a forum for information exchange, The Bridge invites readers to share their own views and comments on these articles.

the bridge
IRAC

Indochina Resource Action Center
1628 Sixteenth Street, N.W. — Third Floor
Washington, D.C. 20009
Tel. (202) 667-4690

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Washington, DC

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 6-21-90

FOR: *Sichan Siv*

FROM: ANDREW H. CARD, Jr.

☒ Action

☐ Your Comment

☐ Let's Talk

☐ FYI

262 Melrose Avenue
E. Lansdowne, PA 19050
June 11, 1990

The Honorable Andrew Card
Assistant to the President & Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
WH Room 1/WW
Washington DC 20500

Your Honor Andrew Card,

I am deeply concerned about the rapidly deteriorating situation of the Vietnamese refugees in Southeast Asia and am writing to ask you for help.

Over 55,000 Vietnamese are living in squalid camps in Hong Kong. According to recent press reports, an agreement has been negotiated with Vietnam providing for forcible return of Vietnamese who fail to prove that they fled for reasons related to persecution. The first group was returned on December 11. Many more are sure to follow. Reportedly, Hong Kong will be paying Vietnam \$620 for each person returned.

I am particularly concerned about the proposed screening of refugees which will eliminate for resettlement those considered to be "economic migrants." I believe the applied definition of "economic migrants" would include thousands of Vietnamese who had fled the country because of discrimination which denied them the humane right to earn a livelihood. This is true for all those forcibly settled without tools or equipment in the New Economic Zones. It is also true for those belonging to any religious denomination or ethnic minority, or those whose parents had fled the country illegally. These people are barred from school and eliminated from job-lists. They are direct victims of discrimination and persecution and, in fleeing the country, are refugees under the 1951 amended Refugee Convention.

The concept of repatriation is incompatible with international law and all United Nations Conventions. Moreover, the security of people repatriated cannot be guaranteed. The Socialist Republic of Vietnam stipulates in its 1985 Criminal Code that leaving the country clandestinely is illegal and punishable by prison sentences ranging from 20 years to life. Previous examples of voluntary repatriation have had disastrous consequences:

e.g. the 1,500 Vietnamese refugees arriving in Guam in 1975 on the ship "Thuong Tin" who were voluntarily demanded repatriation and, upon their return, were incarcerated in reeducation camps where a great number of them are still held today.

in:

I urge you to join your colleagues in Capitol Hill

- * Encouraging the United States to stand firm against Great Britain and Hong Kong in opposing forced repatriation, and to seek a grace period to allow voluntary repatriation to work before considering forced repatriation; and
- * Pressing the United States to take creative and energetic steps to restore and maintain first-asylum for Vietnamese;

Please take my concerns to heart. Lives are at stake! I believe you have the power to influence the future of these refugees.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Henry Kissinger", followed by a long horizontal flourish.

To Sister
ALL yours
Bobbie

262 Melrose Avenue
E. Lansdowne, PA 19050
June 11, 1990

The Honorable Bobbie Greene Kilberg
Assistant to the President &
Director of Public Liason
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington DC 20500

Your Honor Bobbie Greene Kilberg,

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I am particularly concerned about the proposed screening of refugees which will eliminate for resettlement those considered to be "economic migrants." I believe the applied definition of "economic migrants" would include thousands of Vietnamese who had fled the country because of discrimination which denied them the humane right to earn a livelihood. This is true for all those forcibly settled without tools or equipment in the New Economic Zones. It is also true for those belonging to any religious denomination or ethnic minority, or those whose parents had fled the country illegally. These people are barred from school and eliminated from job-lists. They are direct victims of discrimination and persecution and, in fleeing the country, are refugees under the 1951 amended Refugee Convention.

The concept of repatriation is incompatible with international law and all United Nations Conventions. Moreover, the security of people repatriated cannot be guaranteed. The Socialist Republic of Vietnam stipulates in its 1985 Criminal Code that leaving the country clandestinely is illegal and punishable by prison sentences ranging from 20 years to life. Previous examples of voluntary repatriation have had disastrous consequences:

e.g. the 1,500 Vietnamese refugees arriving in Guam in 1975 on the ship "Thuong Tin" who were voluntarily demanded repatriation and, upon their return, were incarcerated in reeducation camps where a great number of them are still held today.

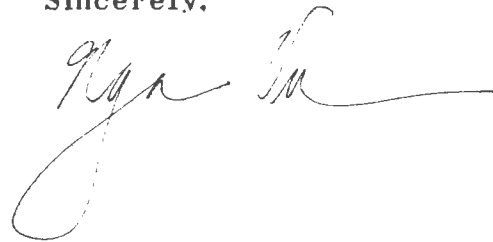
I urge you to join your colleagues in Capitol Hill

in:

- * Encouraging the United States to stand firm against Great Britain and Hong Kong in opposing forced repatriation, and to seek a grace period to allow voluntary repatriation to work before considering forced repatriation; and
- * Pressing the United States to take creative and energetic steps to restore and maintain first-asylum for Vietnamese;

Please take my concerns to heart. Lives are at stake! I believe you have the power to influence the future of these refugees.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "John M." followed by a long horizontal flourish.

To: Mr. Sichan Siv

From: N.H. Bich

Sichan,

Could you follow up
on this for us. The
main copy has been
sent directly to the
President.

Bich 6/12/90

National Vietnamese-American Business Conference

Hubert H. Humphrey Center, Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN

June 8-10, 1990

President George H. Bush
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Come July 1st. the Vietnamese boat people will be confronted with the dark and tragic prospect of massive boat pushoffs by countries of first asylum in Southeast Asia. This ultimatum given by the *countries of temporary refuge* in Manila (May 18, 1990) will mean certain death to hundreds if not thousands of innocent Vietnamese, young and old, men, women and children.

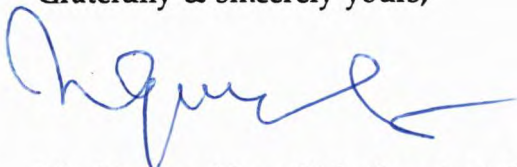
We, representatives of the Vietnamese American community across the United States, gathering here at this National Business Conference, appeal to you, Mr. President, as the beacon of a kinder and gentler nation, to act in all urgency and provide leadership by:

1. Declaring the United States government's willingness to contemplate the creation of a *holding center* outside of the United States of America to alleviate the overwhelming burden of first asylum countries in Southeast Asia.
2. Working in cooperation with the Philippines, Japan, and other donor nations to provide for and finance such a *holding center*.
3. Making it clear that such a holding center is not a stepping stone to resettlement abroad but only a temporary measure to await voluntary repatriation or when proper and humane conditions and guarantees are obtained.

The Vietnamese-American community pledges our maximum efforts to participate in this interim rescue operation by providing our compatriots in the above-requested holding center with humanitarian aid and comfort, including food, clothing, volunteer medical care, and counseling.

We believe the leadership of the United States of America is of utmost importance at this stage if the principle of first asylum is not to be abandoned, with repercussions beyond our imagination. It is our hope therefore that you will come to an early decision on this matter so as to deflect the Manila conference's ominous warning and prevent it from becoming policy at the upcoming Geneva meeting of the Steering Committee on June 26 & 27, 1990.

Gratefully & sincerely yours,



Mr. Nguyen Ngoc Bich, Secretary General
National Congress of Vietnamese in America
6433 Northanna Drive, Springfield, Va. 22150
Tel. (703)971-9178

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Sickon -

F41.

Nancy Dyke



Republicans Abroad Hong Kong

Chairman Hong Kong
RAE Hong Kong

February 17, 1990

9004901

'90 MAR-02 9:41 PM

Chairman RA International
John G. McCann

The Honorable James Baker
Secretary of State
Washington D C
U S A

Honorary Members

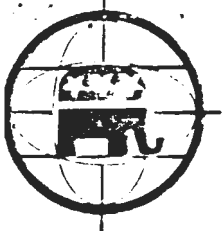
Dear Mr Secretary

The Republicans Abroad (RA) membership in Hong Kong feels compelled to convey to you our views on an American policy which we believe to be counter-productive and indeed embarrassing to our country. While RA here does not normally comment on public policy issues, we think this issue is so important that it warrants special attention. We sincerely hope that you will agree to use the influence of your good office to encourage a swift change in current U.S. policy, and the adoption of a more constructive, cooperative role in the international attempt to resolve a critical issue.

Enclosed are copies of two letters carried in the English language press this month, commenting on the mandatory repatriation of certain of the so-called Vietnamese boat people. These letters are reflection of a broad public opinion in this territory, critical of the United States and its continuing - some suggest stubborn - opposition to the decision to return to their homes in Vietnam, people who have arrived here illegally and who do not qualify for refugee status as defined in various international agreements to which the United States was, itself, a party.

The Issue

The United States continues to oppose the mandatory repatriation to Vietnam of Vietnamese asylum seekers arriving in this place of first asylum who do not meet the internationally agreed upon qualifications for refugee status.



Republicans Abroad Hong Kong

Page 2

Chairman Hong Kong

18 D. Kowloon

Chairman RA International

John G. McDermott

Honorary Members

The United States ignores the fact that, every day in Hong Kong, illegal from China are returned to China against their will, even though many of these people have spouses or other close relatives in Hong Kong. This is internationally accepted procedure, as unpleasant as it is for Hong Kong authorities to carry it out.

Indeed, the United States Government sends back a wide variety of asylum seekers from places like Haiti, Nicaragua, Mexico and other countries where the political system is not attractive to the world's democracies. In the case of Haiti, we understand, potential refugees are not even permitted to land on U.S. shores. Coast Guard cutters force their boats to be turned around, and they are chased back into international waters without any type of screening to determine if the Haitians are legitimate refugees.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the United States finds itself accused of pursuing hypocritical policies. In any case, it is difficult for the RA membership to imagine what objectives the U.S. hopes to achieve by its decision to abandon its initial support for the 1989 Comprehensive Plan of Action and refuse to cooperate with the rest of the world in the resolution of a problem which has reached catastrophic proportions.

Recommendation

The United States should stop opposing actions taken by the Hong Kong Government, which are in full compliance with agreements reached at the 1989 Geneva Conference, and officially recognize that Hong Kong, as a place of first asylum, has the full right to see to it that Vietnamese boat people qualifying for refugee status are resettled quickly, and to send the rest of them back to Vietnam, with or without the asylum seekers' consent.

In coming to this policy, the government and people of the United States should recognize that more than 90% of the Vietnamese boat people who have arrived in Hong Kong in recent years are poor farmers and fishermen from North Vietnam, who are not fleeing political or other forms of persecution, and who are in economic situations resulting from policy



Republicans Abroad Hong Kong

Page 3

Chairman Hong Kong

decisions by the communist Government of Vietnam, rather than any direct or indeirect effects of the Vietnam war.

Chairman RA International

Rationale

Honorary Members

For some 14 years, from 1974 to 1989, the international community agreed to cooperate on a policy which exempted Vietnamese boat people from normal procedures applied internationally for dealing with potential refugees.

This general approach was ratified in Geneva at a June 1979 confernece. The agreement established, essentially, that places of first asylum, such as Hong Kong, would automatically grant refugee status to all Vietnamese people arriving on their shores.

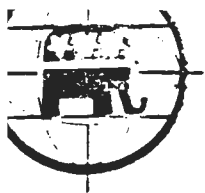
In return, Western countries agreed to remove the boat people quickly under their various resettlement programs. All this was to be coordinated by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

The system worked well until the mid-1980's when it became increasingly clear that the vast majority of Vietnamese boat people were not fleeing political persecution, but were simply very poor people seeking a better life elsewhere. This was particularly true in Hong Kong where, by the late 1980's, more than 90% of all Vietnamese boat people arrivals were from North Vietnam and had not suffered from any form of political persecution.

The response from the international community to these changing circumstances was to reduce the number of resettlement places available, with the result that the boat people were stranded indefinitely in camps provided by places of first asylum, like Hong Kong.

A second international conference on Indochinese refugees was convened at Geneva in June 1989 to consider the changes situation and to adopt more appropriate ways of dealing with the boat people.

The 1989 Conference resulted in a unanimous adoption of a Comprehensive Plan of Action (CPA) designed to deal effectively with all aspects of this complex issue.



Republicans Abroad Hong Kong

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Chairman Hong Kong

Chairman RA International

Honorary Members

Under CPA, first asylum has continued to be provided for the boat people, but refugee status is no longer automatically granted. Instead, screening and appeals procedures were established to determine the status of each arrival. Screening is the normal procedure throughout the world for dealing with people who seek asylum.

Under CPA, those people who qualify for refugee status are resettled, and those who do not qualify for refugee status must be returned to their country of origin, in accordance with international practices reflecting the responsibilities of states toward their own citizens.

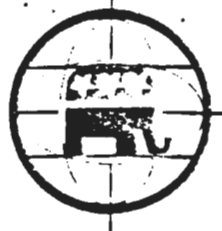
The screening and appeals system set up in Hong Kong, in compliance with CPA, operates under the direct guidance of the UNHCR who has representatives located here. UNHCR officers monitor the screening process, they provide legal assistance to asylum seekers who want an official review of their status, and they review each and every decision by the completely independent Refugee Status Review Board to make sure they are correct and in compliance with CPA.

If a UNHCR officers finds that the Review Board's decision was not correct, the Hong Kong Government has agreed to grant refugee status to the asylum in question.

Hong Kong has operated a policy of first asylum since 1975. No one has ever been turned away. Despite the immensely over-crowded conditions in Hong Kong, and the fact that every day it is necessary to return to China illegal immigrants who often have spouses and/or other close relatives here, Hong Kong has taken in, housed, fed and clothed over 170,000 Vietnamese asylum seekers.

The boat people population is now so large that accommodations for them are bulging, and we expect many more to begin arriving within the next few weeks, as the weather improves and sailing conditions permit them to make the trip with relative safety.

Hong Kong's facilities for accommodating the boat people are over-burdened and something must be done swiftly to relieve the situation.



Republicans Abroad Hong Kong

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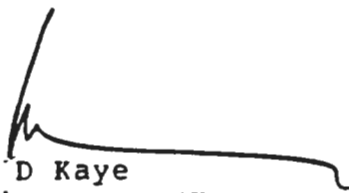
Chairman Hong Kong

Chairman RA International

Honorary Members

If no distinction is made between genuine refugees and those who do not meet the internationally agreed criteria, the system will collapse under the weight of its numbers. We are very close to that state of affairs right now.

It is essential that the Government of Hong Kong be allowed to apply the normal and internationally agreed-upon procedures according to CPA. This means that those people qualifying for legitimate refugee status must be resettled quickly, and those who do not meet the established criteria must be returned to their home countries with equal speed - with or without their active consent.


Ira D Kaye
Chairman RA HK

IDK/mc

Encls

US once again demonstrating its hypocrisy

MANY people in Hongkong appear to be perplexed by the fact that the US while supporting the pro-democracy movements in Eastern Europe is, at the same time, offering solace and the hand of friendship to the tyrannical rulers in Beijing.

They also cannot understand why the US maintains its fervent opposition to the repatriation of the Vietnamese boat people while daily returning its own illegal refugees to Mexico, Haiti, etc. The US may reply that the difference is that the Vietnamese would be returning to communist oppression. However, they offer no objection to Hongkong returning refugees to China. Why?

Perhaps the explanation is that the US is once again demonstrat-

ing that it is amongst the free world's most accomplished hypocrites. America is justly proud of its democratic system and extols its virtues at every opportunity. However, beyond its own shores, the US places little value on democracy and human rights. Its overriding concern is its own self-interest.

This has been demonstrated many times in Latin America where the US has installed or actively supported a succession of brutal dictatorships.

I suspect that General Noriega could have continued his drug dealing activities and employment in the CIA had he only continued to kowtow to Uncle Sam.

By virtue of its wealth and power the US is leader of the free

world. However, it should never be fully trusted as a friend and ally until it shows some integrity and morality in its foreign policy.

Hongkong, the UK and Vietnam are responsible for the future of the Vietnamese boat people. They may listen to the views of the US, but should not be intimidated by them.

America has meddled sufficiently and disastrously in the affairs of Vietnam. If it genuinely wants to contribute towards a solution to the boat people problem the US should pour massive aid into Vietnam to assist with the reconstruction necessary as a result of their futile and bloody war.

Only then will it be able to speak with any moral authority.

KEITH McNAB
Happy Valley

Rebuke US double standards over boat people

AS a long time resident Briton here, I write to refute the childish allegations of Dick Troutie (*South China Morning Post*, February 6).

As a starter it would be relevant for Mr Troutie to remember that this is a British territory.

Britain and Britain alone holds the right to resolve the issue of Hongkong Vietnamese illegal immigrants.

As the Oxfam Director pointed out, devastation of the Vietnam economy is mostly, if not entirely, the consequence of American actions there.

The US Government and the Americans in general have no right to go against forced repatriation from a British territory, especially when matching the US be-

haviour towards Mexican and Haitian illegal immigrants.

The only right that the US Government can hold is its duty to make good the devastation of that war-torn country - war directly and indirectly perpetrated by Americans for eight years.

Mrs Thatcher should not compromise British sovereignty by succumbing to the childish American opposition to forced repatriation.

Indeed the US Government should be clearly rebuked for double standards in the entire repatriation issue of refugees v illegal immigrants.

Just prior to the Geneva conference of January 1990, the US Government gave all parties concerned, a near underwriting to

come along with the forced repatriation issue.

It is totally unbelievable that Mr Bush suddenly sent his personal veto and thus torpedoed the consensus.

As Britons we must express our great displeasure at Mr Bush and our suspicion that he double-crossed Mrs Thatcher after benefiting from her unreserved support for his operation in Panama.

Perhaps Troutie should depart from his presumptuous position to speak for other Americans.

In restating his opposition to forced repatriation he has put American hypocrisy on the table. Let all Britons and Chinese unite to fight this American bigotry.

J.R. HARRISON
Happy Valley

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1990

SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST

US attacked on Haitian deportation

From MICHAEL CHUGANI
in Washington

THE United States, which is sharply critical of Hongkong's mandatory repatriation of Vietnamese boat people, has come under fierce attack in a human rights report for its own policy of forcibly deporting Haitian asylum-seekers to a repressive homeland.

The report accuses the US of violating international and American refugee laws and calls on the administration of the President, Mr George Bush, to suspend immediately the interception at sea and deportation of Haitian boat people.

The study, issued by the influential New York-based Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, warns that the Haitian deportation programme will result inevitably in refugees with a well-founded fear of persecution being forcibly returned to Haiti.

"If the programme cannot be made fair, then it should be discontinued," the report, to be released today, demands.

The committee's condemnation of the US policy against Haitians comes just days after the Deputy Secretary of State, Mr Lawrence Eagleburger, told congressmen that Hongkong's mandatory repatriation of Vietnamese boat people was viewed with

abhorrence within the top levels of the Bush administration.

"There is a more fundamental question here which I must tell you comes from the very top, which is an absolute abhorrence of the concept of accepting forced repatriation under any circumstances," Mr Eagleburger told last week's House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee.

The lawyers' report sets out to show that the US is bound by international refugee protection laws which are opposed to the forced return of any person who has a well-founded fear of persecution.

It points to American opposi-

tion of the Hongkong policy as proof of the US position on the matter.

"The reaction of the international community and particularly by the United States to the forced repatriation of Vietnamese asylum-seekers who took refuge in Hongkong is an example of the strength of the principle," the report states.

Hongkong, which has been swamped by more than 50,000 Vietnamese boat people, has repeatedly criticised the US for opposing forced repatriation, yet continuing to deport Haitian asylum seekers.

The report is bound to provide extra ammunition for

Hongkong to accuse the US of double standards.

It points out that since the Haitian deportation programme was introduced by the administration of former president, Mr Ronald Reagan, in September 1981, only six boat people have been allowed to claim asylum in the US while 21,461 others were forcibly returned as economic migrants without being allowed to go ashore.

The report criticises the screening procedure to identify genuine refugees and concludes that "at least hundreds" of Haitians have been forcibly returned to Haiti "in violation of refugee law".

The committee's refugee project director, Mr Arthur Helton, who edited the report, said: "Through improper screening and arbitrary detention, government officials have consistently demonstrated a bias against Haitians. It is time for this discrimination to end."

Mr Helton also sharply criticised Hongkong's refugee policies in a Lawyers Committee report issued last June, and he was recently in the territory with two other human rights lawyers to prepare a legal case against the Hongkong Government's treatment of Vietnamese boat people.

The latest report points out that the US coast guard vessels

which intercept the Haitian refugee boats at sea only have one immigration official and interpreter to question and screen asylum-seekers for refugee status.

"Most of the interviews, even with the necessity of translation, do not last more than two minutes," the report states, adding that "these conditions make accurate fact-finding impossible".

Ironically, the US has been a strong critic of Hongkong's screening procedure, claiming the process to be flawed and unfair to Vietnamese asylum seekers.

May 24, 1990

① observing process → Hayden pushed back
② Company holding center

SCHEDULE OF SICHAN SIV

preliminary rep. for remove migrants
as standard practice - clearly?

9:30am SENIOR STAFF

10:30 CB

12:30 Brunch Club: Dallas

4:00pm WEEKLY EVENTS
Roosevelt Rm.

70% one remove migrants

6:00pm RECEPTION FOR

Accommodation & the BUSH-QUAYLE

arrives not present APPOINTEES

Indian Treaty Rm.

Visit Malaysia → Poster: No / No

8:00pm DINNER AT THE
DALY'S

not all needed → announce of authentic

CPA program do AT

Brunch: 95% out 5% in



AMBASSADOR

EMBASSY OF MALAYSIA
2401 MASSACHUSETTS AVE., N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008

May 24, 1990.

BY FAX

Fax Ref No. : 352790

Hon. Sichan Siv,
Deputy Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison,
The White House,
WASHINGTON D.C.

Dear Sichan,

It was good to chat with you over lunch. As promised I am faxing you with this note a report from the New York Times of May 5 and an extract from the February 23 issue of Refugee Reports (A News Service of the U.S. Committee for Refugees) on the subject of the non-voluntary repatriation of Haitian refugees.

Best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Batu

DATO' A.S. TALALLA
AMBASSADOR

Number of pages including this page = 6

NEW YORK TIMES - MAY 5, 1990

Long Docile, Haitian-Americans Turn Militant



Tom Sawyer for The New York Times

Haitians at the Federal Krome Detention Center in Miami, where some inmates say they have been abused.

By JAMES LEMOYNE

Special to The New York Times

MIAMI, May 4 — Deeply angered at being treated as suspected AIDS carriers, illiterates and unwanted black immigrants, Haitian-Americans are abandoning years of quiet acceptance and sharply demanding redress for what they charge is a pattern of prejudice and abuse.

"The treatment of Haitians in this country is shameful — it does not reflect the true culture of America, which historically has been democratic and humane," Gérard Jean-Juste, executive director of the Haitian Refugee Center in Miami, heatedly contended last week in a telephone interview. "You

have accepted millions of immigrants, but you arrest Haitians and intern them in camps where they are subjected to physical, mental and sexual abuse. What we are now saying is, 'Enough is enough.'"

"Such deep feelings have prompted emotional demonstrations by Haitian-Americans in recent weeks and a new determination to organize politically to force the American Government to change the way it treats both Haitians seeking entry to this country and those who live here.

"There is definitely a new awareness among Haitian-Americans," said Jocelyn McCalla, head of the National Coalition for Haitian Refugees, based in New York. "We have seen the need to

use available political mechanisms to better advantage."

For a growing number of the estimated one million Haitian-Americans that has meant shedding a former attitude of docility and fatalism and taking to the streets to confront what they see as gross injustice.

Last week more than 2,000 demonstrators broke down the front gate of the Immigration Service's Krome detention center here in an emotional test prompted by numerous allegations that guards there had physically and sexually abused Haitians detained after being charged with illegal

Continued on Page 9, Column 1

Haitian Immigrants Turning Militant

Continued From Page 1

to the United States.

The Krome camp is a bare former military installation perched on the edge of the Everglades. Nearly 400 immigrants are being held there, most of them Haitians.

Surrounded by a barbed-wire fence, immigrants mill listlessly around the camp grounds awaiting news, usually disappointing, about their pleas for asylum in the United States.

A few lucky ones have been released to the custody of their friends and relatives. But the overwhelming majority are destined to be deported, a fate they seem depressedly well aware of.

Reports of abuse have forced a review of conditions at the camp by the immigration service and an investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation of specific allegations of guards beating prisoners and forcing women detainees to have sex in return for lenient treatment.

In another striking outpouring of protest, about 50,000 Haitian Americans filled the streets of New York City on April 20 to protest a Government recommendation that Haitians be banned from donating blood because they are considered especially likely to be infected with the AIDS virus.

A Government advisory panel has since found no scientific basis for the blanket categorization of Haitians as likely carriers of the virus and officials of the Food and Drug Administration

now say they are reviewing their policy toward Haitian blood donors.

"We have more problems than other groups," said Ringo Cayard, a leading Haitian business and political leader in Miami. "We get stigmatized not only as blacks, but also as illiterates and disease-carriers who come from an underdeveloped country."

Claude Charles, an assistant professor of anthropology at the University of Miami, shares that view.

"The American Government has made it harsh on us to show Haitians that they are not welcome here," Mr. Charles charged. "This is the way, a racist society deals with black people trying to come here. For Haitians it has been a kind of Calvary."

In spite of such feelings of discrimination, Haitians seem to have strug-

ment for Cuban immigrants, but that it has never done that for Haitians.

Officials of Haitian rights groups assert that this amounts to racism, an especially explosive charge in Miami, a city that is both dominated by a large Cuban-American community and a city that suffers deep racial friction that periodically erupts in riots.

"Cubans come here and they are welcome with open arms," said Mr. Charles, the anthropology professor. "Haitians flee here in flimsy boats and the reception is hostile."

The Government has made a strong effort to keep Haitians from illegally entering the United States. Operating under a Presidential decree, the Coast Guard since 1981 has maintained a program that intercepts boatloads of Haitians and forces them to return home. More than 20,000 Haitians are estimated to have been returned home by Coast Guard patrols over the last nine years.

Leon Jennings, the chief Immigration Service officer involved in the interdiction effort said that with out the program, Florida would be flooded with unauthorized Haitian immigrants and that the interdiction effort had begun after a public outcry against the boatloads of destitute Haitians who in 1980 and 1981 regularly landed at Miami Beach amid amazed tourists and horrified local officials.

Languishing at Center

Haitians who manage to get to the United States are often detained for having falsified documents or having no documents at all. They are jailed in immigration detention camps like Miami's Krome Detention Center, where they languish for up to two years while a slow-bucklogged bureaucracy reviews their claims for asylum. Almost all are eventually reported back to Haiti.

Lawyers working for the Miami-based Haitian Refugee Center recently gathered 100 sworn affidavits from detainees or people who have worked with them, charging immigration guards at the Krome camp with abuses since 1987.

"We take any allegation very seriously," said Duke Austin, chief spokesman for the immigration agency in Washington. "If there are individual cases of abuses in that particular facility, we want them ferreted out."

Mr. Cayard says the experience of forcing the Government to investigate how prisoners are treated has been a formative lesson.

"Ten years ago it would have been impossible for us to do this," he said. "We are organizing — within 10 years they just won't be able to take them back without any more."

A once-docile group strikes back against a negative image

gled to achieve a measurable degree of success as new immigrants in the United States.

In contrast to the prejudice they encounter, Haitians are praised by Miami officials as citizens who are particularly eager to educate their children, create businesses and maintain a steady employment record. It has been a real struggle for them to gain acceptance as a respectable group. Dante B. Pasell, a Democrat from South Florida, said you talk to anybody who has worked with Haitians and you'll find that they are known and respected as hard-working members of the community.

But among the issues that still trouble Haitians, perhaps the least easy to resolve is the treatment of those who come to the United States without legal authorization. American immigration officials say the law obliges them to arrest such people as illegal aliens and to deport them back to Haiti.

Charges of a Double Standard

Haitian refugee groups charge that the United States Government uses a double standard. They say Haitians have suffered a number of especially brutal dictatorships, but have had particular difficulty in winning political asylum here.

To illustrate their case, Haitian-Americans note that Congress passed

who had submitted affidavits of support on their behalf. But, the directive added that "aliens who have final orders of exclusion and/or deportation or whose case is on appeal, will not be paroled without the approval of the District Director."

According to Little, Smith told the Haitian Refugee Center on February 13 that 138 Haitians had been paroled since the new policy went into effect November 1.

However, Little points out that most of the longer-term detainees remain because their cases are on appeal. In a letter to Smith following the November 1 announcement, Little wrote, "It is fundamentally unfair to punish [people] and deny them parole simply because their cases are on appeal. Moreover, if paroled, these individuals would be in a far better position to secure adequate legal representation."

Richard Walker, then Acting Director of the Krome facility, told Refugee Reports that the new parole policy announced on November 1 "is just a slight variance [of the established parole process] in order to accommodate the situation at the time." Walker added, "as the population decreases, we will go back to the original parole process."

Allegations of Bias, Harassment Persist

The three-day hunger strike in February indicates that tensions have not entirely abated with reduced numbers. The hunger strikers alleged a number of acts of harassment and heavy-handedness by Krome guards. These included allegations that they were confined to their quarters, and denied access to telephones and use of the television.

The pattern is familiar to those who have followed events at Krome during the past year. Little provided Refugee Reports with more than a pound of sworn affidavits from Haitian detainees at Krome taken in 1989. Their complaints include: being confined to their dormitories for long periods of time; severe limitations on access to bathrooms and telephones; solitary confinement for long periods; and verbal and physical abuse by INS guards.

Former and current detainees voiced similar complaints to Refugee Reports at the time of the December visit. "We left Haiti because we were being abused by the military," a former detainee said. "But we

came here to Krome, and I have have seen officers beat the detainees with my own eyes."

Another Haitian said, "They treat the other nationalities better than us. If there is a misunderstanding between a Haitian and another nationality, then they [the guards] will punish the Haitian person. If another person is sick, they go to the clinic right away, but not the Haitians."

Refugee Reports asked one of the Haitians if he had encountered any problems at Krome. "For myself, I haven't had any problems," he told us. But then he recounted what happened the day he was due to be deported--but resisted: "I did not want to go back. When we got to the airport, I refused to go. They mistreated me a lot then. They handcuffed my hands behind my back and pushed my body from behind against the van, and the handcuffs were so hard on my legs [his legs were also shackled] that I couldn't lift my legs to get into the van--but he [the guard] pushed me hard into the van, and I fell so hard against the chair that I hurt my chest."

Walker denies that Haitians are discriminated against. "I don't think it's true, and if anyone is saying it, I think it's unfounded," he told Refugee Reports. "I think a lot of them [Haitians] are taking the official restrictions as a personal affront to them," Walker added.

Current Research

HAITIAN INTERDICTION VIOLATES INTERNATIONAL LAW, LAWYERS GROUP FINDS

At a recent congressional hearing on hunger (see related article, p. 5), the U.S. Coordinator for Refugee Affairs, Ambassador Jewel S. LaFontant, was asked about the Haitian interdiction operation. "We have heard heavy criticism on this," said Ambassador LaFontant. It was a matter of "common sense," she said, that the interdiction policy be reviewed. She said that an inter-agency task force had embarked on such a review, and announced that its recommendations should be out "in short order."

Of particular use to government policy makers will be a 108-page report issued on February 14 by the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights. Based on two site visits to

Haiti in 1989, the report makes a convincing case that "at least hundreds of refugees have been wrongfully returned to Haiti over the course of the program and denied protection in violation of refugee law."

Refugee Refoulement: The Forced Return of Haitians under the U.S.-Haitian Interdiction Agreement finds that of the 21,461 Haitians interdicted by the U.S. Coast Guard since the program began in 1981, only 6 persons have been allowed to enter the United States to pursue asylum claims. Of those six persons, two had lived in the United States before and three were relatively well-educated teachers, factors that may have helped them to articulate their claims.

Through the Lawyers Committee report, a picture emerges about at least some of the remaining 21,461--those denied, characterized as "economic migrants", and returned to Haiti.

Shipboard Interviews The Lawyers Committee was permitted to review on a confidential basis the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) questionnaires used to interview a boatload of 182 Haitians interdicted and returned to Port-au-Prince on March 31, 1989. Although INS examiners had told the Lawyers Committee team that they ask 17 questions in one-on-one interviews, including questions about imprisonment, mistreatment, political involvement, and restrictions on freedom, the questionnaires only reflect the first six questions: Name? Birthplace? Birthday? Current Address? Occupation? and "Why did you leave Haiti?"

A sampling of the answers written down by the INS interviewer in response to the question "Why did you leave Haiti?" include:

"People are dying"; "to save my life";
 "people are being burned; cannot live";
 "people are dying and being burned, people are being robbed"; mother's house burned, got beat up for no reason";
 "lost two kids by gunfire, brother-in-law killed"; "people being set on fire, cannot return to Port-au-Prince, lost three brothers, spent three years in prison for nothing."

The report observes, "Although the [INS] guidelines provide for a private interview if there is any indication of a refugee claim, unequivocal statements by the

Haitians of fear of return to Haiti were apparently disregarded."

It goes on to say, "Despite these alarming answers, no further amplification or clarification is noted, and all were summarily returned to Haiti on April 2."

Interviews of Returnees The Lawyers Committee also interviewed Haitian returnees, and published the accounts of several with strong refugee claims who were returned nevertheless. Among them was Mr. Philogene, a passenger on the same ship from which the above INS interview notes were taken.

Philogene told the Lawyers Committee that he had been the vice president of the Communal Electoral Bureau, established to monitor the November 1987 elections (elections which were cancelled and in which people standing in line to cast their ballots were massacred). Seven days after the aborted elections, Philogene, his wife, and three children were arrested by the Haitian authorities. Shortly after his release, he learned that the authorities were planning to arrest him again, and went into hiding. In 1988, he became involved in a movement to defend peasant rights, organizing a demonstration to protest the arrest of a peasant leader. In March 1989, learning that the authorities wanted to arrest him again because of his activities with the peasants, he decided to leave the country.

The report recounts what Philogene said happened after his boat was interdicted by the Coast Guard:

Their boat was sunk and they were told that they would be brought to Miami. While on board the Coast Guard's cutter, the Haitians were asked as a group by the INS officer and his interpreter why they had left Haiti. Mr. Philogene told them that he had left because he did not feel safe in Haiti, and wanted to ask for asylum in the United States. The INS officer ignored him and went on to the next person. He was returned to Haiti along with the other passengers on the boat.

After being returned to Haiti, Philogene moved in with relatives in another town, telling the Lawyers Committee that he was afraid to return to his hometown. He has discontinued his work for peasant rights.

See No Evil, Hear No Evil Until 1986, occasional follow-up interviews were conducted by U.S. embassy personnel in Haiti to ascertain whether returnees were ill-treated. A U.S. embassy official in Port-au-Prince told the Lawyers Committee delegation that only a very small percentage of returnees was actually interviewed because of the difficulty in locating them.

Follow-up interviews were discontinued entirely after President Duvalier's overthrow in early 1986. The Embassy sent a cable to Washington saying, "any legitimate expectation that persecution might occur based on the general character of the Haitian government was removed when the National Governing Council succeeded President Jean-Claude Duvalier on February 7 and immediately made several key changes in the government of Haiti's human rights policy, most notably the dissolution of the Tonton Macoutes militia. This development and past findings make continuation of the program unjustifiable on principle." Follow-up interviews were never resumed.

Notwithstanding the U.S. embassy cable, human rights violations did resume shortly after Duvalier's overthrow, according to several human rights groups. Those violations have been documented in such reports as Haiti: Duvalierism since Duvalier (October 1986); Haiti: Terror and the 1987 Elections (November 1987); and The More Things Change... Human Rights in Haiti (February 1989), by Americas Watch, the National Coalition for Haitian Refugees, and Caribbean Rights.

Recently, on February 20, the House of Representatives passed a resolution (H. Con. Res. 250) saying that the U.S. Congress:

condemns the military Government of Haiti for its arrests, beatings, and forced exile of opposition leaders, its abridgement of civil and political rights for Haitian citizens, and its blatant disregard for the Haitian Constitution and International law.

Refugee Refoulement is available from the Refugee Project of the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, 330 Seventh Avenue, 10th floor, New York, NY 10001. (212) 629-6170.

Projects and Programs

SCORR LINKS STATE REFUGEE COORDINATORS

"The State Coordinators of Refugee Resettlement (SCORR) join together to establish and enhance individual professional development; to coordinate and thereby eliminate gaps in information dissemination; to promote improved service delivery...[and] to advise and inform and thereby to facilitate responsive planning within the federal government."

Thus reads the mission statement of SCORR, an organization formed by state refugee coordinators in 1988. Representatives of 41 states have joined SCORR. Because SCORR does not have any funds or staff, all of the organization's work is done by members on a volunteer basis. SCORR board members "meet" by telephone on regular conference calls.

According to Maryland's refugee coordinator, Frank Bien, "Developing a system to better share information among states is one of the organization's main objectives." Bien says that states can then use the information to take more informed positions on issues.

Citing an example of SCORR's information-sharing function, SCORR's president, California Refugee Program Manager Walter Barnes, said, "This past year we assessed the potential impact of various budget alternatives that the Administration and Congress were considering for 1990, then provided that information to states for their use."

One of the issues that first brought SCORR members together was their common concerns over a significant change in the pattern of refugee resettlement nationwide. "Basically, a few states were receiving more and more refugees," says Barnes, "and, conversely, many states were receiving fewer refugees than they had in the past. States receiving less refugees were afraid that they would not receive enough refugees to keep their programs viable, while over-impacted states were worried that their resources would be stretched too thin."

Laurie Bagan, Colorado's refugee coordinator, adds that "many of the state

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

May 3, 1990

FOR: SICHAN SIV

FROM: NANCY BEARG DYKE ND

Good news for your information.

U. S. Department of Justice
Immigration and Naturalization Service
Washington, D.C. 20536



News Release

Contact: Verne Jervis or Duke Austin
Press Information Office
Phone (202) 633-2648

May 1, 1990

INS to Grant Refugee Status For Vietnamese Unaccompanied Minors

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) will grant refugee status in the U.S. for up to 700 unaccompanied minors from Vietnam," Commissioner Gene McNary announced today.

The young people are currently in several countries in Southeast Asia in refugee camps. Some have relatives in the United States. Although all were under 18 when they arrived in the camps, some are now in their early 20s, but will still be offered the resettlement opportunity.

Interviews will begin this month, with the first arrivals occurring in July. Interviews are expected to be completed by August and all are expected to be in the United States by the end of the year.

"The initiative to assist in resettling the youngsters in this country demonstrates the INS commitment to the special needs of unaccompanied minors and reflects the leadership role the U.S. should play in implementing the Comprehensive Plan of Action and setting an example for other countries," McNary said. The Comprehensive Plan of Action is an international agreement dealing with Indochinese migrants.

-more-

"The INS proposal seeks to balance humanitarian issues, economic realities, legal constraints and international policy concerns," McNary added.

#

VIETNAMESE RESETTLEMENT ASSOCIATION (VRA)

HỘI NGƯỜI VIỆT CỨU DÂN VIỆT

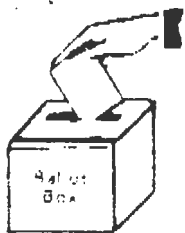
5908 Columbia Pike, Suite 103

Bailey's Crossroads, Virginia 22041, U.S.A.

Phone: (703) 931-7231

Fax: (703) 931-0618

FAX COVER SHEETDate: 6-4-90To: CHARLES BACARISSEFrom: FRANK VINHPages: 1Fax number: 456 6218Comments: Please have MR. SICHAN SIVfollow up on this letter for us.Thank you.



Asian American Voters Coalition

A UNITED VOICE SERVING MORE THAN 7 MILLION ASIAN AMERICANS

5908 Columbia Pike, Suite 103 • Baileys Crossroads, VA 22041 • FAX & Telephone: 703/931-0618

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June 6, 1990

President George Bush
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

After the Manila meeting on May 17-18, 1990, the first asylum countries in Southeast Asia gave the United States and Vietnam six weeks to accept forced repatriation or accept responsibility for the consequence.

We are writing in extreme concern that Vietnamese boat people will be rejected by countries of first asylum throughout the region. Already over 6,000 boat refugees forced back to sea by Malaysian authorities have subsequently arrived in Indonesia. Nobody knows how many refugees died on the second forced leg of journey in their small boats.

In Manila recently the first asylum nations served notice that they will begin forcing refugees back to sea after July 1 unless there are new measures to deal with refugees screened out.

Mr. President, we know that you have been preoccupied with the Summit and other vital matters. We believe that the U.S. must exert immediate leadership to prevent the total collapse of first asylum.

We urge you to give your personal weight to prevent the abandonment of refuge for Vietnamese. Since 1975, three Presidents have sustained first asylum, one of our most important humanitarian achievements since the Marshall plan. We need your help now to save the situation. Thousands of lives and U.S. credibility are at stake.

We would like to hear the final decision from you on this subject before the full steering committee meeting in Geneva next June 26 and 27, 1990.

Sincerely,

Frank Vinh
National Chairman

— 6-5-90

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Sicken -

for your
information.

Nancy Dyke

such return takes place with the maximum number of safeguards. These would include priority for voluntary repatriation (and no mandatory repatriation so long as there are volunteers awaiting return), as well as a delay in mandatory repatriation until UNHCR can affirm that the provisions of the CPA -- including proper screening, proper counselling on voluntary repatriation, and proper monitoring of those who return -- are being fulfilled.

I appreciate your consideration of these concerns and I look forward to hearing from you.

Cordially yours,

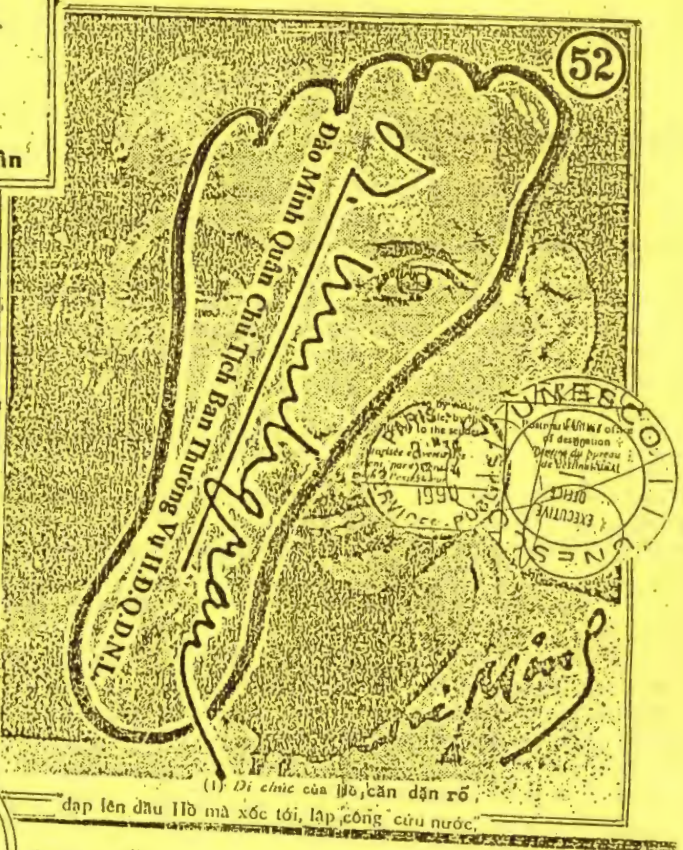
STEPHEN J. SOLARZ
Chairman, Subcommittee on
Asian and Pacific Affairs



Đào Minh Quân

Hồ
Chí
Mình,
tội
nhân
của
VIỆT
SỬ

ĐẠP THẮNG CỘNG CHẾT,
CHẾT THẮNG CỘNG SỐNG.



(1) Di chúc của Hồ, cần dân rõ
đạp lên đầu Hồ mà xóc tới, lập công cứu nước.

Quốc Nạn Việt Nam ngày nay là do bọn gián điệp cộng sản quốc tế để quốc đồ
Nga Tàu nặn ra tên Việt gian Hồ Chí Minh giả làm Người Việt. Muốn đốt xác nó
để phi tang tội ác gây chiến tranh Đông Dương, phải "lấn dấu tay" Hồ đưa ra Tòa
Án Chiến Tranh Quốc Tế xét xử án LINH MIÊU TRÁO CHỮA này. Bọn để quốc
cộng sản tội phạm chiến tranh Nga Tàu phải chịu trách nhiệm thảm nạn giết
chóc, tàn phá 3 nước Đông Dương từ 50 năm qua!

.. Dân Sử Việt



Góp nhặt

Tuần Báo Con Ong

số 33 phát hành ngày 16-11-1990

ĐÀO MINH QUÂN

ÔNG
LÀ
AI
?



CHỦ TỊCH PHONG TRÀO VIỆT NAM TÂN DÂN CHỦ
NGƯỜI ĐỨNG RA TRIỆU TẬP ĐẠI HỘI ĐỂ THÀNH LẬP
CHÍNH PHỦ QUỐC GIA VIỆT NAM
LÂM THỜI

Kính gửi : _____

ĐÀO MINH QUÂN LÀ AI ?

LTS : Thời gian gần đây, dư luận đồng bào tại hải ngoại và quốc nội rất xôn xao và phấn khởi về một diễn biến chính trị lịch sử : sự công bố Chính Phủ Quốc Gia Việt Nam Lâm Thời do Phong Trào Thanh Niên Sinh Viên Học Sinh Việt Nam Tân Dân Chủ mời gọi triệu tập.

Sau Đại Hội Dân Chủ Đoàn Kết 21/10/1990 thành công. Liên sau đó, Phong Trào này công bố Ủy Nhiệm Thư ký bởi cụ Nguyễn Trần, một nhân sĩ trí thức lão thành 83 tuổi đã nhận lời của Phong Trào ra đứng đầu Nội Các Chính Phủ Quốc Gia Việt Nam Lâm Thời trong chức vụ Thủ Tướng.

Uy tín, đạo đức và tên tuổi của Quốc Lão Nguyễn Trần thì hầu như không mấy xa lạ với đồng bào, nhất là những người miền nam vào thời cụ còn tại chức vị Tỉnh Trưởng Định Tường. Nhưng hầu hết mọi người đều muốn tìm hiểu về nhân vật khiêm nhường đứng sau hậu trường : Chủ tịch Phong Trào Thanh Niên Sinh Viên Học sinh Việt Nam Tân Dân Chủ, người đứng ra triệu tập Đại Hội Dân Chủ Đoàn Kết và hiện đang Xử Lý Văn Phòng Thường Trực của chính Phủ,

được sự ủy nhiệm của Thủ Tướng để mời gọi thành lập Nội Các Chính Phủ quốc Gia Việt Nam Lâm Thời.

Nếu đây là một chính khách tên tuổi hay là một chính trị gia nổi tiếng thì không phải là điều đáng ngạc nhiên. Nhưng nhân vật này, trái lại chỉ là một thanh niên 38 tuổi, có cuộc sống rất bình thường và khiêm tốn mà thôi.

Triệu tập một đại hội thì có lẽ có quá nhiều Đại Hội rồi. Nhưng Đại Hội vừa qua đã tiến một bước đi vào lịch sử. Ai cũng cầu mong cho Đại Hội thành công nhưng thành phần tham dự thì lại hiếm hoi. Nhưng "con chót đã qua sông". Một số ký giả lão thành và tiền liệu được thời cuộc đã bật lên như vậy khi thấy ngay sau Đại Hội là Chính Phủ Quốc Gia Việt Nam Lâm Thời ra đời.

Trong việc làm táo bạo nhưng rất chuẩn xác, đáp ứng được sự mong đợi của đồng bào, phù hợp với diễn biến chính trị trên trường quốc tế và sẽ tạo ra những thay đổi bất ngờ thành công về phía người quốc gia. Sự kiện này đã tạo nên một luồng sinh khí chính trị mới rất sôi

VIỆT NAM TÂN DÂN CHỦ The New Vietnamese Democracy THÔNG CÁO

Số : 01/90 TDC-THONG4

Kính cáo toàn thể Quốc dân Việt Nam,

- Trước Tình hình biến chuyển dồn dập trên toàn thế giới
- Trước sự bất lực, chia rẽ, lúng túng, sa lầy của Chủ nghĩa cộng sản vô thần
- Trước nhu cầu cấp bách của sự đoàn kết để cứu nguy Dân Tộc

Bằng vào khí thế hùng liệt và ý chí thống nhất của Truyền Thống Việt Nam, chúng tôi, con cháu Việt Nam, thành phần Thanh Niên, cựu Quân Nhân, Sinh Viên Học Sinh, THỂ HỆ CHỦ LỰC CỦA QUỐC GIA, bao gồm trong và ngoài nước. Vì nhu cầu khẩn thiết của Tổ Quốc Việt Nam, vì quyền lợi tối thượng của Dân Tộc và với lý tưởng dẫn thân vì Đại Nghĩa, long trọng công bố

PHONG TRÀO VIỆT NAM TÂN DÂN CHỦ

Được khẩn cấp đệ trình cùng Quốc Dân Việt Nam với cả lòng thành tín, tận tụy, bền bỉ cùng kiến thức và năng lực của Thanh Niên trong tổ chức VIỆT NAM TÂN DÂN CHỦ, với ý thức trách nhiệm Cứu Quốc để phục hưng một nước Việt Nam Tự Do, Độc Lập, Dân Chủ, Giàu Mạnh và Tiến Bộ trong kỷ nguyên mới của Khoa Học và Kỹ Thuật.

Quyết tâm "LẤY LẠI ĐẤT TỔ - KHÔNG LÀM KHỔ DÂN".

Chúng tôi mời gọi sự tích cực tham gia của mọi tầng lớp Quốc Dân Việt Nam, đặc biệt là Thanh Niên, Sinh Viên, Học Sinh và cựu Quân nhân, có nguyện vọng và tâm huyết phục vụ Tổ Quốc, để trực diện đương đầu với các kẻ thù chung của Dân Tộc chúng ta hiện nay là : lối thời, lạc hậu, đói nghèo và chậm tiến. Đồng thời chủ trương một cuộc TỔNG TUYỂN CỬ TỰ DO, CÔNG BÌNH và HỢP LÝ tại Việt Nam, cũng như tranh đấu cho các nguyện vọng căn bản của chúng ta bao gồm các Quyền Sinh Tồn, Quyền Bình Đẳng, Quyền Tự Do Tin Ngưỡng, Tự Do Ngôn Luận và Tự Do Tư Tưởng...Kính mong Đồng Bào và các Tổ Chức, Đoàn Thể, Lực Lượng Tiền Phong hết lòng ủng hộ.

Khẩn thiết kêu gọi Đồng Bào và toàn thể Quý Vị đồng lòng với chúng tôi về bản thông cáo này, để hiện thực quyền lực và quyền lợi tối cao của Dân Tộc Việt phải do chính Quốc Dân Việt quyết định. Đồng thời cũng để ủng hộ thế hệ Thanh Niên đứng lên đảm nhận vai trò lịch sử : CỨU QUỐC VÀ KIẾN TẠO QUÊ HƯƠNG.

Trân trọng,



Hoa Kỳ ngày 15 tháng 3 năm 1990
Đại Diện Ban Chấp Hành Trung Ương

Đ. Minh Quân
ĐÀO MINH QUÂN

TỔ QUỐC VIỆT NAM
CHÍNH PHỦ QUỐC GIA VIỆT NAM LÂM THỜI
ỦY NHIỆM THƯ

Số: _____

Tham chiếu :

- Quyết định của Đại Hội Dân Chủ Đoàn Kết ngày 21/10/1990
- Biên bản của Thư Kỳ Đoàn
- Quyết định của Ban Chấp Hành Trung Ương
Phong Trào Thanh Niên Sinh Viên Học Sinh Việt Nam Tân Dân Chủ

- Xét vì quyền lợi tối thượng của dân tộc Việt Nam
- Xét vì nhu cầu và tình hình khẩn trương của Tổ Quốc
- Xét vì tâm lý và nguyện vọng của nhân dân Việt Nam
- Xét vì lý tưởng Đại Đoàn Kết của người Quốc Gia Chân Chính
- Xét vì thanh niên là rường cột của đất nước

Chúng tôi, Nguyễn Trần, chấp nhận xông ra đảm đương trách vụ Thủ Tướng Chính Phủ Quốc Gia Việt Nam Lâm Thời và Ủy nhiệm cho: *để đề cử ông Đào Minh Quân*
Tôi đề nghị: Ông Đào Minh Quân

Đại diện cho Phong Trào Thanh Niên Sinh Viên Học Sinh Việt Nam Tân Dân Chủ

việc này
và hình thức chủ tịch thành phố
Quyền triệu tập, thành lập, công bố Nội Các và xử lý Văn Phòng Thường Trục của Chính Phủ Quốc Gia Việt Nam Lâm Thời. *và mọi công việc liên quan về chính trị VN*

Nhiệm vụ này sẽ chấm dứt ngay sau khi một Chính Phủ Quốc Gia Việt Nam Chính Thức được thành lập bằng cuộc Tổng tuyển cử tại Việt Nam hoàn tất.

Ông Đào Minh Quân chiếu Ủy Nhiệm Thư này để thi hành.

Hoa Kỳ Ngày 25 tháng 10 Năm 1990

Thủ Tướng Chính Phủ Quốc Gia Việt Nam Lâm Thời



Thủ ấn ký

Nguyễn Trần

chúng tôi xin đăng nguyên thủ bút của cụ Nguyễn Trần

để rộng đường dư luận.

động và phấn khởi cho đồng bào biết bao.

Rất nhiều người đang đánh dấu hỏi và muốn tìm hiểu về nhân vật lịch sử này, chúng tôi đã cố gắng tìm hiểu và xin cống hiến đọc giả một số tin tức xác đáng để thỏa mãn dư luận.

Không phải là mới đây, phải kể từ trung tuần tháng bảy năm 1990, đồng bào Việt Nam chúng ta khi đi trên con đường Brookhurst khoảng giữa Garden Grove Blvd. và Stanford thuộc thành phố Garden Grove của quận Cam đều nhìn thấy một trụ sở khang trang, sáng sủa và uy nghi nằm trên con đường này. Điểm đặc biệt đáng chú ý nhất của trụ sở này là lá cờ Việt Nam rất vĩ đại, có lẽ là vĩ đại nhất trên toàn thế giới hiện nay kể từ ngày Sài Gòn rơi vào tay việt cộng. Lá cờ dài trên 80 feet (khoảng gần 30 thước ta), nằm vắt ngang trụ sở với màu sắc rất rực rỡ và huy hoàng cùng với hàng chữ VIỆT NAM TÂN DÂN CHỦ. Đây là trụ sở của PHONG TRÀO THANH NIÊN SINH VIÊN HỌC SINH VIỆT NAM TÂN DÂN CHỦ

và cũng là Hội Quán cho các đoàn thể, ưu tiên để các anh chị cựu tù nhân cộng sản hội họp và nhất là các thanh niên Việt Nam đến để trao dồi kiến thức, giải trí và giúp đỡ lẫn nhau. Đặc biệt đây cũng là nơi mà các đồng bào Việt Nam mới đến Hoa Kỳ sẽ được hướng dẫn tận tình, dạy anh văn, nghề nghiệp để mau chóng hội nhập vào đời sống mới. Mọi dịch vụ mà trụ sở này cung cấp cho đồng bào chúng ta gồm một thư viện nhỏ, khám bệnh vào cuối tuần, lớp anh văn, lớp giải thích về đời sống Hoa Kỳ, lớp dạy nghề điện tử, lớp thực hành soft và hard ware, các đội bóng tròn, bóng chuyền v...v...

Đó là công sức đóng góp đầy thiện chí của chính người Việt Nam chúng ta, đặc biệt là do các anh chị cựu tù nhân cộng sản và hầu hết là giới thanh niên sinh viên Việt Nam hy sinh, tận tình góp công sức và thời giờ để thực hiện. Nhưng đồng bào vẫn thắc mắc : không biết cơ sở này do cơ quan, tổ chức nào bảo trợ ?

Đáng lẽ sự bí mật này không bao giờ được tiết lộ. Chúng ta thử làm một con toán nho nhỏ xem chi phí trung bình cho trụ sở này trong một tháng là bao nhiêu :

- Thuê nhà : \$2,500.00
- Tiền điện : \$500.00
- Tiền nước dùng và gas : \$50.00
- Tiền điện thoại : \$400.00
- Tiền nước uống : \$40.00
- Nhân viên quản trị : \$1500.00
- Xe rác : \$65.00
- Tiền bảo hiểm : \$200.00

Tổng cộng trên năm ngàn (\$5,000.00) một tháng, đó là không kể công sức các giáo sư, thầy thuốc, các huấn luyện viên đều tình nguyện đóng góp vô vụ lợi cho đồng bào qua các dịch vụ cung ứng đã kể trên. Ngoài ra, tiền bảo trì và sơn sửa trụ sở cũng rất tốn kém. Đó là không kể tờ báo Dân Ý mỗi tháng ra hai, ba kỳ. Tiền đó ở đâu mà ra ?

Đó là do công ty DAO COMPUTER INC. bảo trợ. Hay nói đúng hơn, do vị chủ tịch của công ty này đóng góp tài chánh chủ yếu.

Tin hiểu thêm về vị Chủ tịch của công ty này là một thanh niên Việt Nam trẻ tuổi, khiêm nhường, nhưng đã tạo được một ít thành công về thương mại trên đất nước Hoa Kỳ. Ông ta nguyên là kỹ sư của hãng điện toán Measurement System and Control Inc., là một công ty chuyên sản xuất hệ thống CPM, MPM và Oasis, ông cũng là chuyên viên thử nghiệm của hãng System Group Inc., nơi phát minh và sản xuất system board. Ông đồng thời cũng là giám đốc kỹ thuật của công ty Advanced Digital Corp. và chức vị sau cùng là Tổng Giám Đốc của công ty này. Đây là một công ty điện toán quan trọng hàng đầu, nổi tiếng trên khắp thế giới qua sản phẩm Multi-User và PC/Slave, mà ông là một trong những người phát minh chính yếu. Không những là một kỹ sư trẻ tuổi và tài giỏi, ông lại còn là một trong những người Việt Nam đầu tiên triển khai hệ thống dealer của ngành vi điện toán trên khắp Hoa Kỳ và một số các nước Âu châu và Úc

Tiểu sử Ông Đào Minh Quân

Sinh năm 1952 tại làng Kỳ Hưng, quận Tam Kỳ, tỉnh Quảng Tín. Theo học trường Bá Ninh Nha Trang, Lê Bảo Tịnh Sài Gòn. Thời thơ ấu ở Thị Nghè-Gia Định. Thân phụ là cụ Đào Thế (đã quá vãng), quê cha làng Trúc Lâm- Thừa Thiên. Thân mẫu là cụ bà Nguyễn Thị Hạnh tự Hạnh Nguyên (đã quá vãng), quê mẹ làng Phú Cam-Thừa Thiên.

Ông đã sáng tác nhiều bản nhạc chiến đấu và trường khúc với tên hiệu là Anh Thương. Đoàn trưởng Thi Văn Đoàn Ra Khơi. Chủ biên tạp chí Ra Khơi. Có bút hiệu là Nam Quán. Ông xuất thân khoá 5/71 Sĩ Quan Trừ Bị Thủ Đức. Cấp bậc sau cùng là Trung Úy. Ở tù Việt cộng gần 4 năm. Vượt biên năm 1979. Đến Hoa Kỳ 1980.

Nguyên là chuyên viên điện toán hãng System Group INC. Kỹ sư chánh của hãng Measurement System and Control INC. Giám đốc hãng Advanced Digital Corp. Chủ tịch công ty điện tử Clone Master INC.

Chủ nhân các cơ sở bán máy computer Dao Computer INC. Chủ nhân hãng Dao Limousine Service. Chủ tịch phân nhánh địa ốc Realty World tại Anaheim. Chủ nhiệm tạp chí thương mại Vietnamese Business Magazine. Chủ tịch công ty Mãi Dịch Quốc Tế Pacific Trading and Consulting. Ông nguyên còn là Trưởng đoàn văn nghệ đấu tranh (hay còn gọi là đoàn văn nghệ áo đen) của Lực Lượng Người Việt Quốc Gia, Chủ tịch Ban Thường Vụ Hội Đồng Quốc Dân Nguyên Lão, thành viên ủng hộ chính thức (host Committee) của Đảng Cộng Hòa Hoa Kỳ 1990.

Ông là người sáng lập và Đại diện cho Phong Trào Thanh Niên Sinh Viên Học Sinh Việt Nam Tân Dân Chủ, tổ chức đã đứng ra triệu tập Đại Hội Dân Chủ Đoàn Kết để thành lập Chính Phủ Quốc Gia Việt Nam Lâm Thời ngày 21 tháng 10 năm 1990. Ông hiện đang Xử Lý Văn Phòng Thường Trực của Chính Phủ Quốc Gia Việt Nam Lâm Thời.

nhệm coi tôi như một người đại diện để hành xử theo suy tư của một thanh niên con cháu Việt Nam cho đúng nghĩa là được.

Riêng về câu hỏi phương pháp kết hợp các thành phần Hải Ngoại thì xin thưa rằng : Chỉ có 2 phương pháp thôi : Thứ nhất phải đặt để quyền lợi tối thượng của Dân Tộc Việt Nam lên trên hết. Thứ hai phải tự thắng sự kiêu ngạo, tự ái không đúng chỗ và biết hy sinh nhẫn nhục cầu tiến và phải biết nhìn thấy lẽ phải mà làm, mà theo. Nói nhiều cũng vậy thôi. Cần nhất là bắt tay vào việc. Con đường lịch sử đã vạch ra. Nguyên vọng và nhu cầu của Tổ Quốc Đồng Bào chúng ta đã rõ. Chần chừ, nghi kỵ và yếm thế chỉ sợ có tội với lịch sử, với lương tâm mà thôi.

Chính Phủ vừa thành lập nên còn non yếu, sẽ còn khuyết điểm. Nhưng biết lắng nghe, biết theo lòng dân, biết thuận lẽ Trời, biết cầu người hiền đức, biết kết hợp lực đấu tranh, có đường lối minh bạch, rõ ràng, đứng đắn thì chắc

chấn phải thành công.

Hôm nay rất cảm ơn các anh đã dành nhiều thì giờ để chúng ta trao đổi, tâm sự với nhau. Xin đừng coi như là một cuộc phỏng vấn. Chỉ là cuộc hội đàm bổ túc mà thôi. Báo chí phải phản ánh được trung thực của dư luận. Biết hướng dẫn được quần chúng vào việc lợi ích cho quốc gia thì càng hiếm quý. Nếu có điều chi sơ sót, xin cứ chân tình điểm xuyết cho nhau. Tâm quan trọng của báo chí, truyền thông và truyền hình Không thể nào phủ nhận được, không thể thiếu được trong sự nghiệp đấu tranh của toàn dân quân Quốc Gia Việt Nam tới vinh quang, phúc lợi. Chúc các anh thắng tiến và càng thành công trong sứ mạng đại diện cho dư luận quần chúng.

Châu, đã giúp phần nào cho người Việt Nam chúng ta ngày nay tại hải ngoại, được chiếm giữ những vị trí quan trọng trong lãnh vực phát minh, sản xuất và phân phối hệ thống Personal Computer. Ngay cả Đài Loan, Hồng Kong, Đại Hàn và chính

người Nhật Bản cũng phải kính nể và không thể khuynh đảo thị trường này. Ông cũng từng là Chủ Tịch Công Ty Advanced Computer Company, sáng lập viên và là chủ tịch công ty điện toán Clone Master Inc. đồng thời cũng là chủ tịch công ty bán máy điện toán sĩ và lễ Dao Computer Inc. Ông cũng nguyên là Chủ Tịch Công Ty Mậu Dịch Quốc Tế Pacific Trading and Consulting và là chủ nhân của một phân nhánh thuộc hệ thống địa ốc Realty World và hệ thống Dao Limousine Service. Ngoài ra, ông cũng là người chủ trương tạp chí Gió Mới và nguyên là Chủ Nhiệm tuần báo Thương Mại Việt Nam. Ông ta cũng từng là Host Committee trong project 90 của Đảng Cộng Hòa Hoa Kỳ.

Nếu phải kể ra vị trí và sự thành công của nhân vật này là một việc dài dòng. Sự đề cập chính không phải vì sự thành công của ông ta trên chính trường và thương trường. Nhưng chúng tôi chỉ muốn nhấn mạnh đến một sự hy sinh lớn lao và thiện chí quá đáng kính trọng của nhân vật này trong việc âm thầm, khiêm nhường hy sinh tất cả công sức và tài chánh trong việc phục vụ đồng bào và đứng ra hô hào tranh đấu cho quyền lợi tối thượng của đồng bào chúng ta, đứng lên đấu tranh chính trị chống cộng sản Việt Nam : Ông ta đã dám từ bỏ tất cả tài sản, danh lợi và địa vị đang có để trở nên một thanh niên Việt Nam bình thường can đảm hy sinh đúng nghĩa của nó.

Báo chí và đồng bào Việt Nam đã từng ca ngợi, ủng hộ những tấm lòng vàng, dù đó là một chủ chợ, một thương gia hay văn nghệ sĩ ... nhưng chúng ta đã bỏ quên đi những sự đóng góp to lớn nhưng quá âm thầm và chịu đựng. Thử nghĩ xem ai trong chúng ta dám bỏ ra một tháng gần

mười ngàn đồng để chi phí cho công tác xã hội, dù đó là để giúp ích đồng bào hay để mưu cầu việc chống lại bọn Việt Cộng ?

Điều đáng buồn không phải vì chi phí quá lớn lao mà người thanh niên nói trên phải gánh vác một mình, mà điểm chính yếu mà chúng tôi muốn nêu ra đây là : cộng đồng Việt Nam Hải Ngoại không thiếu nhân tài, không thiếu người dư tiền. Loại triệu phú giàu có gấp chục lần, gấp trăm lần thanh niên này không phải ít. Những bác sĩ, thương gia, những nhà địa ốc, những luật sư có hàng triệu đồng tài sản địa ốc, có hàng triệu đồng đầu tư sinh lợi cũng rất nhiều. Nhưng có ai dám bỏ tiền và chính yếu là công sức như người thanh niên nói trên ?

Chúng tôi đã tìm hiểu về Phong Trào Việt Nam Tân Dân Chủ từ nhiều tháng nay. Muốn có một bài viết về cá nhân thanh niên này. Nhưng ông ta không những từ chối và còn ngậm ngùi tâm sự : *"Thôi, đừng làm thế. Hãy cố chân thành và bền bỉ thì đồng bào cũng sẽ biết đến thôi."*

Mà nếu người mình không biết đến thì lương tâm tôi cũng đã mãn nguyện với chính mình vì đã trả nợ phần nào cho quốc gia".

Một điều mà ít có ai biết đến là thanh niên này tuy vẽ mặt non nớt, thư sinh nhưng lại là một trong những con hổ dữ của vùng một chiến thuật. Ông ta xuất thân khoá 5/71, số quân 72/140999, Sĩ Quan Trừ Bị Thủ Đức, đã từng là chiến sĩ xuất sắc và cũng chính là đơn vị trưởng đơn vị xung kích vùng địa đầu giới tuyến. Ông ta từng nắm giữ chức vụ sĩ quan an ninh chiến tranh chính trị của đơn vị, trung đội trưởng trung đội vũ khí nặng, đại đội trưởng đại đội chỉ huy yểm trợ, tiểu đoàn 122 thuộc tiểu khu Quảng Trị.

Sự thật nói lên rất nhiều. Đơn vị cuối cùng của ông ta là tiểu đoàn 122 thuộc tiểu khu Quảng Trị, đơn vị duy nhất và cũng là đơn vị sau cùng bị bỏ rơi tại Hải Lăng, nhưng đã an toàn di chuyển toàn bộ đơn vị về Thuận An (Huế) và giải tán trật tự tại Đà Nẵng khi không còn liên lạc được với bất kỳ một cấp chỉ huy dù trực tiếp hay gián tiếp

lực với Chính Phủ để đánh thắng Việt cộng trước đã. Khi thành công rồi thì phải trái để phân bày. Hơn nữa cùng người Việt Nam Quốc Gia với nhau thì nhân nhượng và hóa giải dễ dàng thôi. Ngoại trừ những tên nằm vùng, những bọn gián điệp Việt cộng mới lo lắng ngày đêm và tìm mọi cách để đánh phá Chính Phủ Quốc Gia chúng ta. Nhưng "ông thầy" của bọn chúng là hồ chí minh kia còn bị chúng ta đập văng ra khỏi Liên Hiệp quốc thì bọn cật ké nằm vùng nào có ra gì. Tới đây khi có sự công nhận của Chính Phủ Hoa Kỳ và các quốc gia trên thế giới thì Chính Phủ quốc Gia sẽ thẳng tay thanh lọc bọn chúng ngay. Chúng ta bỏ xứ ra đi tỵ nạn chính trị trên khắp thế giới vì không chấp nhận cộng sản. Bọn người nào còn muốn giao dịch hay làm tay sai cho Việt cộng thì chỉ có nước tống cổ trở về với Việt cộng mà thôi. Nếu Việt cộng thua rồi thì chúng chạy đi đâu ?

Bởi thấy được bước đường cùng đó của bọn chúng nên Chính Phủ Quốc Gia

còn rộng lượng tạo cho chúng cơ hội để hối cải, quy thuận. Nếu chúng còn ngoan cố thì làm sao mà tha thứ được. Truyền thống Việt Nam là rất nhân đạo, vị tha. Nhưng đồng bào chúng ta cũng không dại dột mà tha thứ cho kẻ địch đâm sau lưng chúng ta phải không quý vị.

PV : Xin ông Đào Minh Quân với tư cách thủ lĩnh của Phong Trào Việt Nam Tân Dân Chủ xin cho biết thêm về thân thế và quá trình hoạt động cũng như phương pháp kết hợp các thành phần các thành phần hải ngoại ?

ĐMQ : cá nhân tôi thì thân là người Việt Nam bị cộng sản cướp nước. Thế là đang ăn nhờ ở đậu nơi đất khách quê người. Nghĩ lại càng thêm đau lòng tủi nhục, có gì để đáng nói đâu các anh. Cố gắng tranh đấu vươn lên chỉ để trau dồi thêm khả năng để giúp nước mà thôi. Sự nghiệp thì khi nào lấy lại Quê Cha Đất Tổ mới tạo được sự nghiệp vững bền. Còn vài chi tiết nhỏ của lý lịch cá nhân tôi thì xin tham khảo với thân nhân bạn bè, chiến hữu cũng tạm đủ. Anh em tín

và dựng nước, chúng tôi đã mao muội đề ra một số căn bản. Sẽ nhờ các bậc lão thành nghiên cứu, đóng góp thêm. Hôm nay chỉ xin vắn tắt thôi. Được dịp khác thuận tiện sẽ trình bày nhiều hơn.

PV : Trước các ảnh hưởng phe nhóm đang tranh giành ảnh hưởng mà không màng gì đến sự đau khổ của đồng bào trong nước thì quý vị nghĩ như thế nào ?

ĐMQ : Các phe nhóm lúc trước thì phương thức đấu tranh khác nhau, nên phải tạo ảnh hưởng cá biệt. Nay đã có giềng mối Chính Phủ. Lần phân biệt đã được vạch ra : Một bên là **ngụy quyền việt cộng**, một bên là **Chính Phủ Quốc Gia**, thì họ sẽ không còn tranh giành ảnh hưởng gây cản như lúc trước. Vả lại, mọi nỗ lực đấu tranh chống việt cộng của người Quốc Gia Chân Chính cũng vì quyền lợi của dân tộc việt Nam chúng ta mà thôi. Ai lại không màng đến sự đau khổ của đồng bào. Nói thế thì họ đấu tranh để làm gì ? Đấu tranh cho ai ?

Sự ra đời của Chính Phủ Quốc Gia việt Nam Lâm

Thời không những không tạo ra ngẫu lực mà còn biến thành phương tiện cho các Tổ Chức, lực lượng quốc gia chân chính thêm tiềm năng và chính nghĩa để phát triển rộng rãi hơn. Ngay chính các hội đoàn hoạt động xã hội, qua Chính Phủ, họ có thể hoạt động quy mô hơn, hữu hiệu hơn. Hoặc các lực lượng biên thù, dù nhiều hay ít cũng chỉ là các hoạt động lẻ tẻ. Nhưng nay, nếu họ trở thành lực lượng của Chính Phủ thì chắc chắn dân chúng sẽ tham gia nhiều hơn, hỗ trợ mạnh mẽ hơn. Hiện nay đồng bào chúng ta đang khổ sở, hồi hộp trong các trại tỵ nạn, các đoàn thể cố gắng giúp đỡ nhưng không có sự can thiệp hữu hiệu vì cũng chỉ là với tư cách đoàn thể mà thôi. Nhưng nay có Chính Phủ, nếu được sự ủng hộ đông đảo của quần chúng thì chúng ta có chính nghĩa và tư thế để can thiệp với các quốc gia bạn có kết quả và mau chóng hơn.

Chúng ta đã có Chính Phủ rồi. Chắc chắn mọi người, mọi tổ chức đều phải vì quyền lợi chung mà hợp

hoặc một đơn vị bạn nào. Đó là đêm 28 tháng 3 năm 1975, khi đơn vị Hải Quân cuối cùng của Việt Nam Cộng Hòa rút về miền nam bằng thủy lộ (Sơn Chà). Về đến Sài Gòn, người sĩ quan trẻ này lại "ngu dại" trình diện Căn Cứ Chuyển Vận 3 để được tái bố trí để chống cự với việt cộng và cuối cùng rút lui về tử thủ tại cầu Phan Thanh Giản (xa lộ) và cuối cùng bị bức khí giới vào ngày 30 tháng 4 năm 1975 và chính tôi, người viết bài này, là một nhân chứng sống, đã chứng kiến khi tôi còn đang làm việc tại tiểu khu Gia Định.

Trong tại tù cải tạo, từ Tây Ninh, Trảng Lớn, Bù Gia Mập, Phước Long... ông đã âm thầm nhịn nhục, nhưng tiếng hát đấu tranh của những bài hát do ông sáng tác là một trong nhiều nghị lực giúp cho bạn đồng tù vượt qua chông gai. *"...Gề trên đe tiếng búa nhịp nhàn, lửa bùng lên thiêu hồng gang thép..."* Đó là một đoạn trong những bài hát do ông sáng tác, một phải tả người thực việc thực để qua mắt bọn quản giáo, bộ đội vc, hai phải

lòng ý kiên trì, chịu thử thách, trui luyện thành sức mạnh quả cảm để an ủi, tiếp thêm nghị lực cho anh em chiến hữu cùng tù đày ngả lòng.

Ngày ông bị bọn việt cộng trong trại cải tạo bắt trời và quy tội tử hình ngay tại ban chỉ huy trại (Bù Gia Mập) vì bị bắt gặp vợ lên thăm nuôi và chuyển tin tức giùm đồng đội ra bên ngoài tại vườn ươm cao su, xã Minh Hưng, Phước Long thì cũng ngay sau đó, khi bị chuyển về Bù Đốp để xử án thì ông đã trốn thoát.

May mắn thay, được sự giúp đỡ của một vài người bạn Hoa Kiều, ông cải đổi tên thành người Hoa và đào thoát được ra nước ngoài bằng đường biển. Hẳn một số đồng bào tỵ nạn đăng ký vượt biên cùng chiếc thuyền VNKG 0602, khi sắp bị bỏ lại, không thể nào quên được hình ảnh của một thanh niên ốm như cây củi, đã phóng xuống giòng nước lũ lúc hoàng hôn, mặc cho công an, bộ đội trên bờ định nổ súng ngăn chặn để kéo thuyền trở lại bờ.

Thanh niên đó chỉ vì hơn 200 người trong số gia đình còn trên bờ. Họ không phải là thân nhân, bạn bè hay ruột thịt gì của ông ta cả. Họ chỉ là đám đông lẫn lộn những người Hoa và Việt Nam đã đăng ký vượt biên. Nếu bị bỏ lại thì sẽ ra sao ? Họ phải bán tài sản, vay mượn tiền để có đủ số vàng đóng cho chủ tàu. Tới lúc này, nếu thuyền chạy đi bỏ họ và gia đình ở lại có khác nào giết họ. Nghĩ là làm và thanh niên đó đã phóng vút xuống sông, bơi thật nhanh đến chiếc thuyền đang chầm chậm tiến ra biển. Cuối cùng ông đã trèo được lên thuyền và yêu cầu quay trở lại. Thuyền đã quay lại và cứu thoát thêm hàng trăm người đang tuyệt vọng đứng trên bờ lảo nháo, hốt hãi thất vọng nhìn theo mà không thể có một tiếng la hay phản ứng nào.

Nếu công an, bộ đội hay được ra tay thì chỉ có tù tội hay chết chóc mà thôi. Ông đã mệt quá bất tỉnh ngay liền sau đó. Hành động dũng cảm này có mấy ai trong chúng ta có thể làm được.

Chưa hết, khi thuyền ra khơi gặp bão tố. Ông đã quả cảm, bình tĩnh lèo lái cho đến khi gặp tàu ngoại quốc cứu vớt. Chính ông cũng là người điều khiển cho thuyền cập vào tàu Tây Đức giữa cơn bão tố và chuyển người lên tàu lớn an toàn.

Trong lúc mọi người nhốn nháo, lo sợ cho an toàn cá nhân và gia đình của mình nên tràn về phía tàu Tây Đức, làm cho thuyền ty nạn chòng chành cơ hồ lật úp thì một lần nữa, ông lại chứng minh cho thấy sự sáng suốt và quả cảm của mình khi yêu cầu toàn thể gia đình ông gồm vợ và các con ở lại thuyền, để những đàn bà, trẻ em và các cụ già lên tàu Tây Đức trước. Khi thấy chính gia đình của "thuyền trưởng" còn ở lại thì tình trạng lo sợ và giành giật trèo lên tàu lớn đã giảm ngay. Mặc dù thuyền ty nạn đang bị lỗ hổng và nước tràn vào trong tình trạng sắp chìm. Có ai trong chúng ta làm được như thế chưa ? Có nguy nan mới biết anh tài, có tử sinh mới biết người hùng, người ngay.

sẽ giải quyết được các phương tiện kia.

Ngoài ra, Chính Phủ sau khi được thừa nhận, sẽ đòi lại các tài sản của chúng ta đang tạm thời bị niêm phong tại các quốc gia có liên hệ đến Chính Phủ Việt Nam Cộng Hòa lúc trước. Chúng tôi tin rằng các nước đồng minh sẽ không làm khó để việc này đâu. Vì không phải là tài sản của họ, giữ mãi cũng không được. Tài sản của quốc gia chúng ta nay trả về cho Chính Phủ quốc gia Việt Nam thì rất hợp tình, hợp lý mà thôi.

PV : Chương trình cứu nước và dựng nước bắt đầu và như thế nào ?

DMQ : Câu hỏi này phải do Nội Các Chính Phủ trả lời. Nhưng chúng tôi cũng xin vắn tắt theo nhận định của Phong Trào Việt Nam Tân Dân Chủ như sau : Chúng ta phải phân biệt hai phần rõ rệt. Phần một là sách lược cứu quốc và phần hai là chương trình kiến quốc.

Việt cộng tuy đang bị phân hóa, túng thế và mất chính

nghĩa. Nhưng chúng ta không thể coi thường lực lượng đảng viên của Việt cộng gần 1.6 triệu và công an bộ đội gần 2 triệu tên. Đó là không kể sự liên hệ gia thế và họ hàng chằng chịt chúng đã tạo ra từ bấy lâu nay. Muốn chiến thắng thì phải biết tận dụng thời cơ, tranh thủ nhân tâm, tuyên truyền hữu hiện, cán bộ phải có lập trường vững chắc, tinh báo chiến lược phải tinh vi, khoa học kỹ thuật phải tân tiến ... Đối với một thằng người to lớn, đánh mười gậy có khi không hề hấn. Nhưng chột ngay yếu huyệt thì phải ngã lăn quay. Đánh Việt cộng không nên tập chú vào mặt diện, mà nên đánh thẳng vào tử điểm của chúng. Đó là hồ chí minh và đảng cộng sản Việt Nam. Chúng đã đưa ra hỏa mù của những mặt trận văn hóa, mặt trận kinh tế, mặt trận tư tưởng v...v... chúng ta không dễ bị mất lừa. Việt cộng rất có sở trường trong bóng tối, thọc gậy bánh xe... nếu chúng ta đưa chúng ra công khai là chúng lúng túng ngay.

Chiến Thuật, Chiến Lược và Chính Lược cứu nước

tiếp tục hoạt động thì chúng tôi sẽ có quyết định.

PV : Quý vị có nghĩ đến sự kết hợp chặt chẽ các Tổ Chức đấu tranh hiện nay tại Hải Ngoại và nếu có dựa trên căn bản nào ?

ĐMQ : Sự kết hợp chặt chẽ các tổ chức đấu tranh quốc gia tại hải ngoại không những chỉ là nhu cầu mà còn là sự bắt buộc để có đủ sức mạnh đấu tranh chống việt cộng. Nhưng căn bản kết hợp phải dựa trên quyền lợi lâu dài của Tổ quốc Việt Nam. Sự kính trọng, tương nhượng, đoàn kết với nhau cho đến khi nào đánh ngã được việt cộng rồi thì cùng là người Quốc Gia có gì sẽ bàn thảo với nhau đâu có mất mát hay thua thiệt gì. Nhớ lúc trong tù, chúng ta phải dần tự ái, chịu nhục để tạm bị "hướng dẫn" bởi một cậu vệ binh hay một chú quản giáo việt cộng thì sao ? Nay cùng là người Quốc Gia, không lẽ không nói với nhau được. Đúng như ông Nguyễn Đức Sỹ đã phát biểu trong Đại Hội Dân Chủ Đoàn Kết vừa qua : "Một người quốc gia dù có bết bát hay kém cỏi

đến đâu cũng hơn vạn thằng việt cộng cơ mà". Chúng nó vì quá ngu dốt, lạc hậu và mù quáng nên mới bị lợi dụng gây ra cuộc nội chiến. Nhưng sự ngu dốt mà biết đoàn kết, có chỉ huy thống nhất thì cũng là sức mạnh đáng kể. Huống hồ gì chúng ta khôn ngoan hơn, sáng suốt hơn, văn minh hơn, nếu chịu thống hợp lại thì làm sao có đối thủ, làm sao mà không thành công ?

PV : Huyết mạch của tổ chức đấu tranh là vấn đề phương tiện. Quý vị dựa vào sự hỗ trợ nào, hay là do khả năng của Chính Phủ mình ?

ĐMQ : Đối với quan niệm của Phong trào thì huyết mạch của đấu tranh không phải là phương tiện mà là sách lược, là chính nghĩa, là ý chí, tư tưởng và sự đoàn kết của toàn dân. Tuy nhiên có những phương tiện rất chủ yếu là cán bộ và tài chính. Nay thì Chính Phủ và Phong trào phải tự lực mình giải quyết. Nhưng như đã nói. Khi giải quyết được các khâu tư tưởng, sách lược và kêu gọi được sự ủng hộ rộng rãi của đồng bào thì

Đồng bào trên chiếc thuyền VNKG 0602 gồm 524 người, ngày nay sống lưu vong trên toàn thế giới. Một số không nhỏ đang có mặt tại Hoa Kỳ. Họ có người thêm con cháu, có người thành công đồ đạt, có người thành gia thất. Có mấy ai còn nhớ đến chuyện "xa xưa" mà có vài lời cảm ơn người đã cứu vớt mình.

Tôi (người viết bài này) có hỏi ông : có gặp lại người quen cũ trên thuyền vượt biên năm nào không ? thì ông trả lời chưa gặp được ai cả. Ông nhớ họ quá mà không biết họ có còn nhớ đến ông không ?" Thế thôi. Ôi ! thật là cảm động và khâm phục biết bao.

Ông cũng tiết lộ cho chúng tôi hay rằng ông cũng chỉ là một tài công "dõm" thôi. Vì ông là một trung úy bộ binh, không phải là trung úy hải quân mà lại lái thuyền. Nhưng khi tìm biết sự thật là trong chuyến vượt biên này có 2 người tài công, một chính, một phụ, mà ông chỉ là đại diện tàu để lo đốc thúc đóng thuyền mà thôi. Định mệnh trớ trêu, khi công an biên phòng bắt giữ người

tài công chính thì ông lại phải cố sức can đảm thay thế cầm lái để đưa thuyền ra hải phận an toàn mà không hé môi nói ra sự thật vì sợ làm hoang mang mọi người. Cho đến khi gần đến Mã Lai thì bị bảo tố như đã đề cập. Thật đúng là một người tận tụy và có trách nhiệm biết là chừng nào.

Chuyện về nhân vật này còn rất dài, chúng tôi sẽ tiết lộ thêm vào những số báo khác nếu có dịp. Mục đích của bài này ngoài sự cung ứng phần nào tin tức về nhân vật nói trên, nhưng cũng nhằm giống lên một tiếng kêu, dù biết có thể chỉ là tiếng kêu trong sa mạc. Nhưng biết sự thật mà im lặng thì lương tâm bị cắn rứt, nhất là trước đại cuộc cứu nước đang bị khó khăn.

Thông thường ít ai tin ai, nhất lại là với những người đang làm những việc ít người có thể làm được. Thanh niên mà chúng tôi đang đề cập đến đã và đang hy sinh quá nhiều. Chỉ mong đồng bào nhìn thấy mà góp một tay thì ôi ! sung sướng biết bao.

Nhìn vào những sự việc mà người thanh niên này đã hoàn tất cũng như đang tiến triển tự dưng tôi thầm cầu nguyện trong lòng : *Xin Trời đất phù hộ, xin sông núi hiển linh. Phải giúp cho ông ta mau chóng thành công, đánh thắng việt cộng thì phước lợi cho dân tộc biết bao. Cầu nguyện cho mỗi người sẽ giúp ông ta thêm một tay.*

Chân trời đã lộ dạng, Chính Phủ đã ra đời. Tuy ông không chịu nhận một

chức vị nào trong Chính Phủ, chỉ xin tiếp tục công việc của một ban Thường Trực và sẽ giải tán trong một ngày gần đây.

Chắc chắn đồng bào sẽ không quên công ơn của ông. Lịch sử đã được mở ra trang sử mới, bằng cả sự trang trọng, cẩn thận và bắt đầu dâng lên một bình minh rạng rỡ cho dân tộc sau bao năm tháng mòn mỏi trong đêm tối chết chóc, hãi hùng và ông đã là người tiên phong.

Tôi là một người mà cho tới giờ phút này, chưa tham gia bất cứ một đảng phái chính trị nào ngoài việc khoát áo chiến y để phục vụ cho màu cờ vàng ba sọc đỏ và nguyện rằng sẽ ủng hộ hết mình cho những ai cùng chí hướng đó.

Chúng tôi sưu tập tài liệu này không có mục đích đề cao cá nhân để xin xỏ tiền hay xin một chức tước gì trong Phong Trào hay trong Chính phủ. Với khả năng tôi thừa sức để giữ thừng phiếu trong cuộc Tổng Tuyển Cử Tự Do, Công Bằng và Hợp Lý tại Việt Nam, nếu Chính Phủ quốc Gia Việt Nam Lâm Thời trên thượng tầng kiến trúc và Phong Trào làm được chuyện đó. Đó là hoài bão của chính tôi và thiết nghĩ cũng là của Toàn Dân Việt Nam vậy.

Chánh Trung. 15-11-1990

Chánh Trung

nào tự mình đứng ra lãnh đạo đất nước được cả. Hãy để cho đồng bào mình quyết định. Vả lại Chính Phủ này chỉ có tính lâm thời mà thôi, sẽ giải tán sau khi Tổng Tuyển Cử thành công nên bọn buôn dân, bán nước, chính trị cơ hội đâu có muốn dự phần tham gia. Do đó, cũng ta cũng tạm gạt ra được một số không ít các vị "chờ thời" và "cơ hội".

Ngay sau khi Tổng Tuyển Cử thành công, một Quốc Hội Lập Hiến sẽ được trưng cầu dân ý. Lúc đó chúng ta mới có một Chính Phủ Chính Thức và Hiến Pháp do dân chọn lựa và quyết định.

PV : Quý vị đang sẵn sàng trở về Việt Nam để hoạt động trong một hệ thống đa nguyên do việt cộng sắp xếp thì quý vị đứng trên cương vị nào ? thí dụ cực hữu, thiên tả ... hay trong hàng ngũ Dân Tộc Việt Nam ?

ĐMQ : Sau khi Liên Hiệp Quốc thừa nhận và được sự ủng hộ của đồng bào cùng các dũng sĩ và chiến hữu đang chiến đấu tại biên thù và trong quốc nội, chúng tôi sẽ chính thức trở về. Ranh giới quốc gia và việt cộng đã phân biệt. Không thỏa hiệp

hay thương lượng với việt cộng. Chúng tôi chỉ chấp nhận tranh luận với việt cộng tại Liên Hiệp Quốc hoặc tại một quốc gia trung lập về các dự luật cho cuộc bầu cử sắp tới với sự giám sát của Quốc Tế. Trước áp lực của các quốc gia trên Thế Giới, của đồng bào và đặc biệt là của Chính Phủ Hoa Kỳ, bọn việt cộng phải nhượng bộ mà thôi. Không thể có thành phần cộng sản trong chính quyền Quốc Gia và ngược lại. Chúng tôi không thiên tả hay khuynh hữu gì hết mà chỉ giữ vững dân tộc lập trường, biết học hỏi, vận dụng văn minh khoa học kỹ thuật tiên tiến của các cường quốc để kiến thiết đất nước. Biết tranh thủ sự ủng hộ của các quốc gia yêu chuộng tự do, dân chủ trên toàn thế giới. Chúng tôi không chấp nhận liên hiệp với việt cộng thì làm gì có đa nguyên. Khi có Tổng Tuyển Cử thì đương nhiên việt cộng phải thua rồi. Chúng tôi đã đề ra biện pháp ngăn chặn hữu hiệu sự áp đảo, lừa bịp và gian lận của bọn chúng. Nhưng sau đó, nếu đồng bào chấp nhận cho đảng cộng sản

thoại thì chúng tôi gọi lại một cách chí tình, có địa chỉ thì chúng tôi gửi thư một cách rất trang trọng. Tuy vậy, phải trông vào giới báo chí, truyền thông và truyền hình giúp đỡ cho đăng tải phổ biến thì các thư mời gọi được loan đi rộng rãi và nhân tài đất nước mới hay biết nhiều hơn và tham dự đông đảo hơn. Riêng các vị nào tuy đã có tên trong danh sách, nhưng nếu đồng bào khiếu nại quá nhiều thì chúng tôi cũng phải theo ý kiến của dư luận mà lấy ra. Đồng bào là tai mắt của Chính Phủ mà. Hiện nay Văn Phòng Thường Trực do anh em cựu quân nhân và thanh niên tự nguyện góp công sức chứ chưa có ngân khoản nào để hoạt động hữu hiện hơn. Chúng tôi vẫn cố gắng hết sức mình, nhưng thành công hay thất bại là do sự quyết tâm và ủng hộ tham dự của nhân sĩ và đồng bào có đông đảo hay không mà thôi. Riêng câu hỏi ước lượng có bao nhiêu phần trăm hàng ngũ quốc Gia ủng hộ thì xin thưa rằng : phải nói là 100 phần trăm, vì người quốc gia mà không ủng hộ cho Chính Phủ quốc Gia thì ủng hộ ai đây ? Có thể Chính

Phủ còn non yếu vì mới ra đời và còn nhiều khuyết điểm cần phải xây dựng. Nhưng đối với thành phần Quốc Gia Chân Chính thì chúng tôi tin tưởng các vị ấy sẽ ủng hộ chúng tôi hoàn toàn, hết mình. Không lẽ người Quốc Gia lại đi làm lợi cho việt cộng ? Riêng câu hỏi : "ủng hộ trên vị trí nào ?" Thì xin thưa là phải trên vị trí của người quốc gia chân chính và xác định rõ lập trường của dân tộc Việt Nam. Với thành phần như vậy, chúng tôi tin rằng họ sẽ không vì bảo lợi danh mà ra giúp nước và sẵn sàng chấp nhận tinh thần "người tài có người tài giỏi hơn" nên không quá câu nệ và so đo quá nhiều về địa vị và quyền lợi cá nhân. Còn như đóng góp vai trò nào thì tùy khả năng, hoàn cảnh, phương tiện và nhiệt huyết của từng cá nhân đó hay tập thể đó. Chính Phủ chỉ là công cụ để thực thi nguyện vọng của Quốc dân mà thôi. Quốc Dân Việt Nam phải dự phần quyết định vận mệnh, tương lai của chính bản thân, của gia đình và con cháu. Không một cá nhân hay tập thể

Tiểu Sử Nhà Văn chánh Trung



Nhà văn Chánh Trung tên thật là Nguyễn Đức Sỹ, sinh năm 1936 tại Mỹ Chánh, Hải Lăng, Quảng Trị. Cấp bậc thiếu tá. Nguyên sĩ quan an ninh đơn vị Biệt Động Quân. Chức vị sau cùng là Trưởng Phòng An Ninh tiểu khu Gia Định, phụ tá Trưởng Ty An Ninh tiểu khu Gia Định. Nguyên xuất thân khóa 4 trường Trung Đội Trưởng Đập đá Huế. Tốt nghiệp khóa 1 Sĩ Quan đặt biệt Đồng Đế.

Khóa An Ninh Trung cấp tại trường Cây Mai. Du học Nhật Bản, khóa An ninh Tình Báo Thái Bình Dương tại Okinawa.

Ông là tác giả tập hồi ký "NHỮNG BƯỚC CHÂN TÙ" xuất bản năm 1989 tại Hoa Kỳ, phải tái bản nhiều lần. Tập hồi ký này do ông ghi chép lại sau hơn 11 năm bị việt cộng cầm tù tại trại 7 Hoàng Liên Sơn, trại 6 Thanh chương Nghệ Tĩnh và trại 3 Tân Kỳ Nghệ Tĩnh.



Nhà báo Duy Linh với ông Đào Minh Quân và Văn phòng Thường trực

Mọi ý kiến đóng góp xin gửi về

Hộp Thư DÂN Ý

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Thứ hai : đời sống tiện nghi giữa nông thôn và thành thị không được cách biệt

Thứ ba : Trẻ em phải được giáo dục, học hành cho thành tài. Các cụ già phải được chăm sóc đầy đủ. Những người thương binh, cô nhi quả phụ, tử sĩ đã hy sinh cho Tổ quốc Việt Nam phải được đãi ngộ thật xứng đáng.

Thứ tư : Đời sống tiện nghi, Văn Minh Khoa Học Kỹ Thuật phải được nâng cao.

Thứ năm : Nhân Quyền và Dân Quyền phải được tuyệt đối tôn trọng

Thứ sáu : Tự do tư tưởng, báo chí, ngôn luận, tín ngưỡng, buôn bán làm ăn phải được bảo vệ

Thứ bảy : Các ngành nghề Nông, Lâm, Ngư nghiệp phải được phát triển

Thứ tám : Đời sống Giáo Chức, Quân Dân Cán Chính phải được nâng cao

Thứ chín : vai trò của người phụ nữ Việt Nam phải được đề cao.

Tựu chung, Phong Trào Tân Dân Chủ chủ trương : Văn Hoá phải dựa trên truyền thống Dân Tộc làm căn bản, đời sống dân chúng phải được ấm no, giàu có, Chính Trị độc lập, ổn định, Kinh Tế phải tự chủ, phú cường, Quân Sự

phải hùng mạnh để bảo vệ Tổ quốc, Xã Hội phải có Nhân Chủ Cương Thường, Ngoại Giao phải dựa trên căn bản hữu nghị, bình đẳng và phải tôn trọng chủ quyền của nhau. Đó cũng là lý tưởng phục vụ Dân Tộc của Chính Thể Việt Nam Tân Dân Chủ trong tương lai, nếu đồng bào chấp nhận.

PV : Nghe nói quý vị đang sửa soạn cho ra mắt Chính Phủ quốc Gia Việt Nam Lâm Thời một ngày gần đây. Quý vị thử ước lượng có bao nhiêu phần trăm hàng ngũ Quốc Gia ủng hộ. Ủng hộ trên vị trí nào ? Vấn đề lãnh đạo hay trên vị trí giới hạn của những người ái quốc bình thường muốn đóng góp mà không tìm quyền vị ?

ĐMQ : Chúng tôi đang nhận ủy nhiệm của Chính Phủ để mời gọi, thành lập Nội Các. Danh sách sẽ đệ trình lên Thủ Tướng và Đại Hội Đồng Quốc Gia duyệt xét. Bất cứ ai mà đồng bào hay nhân sĩ giới thiệu là chúng tôi mời ngay. Rất tiếc nhiều vị chúng tôi không có địa chỉ nên chỉ nêu danh sách mời chung trên báo chí. Những vị nào chúng tôi có điện

nguyên nhân gây mất đoàn kết để chúng ta có cảm nghĩ mình bị phân hoá. Có khi nào một người này không đồng ý với người kia lại nhận mình không phải là người Việt Nam đâu ? Thế sao gọi là phân hóa. Thiết nghĩ khi mọi người tán thành quan niệm như vậy thì không cần hô hào, đồng bào chúng ta sẽ tự đoàn kết, tự mình dẹp đi một vài tệ hiềm cá biệt để mà chung sức với nhau đánh đổ cộng sản và chống lại bất kỳ một thế lực ngoại lai nào.

PV : Nếu một khi chế độ việt cộng phá sản toàn diện tại việt Nam thì quý vị có một đề nghị nào về thể chế chính trị, kinh tế... cho tương lai đất nước ?

ĐMQ : Xin lỗi các anh. việt cộng có tài sản đâu mà phá sản. Đảng cộng sản Việt Nam do hồ chí minh, một tên tay sai cộng sản quốc tế dựng nên. Một tên khố rách áo ôm. Một tay "vô sản" thứ thiệt thì làm gì có tài sản mà bị phá sản. Sự nghiệp chính trị thì do cướp công của kháng chiến. Đất đai ruộng vườn thì cướp giật, vơ vét của đồng bào, của cha ông

chúng ta để lại. Tư tưởng thì chộp của Lê Nin, Các Mác, Mao Trạch Đông. Bản thân chúng nó thì đã bán linh hồn cho cộng sản thì làm gì có chút tài sản tinh thần hay vật chất mà gọi là phá sản. Tất cả là của Dân Tộc việt Nam, tất cả là của đồng bào Việt Nam, tất cả là của cha ông chúng ta để lại. Chúng nó đã cướp đi thì nay phải trả lại cho chúng ta mà thôi. Đó là công bình, hợp tình, hợp lý thôi.

Quyền tha hay buộc tội xin để cho đồng bào mình phân xử. Chúng tôi hiện nay vì tình hình cấp bách của đất nước mà tạm thời đứng ra gánh vác mà thôi. Thể chế chính trị hay chế độ xã hội của xứ sở trong tương lai khi không còn cộng sản phải do đồng bào mình, nhất là những người trong nước quyết định lựa chọn.

Tiện dịp chúng tôi cũng xin trình bày một vài quan niệm chính của Phong Trào Việt Nam Tân Dân Chủ là :

Thứ nhất : Dân phải được ấm no, giàu có

NHÀ BÁO DUY LINH, 3 TIẾNG ĐỒNG HỒ VỚI ÔNG ĐÀO MINH QUÂN CHỦ TỊCH VIỆT NAM TÂN DÂN CHỦ

Bài **PHONG VẤN**

VĂN PHÒNG THƯỜNG TRỰC CHÍNH PHỦ QUỐC GIA VIỆT NAM LÂM THỜI

LTS : Thời gian gần đây, dư luận đồng bào Việt Nam nói chung và tại Hải Ngoại nói riêng rất xôn xao và phấn khởi khi hay tin Phong Trào Thanh Niên Sinh Viên Học Sinh Việt Nam Tân Dân Chủ đã mời gọi và triệu tập Đại Hội Dân chủ Đoàn Kết ngày 21/10/1990 vừa qua để xin ý kiến Nhân Sĩ và đồng bào trong việc có nên thành lập một Chính Phủ quốc Gia duy nhất để trực diện đương đầu với việt cộng hay không.

Đại Hội thành công và các anh em thanh niên trong Phong Trào được ủy nhiệm của Đại Hội để mời gọi các thành phần Quốc Gia chân Chính tham gia Nội Các Chính Phủ với Thủ Tướng

là cụ Nguyễn Trăn.

Để đáp ứng dư luận và để tìm hiểu thêm về đường lối hoạt động và chủ trương của Tân Chính Phủ hầu cung ứng cho đồng bào những tin tức xác đáng, trung thật, báo Con Ong Chúng tôi xin đặt cử phóng viên báo chí làm một cuộc phỏng vấn cấp tốc ông Đào Minh Quân, Chủ tịch Phong Trào Thanh Niên Sinh Viên Học Sinh Việt Nam Tân Dân Chủ, người thay mặt Phong Trào để đứng ra triệu tập Đại Hội Dân Chủ Đoàn Kết ngày 21/10/1990 và được sự tín nhiệm của Đại Hội đề cử đứng ra mời gọi thành phần Nội Các Chính Phủ. Ông hiện đang Xử Lý Văn Phòng Thường Trục của Chính Phủ. Cuộc phỏng vấn này có sự

tham dự của các viên chức trong Văn Phòng.

PV : Hôm nay ngày 14/11/1990 lúc 13 giờ, chúng tôi đại diện cho Tuần Báo Con Ong xin nêu lên một số câu hỏi về các hoạt động của quý vị trong thời gian gần đây. Với tư cách là Chủ tịch Phong Trào Thanh Niên Sinh Viên Học sinh Việt Nam Tân Dân Chủ và là Xử Lý Thường Vụ của Chính Phủ Quốc Gia Việt Nam Lâm Thời xin ông Đào Minh Quân cho chúng tôi biết nguyên do nào khiến quý vị xuất hiện để hoạt động và lập trường của quý vị ra sao ?

ĐMQ : Trước hết chúng tôi chỉ xin đại diện cho Phong Trào Thanh Niên sinh Viên Học sinh Việt Nam Tân Dân Chủ mà thôi. Riêng những câu hỏi về phía Chính Phủ, chúng tôi chỉ xin trả lời với tư cách là một Văn Phòng Thường Trục mà thôi. Các câu hỏi nào xét thấy quá quan trọng, chúng tôi sẽ đệ trình lên Thủ Tướng để xin chỉ thị.

Trước tình hình biến chuyển dồn dập trên toàn thế giới, trước sự chuyển hướng của Cộng Sản

Quốc Tế, bọn cộng sản Việt Nam thì đang phân hoá, tệ nạn tham nhũng lan tràn và chúng đã hiện rõ chân tướng chỉ là bọn tay sai đế quốc Liên Xô, đây thối nát, bất tài và lừa bịp. Cộng thêm vào sự đau khổ, ta thán và phẫn nộ của quần chúng. Các cao trào đấu tranh giành độc lập, dân chủ, tự do của toàn dân Việt Nam đang dâng cao, đúng là lúc mà mọi con dân yêu nước Việt Nam phải hưởng ứng tham gia để lật đổ nguy quyền Hà Nội.

Chúng tôi là bao gồm thành phần thanh niên con cháu Việt Nam và là Cựu Quân Nhân Quân Lực Việt Nam không thể nào khoanh tay im lặng ngồi nhìn. Nhưng muốn đánh thắng việt cộng là một bọn gian ngoa, hiểm độc, có thực lực và đây bịp bợm xảo trá thì không thể một vài cá nhân, hội đoàn hay lực lượng nào mà đủ sức mạnh. Phải có sự tham dự của toàn quân, toàn dân Việt Nam và phải được sự hỗ trợ của Quốc tế. Do đó, chúng tôi mời gọi sự Đại Đoàn Kết để thành lập một Chính Phủ hầu

trong khối người Việt chúng ta. Chúng ta đâu có 2 hay 3 dân tộc Việt Nam đâu ? Ngoại bang đã cố dùng địa lý phân chúng ta ra 3 vùng Nam Trung Bắc. Bọn tay sai đế quốc muốn dùng ý thức hệ để chia ra 2 miền Bắc Nam. Thế nhưng bất cứ người Việt Nam nào, dù là trong quốc nội hay tại hải ngoại, dù Bắc hay Trung hay Nam, ai còn nhận mình là người Việt Nam thì làm sao có phân biệt, phân chia. Dân Tộc Việt Nam dù trong hay ngoài nước, dù trước hay sau cũng chỉ là một thôi thì làm sao gọi là phân chia, phân hóa. Người Việt Nam vì thông minh và tự lập nên rất tự chủ, kiên cường để đưa đến cao ngạo. Nhưng nếu có một vài ý kiến bất đồng, một vài quan điểm không hợp hay nếu có vì quyền lợi mà gay gắt với nhau thì cũng là người Việt Nam mà thôi. Mỗi người trong chúng ta là một viên kim cương. Đúng ! Vì chúng ta không muốn là đồng bùn hay thúng bột mì chỉ cần có chút nước là dính lại với nhau. Như trước đây một ký giả nước ngoài đã từng chê bai chúng ta.

Phải ! Chúng ta là những viên kim cương, khi bỏ chung vào một bao dân tộc do tình hình đất nước đòi hỏi, thì sẽ trở thành một sức mạnh đoàn kết, có sức mạnh vạn thắng để đập tung tất cả khối bùn, khối bột .

Nhân bản là phải tùy thuộc từng người. Không ai có thể bắt người khác nghĩ giống mình, làm giống mình được. Đó là Dân Chủ và Nhân Chủ thật sự. Chỉ có người Việt Nam chúng ta với quan niệm đó nên mới không bị lệ thuộc và đồng hóa mà thôi. Tự ái dân tộc của chúng ta rất cao. Đúng ! Vì đó là sức mạnh của Tổ Quốc Việt Nam mà. Không có tự ái dân tộc thì làm sao chúng ta vươn lên. Nhưng chúng ta phải biết xử dụng cho đúng chỗ, đúng nơi. Rất tiếc hiện nay chúng ta đang bị một sự lạm dụng danh từ quá đáng. Một vài hội đoàn không vừa ý nhau, hay chính ngay trong tổ chức với nhau cũng chưa đồng ý với nhau hoàn toàn. Nhưng đó chỉ là quan điểm cá nhân mà thôi. Không thể để trở thành

chúng ta để lại là "kính lão đắc thọ". Làng nước thời xa xưa ai lãnh đạo ? phải chăng có các cụ Tiên Chỉ, bô lão trong làng đảm đương. Các cụ tuy không còn sức lực hay đúng hơn, đã hy sinh tuổi thanh niên cho xứ sở, nay về già thì còn kinh nghiệm và kiến thức để chỉ lại cho hậu sinh thay các cụ mà hoàn thành. Chính Phủ Quốc Gia Việt Nam Lâm Thời đề nghị Hội Đồng Quốc Lão cũng nhằm mục đích mời gọi các cụ có lòng với đất nước, với đồng bào tham gia để cố vấn, trợ ý cho Chính Phủ. Trong Trời đất có Âm Dương thì Chính Phủ của chúng ta cũng cố gắng thiết lập hai cơ chế : GIÁO và HÀNH. Giáo thì phần các cụ mà hành là dành cho thanh niên. Chỉ lo lắng là các cụ chịu cực khổ đã nhiều, nay muốn an nhàn, phải tay mà thôi. Nói như thế nhưng chắc chắn các bô lão cũng sẽ vì thấy tình hình đất nước rồi ren không nổi đứng im nhìn, thế nào rồi cũng lặn lội một phen ra giúp nước mà thôi.

Hy vọng trong các lãnh

vực Văn Hóa, Chính Trị, Tư Tưởng thì các bô lão sẽ giúp đỡ ý kiến rất nhiều cho Chính Phủ. Nhưng riêng lãnh vực Kinh tế và Khoa Học Kỹ Thuật thì các cụ sẽ vui lòng nhường lại cho Thanh Niên con cháu ra gánh vác. Giới trẻ Việt Nam đã may mắn có mặt trên khắp năm châu, tiếp thu rất nhiều văn minh khoa học kỹ thuật của các quốc gia tiên tiến, chắc chắn không phụ lòng của đồng bào Việt Nam trong nhiệm vụ phục hưng đất nước sau khi nguy quyền việt cộng bị tiêu diệt đầu.

Nhưng Dù sao, Văn Hóa, Giáo Dục cũng là căn bản của sự phát triển Quốc Gia. Nhà cách mạng Lý Đông A có nói : *"Văn Hoá là khởi điểm và là chung kết của chính trị"*. Điều này theo thiên ý, cho đến bây giờ cũng vẫn còn là mục thước cho chúng ta xây dựng và noi theo.

PV: Quý vị làm thế nào để chấm dứt nạn phân hóa của khối người Việt tỵ nạn Hải Ngoại ngày nay ?

ĐMQ : Thật sự mà nói làm gì có sự phân hóa

cung ứng đủ tầm vóc, uy tín và tập trung được sức mạnh toàn dân quân, ít ra là tại hải ngoại, để hỗ trợ cho chủ lực trong quốc nội vùng lên lật đổ bạo quyền việt cộng.

Lập trường của chúng tôi, của Phong Trào Việt Nam Tân Dân Chủ và của Chính Phủ Quốc Gia Lâm Thời là lấy sức mạnh quần chúng nhận dân làm căn bản, lấy thanh niên làm chủ lực và lấy kinh nghiệm của các bậc tiền bối làm trợ lực. Chủ trương của chúng tôi là : **Lấy lại đất tổ, không làm khổ dân**". Thiết nghĩ đây cũng là nguyện vọng căn bản, thiết thực và đúng đắn của tất cả mọi người dân Việt Nam hiện nay.

PV : Quý vị sẽ phản ứng ra sao khi có những dư luận bất lợi của một số người Việt tại hải ngoại đưa ra ?

ĐMQ : Cho tới giờ phút này, chúng tôi chưa thấy có một dư luận bất lợi nào về phía quần chúng. Trái lại, đồng bào rất phấn khởi, hy vọng. Tuy vẫn còn hơi dè dặt vì những kinh nghiệm bị phản bội trong quá khứ. Nhưng đồng bào

vẫn không những đã cố gắng, đóng góp ý kiến thêm cho chúng tôi mà thậm chí còn đóng góp thêm công sức cho Văn Phòng kể cả những việc nặng nhọc và linh tinh hằng ngày. Chúng tôi chỉ là những thanh niên Việt Nam nhiệt tình đóng góp cho Quốc Gia Dân Tộc trong việc đánh bại việt cộng thì thiết nghĩ, bất cứ sự chỉ điểm và đóng góp ý kiến nào của của đồng bào và Nhân Sĩ cũng chỉ nhằm mục đích giúp đỡ cho chúng tôi thêm thận trọng, dè dặt và những kinh nghiệm quý giá để vượt qua các trở ngại đi đến thành công chung mà thôi.

Tuy nhiên, **sự lớn mạnh của chính Phủ quốc gia đồng nghĩa với sự khai tử của việt cộng**. Chắc chắn chúng sẽ nỗ lực tối đa, tìm đủ mọi cách trong những ngày tháng sắp tới để đánh phá, để tuyên truyền gây chia rẽ, ngộ nhận và ngờ vực trong hàng ngũ Quốc Gia chúng ta. Nhưng chúng sẽ thất bại vì đồng bào đã quá thừa kinh nghiệm để phân biệt trắng đen. Vả lại ngày nay chúng ta đã có hai chọn lựa quá

rõ ràng : một nguy quyền việt cộng và một Chính Phủ Quốc Gia chống cộng rõ ràng. Tuy rằng chính Quyền quốc Gia Lâm Thời còn mới mẻ và non yếu cần phải được sự hợp tác, đóng góp ý kiến cũng như tích cực tham gia xây dựng của Nhân Sĩ và tất cả người Quốc Gia Chân Chính. Nhưng nếu có những dư luận hay những sự tuyên truyền phá hoại công cuộc đấu tranh của phe quốc gia mình, thì chắc chắn chúng ta phải biết chúng nó là thành phần nào rồi. Lúc đó cần gì phải nhân nhượng. Lúc đó chúng nó mới biết phản ứng của đồng bào chúng ta ra sao.

PV : Theo nhận thức của một người đã từng tranh đấu với việt cộng, quý vị quan niệm như thế nào về hoàn cảnh và nhu cầu lịch sử hiện nay tại Việt Nam ?

ĐMQ : Xin đính chánh với anh em (PV) rằng chúng tôi không dám nhận mình là những người đã từng có kinh nghiệm đấu tranh với việt cộng đâu. Chúng tôi chỉ là những con dân Việt Nam bị cộng sản cướp nước mà thôi. Kinh nghiệm tuy giới hạn, nhưng đau khổ vì việt

cộng thì có thừa. Hiện nay, sự chịu đựng, căm thù việt cộng của đồng bào nói chung và quốc nội nói riêng đã thấm tận mây xanh. Một dân tộc Việt Nam anh hùng, cần cù, tháo vát đáng khâm phục biết bao đã phải nhận chịu quá nhiều tai ách chiến tranh và chết chóc, tù đầy do bọn việt cộng gây ra. Trẽ không đủ ăn, già không đủ mặc, thanh niên bao nhiêu người được cấp sách đến trường ? Ăn xin thì đầy phố, dĩ điểm đây đường. Ôi ! nói sao cho hết các tủi nhục, đau thương đó. Trong hoàn cảnh như thế, dân tình như thế, ai là người Việt Nam mà đành lòng nhắm mắt làm ngơ. Tội nặng nhất của việt cộng là tiêu diệt sự vươn lên của các thế hệ mai sau. Chúng không những tàn phá đất đai, mầm sống của Dân Tộc, hủy hoại tương lai của đất nước mà còn đưa quê hương chúng ta thụt lùi hàng chục năm. Nhìn hoàn cảnh đất nước như thế, không phải nói ra thì các anh em cũng thấy được nhu cầu của lịch sử như thế nào rồi. Ngôi nhà Việt Nam đã quá mục nát,

không thể nào thay một vài cây cột được, mà phải thay thế lại toàn bộ. Nhưng phải thay như thế nào ? cách thức ra làm sao thì tin rằng phải có kế hoạch quy mô, toàn diện, triệt để, phải có sự can đảm và ý chí của toàn dân mới làm được. Không khéo xụp căn nhà là tội nghiệp cho dân ta phải chịu thêm cơ hàn, khổn khó mà thôi.

Triết Gia Kim Định có nói : "Đạo mất trước, Nước mất sau". Muốn khôi phục quê hương thì phải lấy lại truyền thống dân tộc, Đạo Nghĩa của Tổ Tiên Ông Bà làm căn gốc. Nhưng đó là phần triết lý căn bản. Trên hành động thực tế thì phải đánh xập chủ nghĩa cộng sản trước. Tổng Tuyển Cử phải thành công, để cho Quốc dân chọn lựa một chính Phủ Dân Chủ, trong sạch, đủ uy tín và tài đức để cầm giềng mối Quốc Gia. Sau đó vận dụng được toàn bộ tài nguyên, nhân lực trong nước và kêu mời con dân Việt Nam tứ phương thế giới đem tất cả tài năng, kiến thức về khoa học kỹ thuật, kinh tế, quản trị, về

đầu tư cho đất nước. Kế hoạch phải rất quy mô và chi tiết và còn nhiều việc phải làm. Hôm nay chỉ xin tóm tắt đại cương, có dịp sẽ xin các nhân sĩ và nhân tài của đất nước đóng góp thêm ý kiến cho Chính Phủ.

PV : Nếu chọn vị trí của một bộ lão để hoạt động thì quan niệm quý vị như thế nào trên lãnh vực văn hóa, tư tưởng, kinh tế, chính trị và kỹ thuật cho hậu việt nam sau việt cộng ?

ĐMQ : Nhiệm vụ giúp nước đầu phân biệt thành phần lớn tuổi hay trẻ tuổi. Cụ Nguyễn Công Trứ khi xưa trên 72 tuổi còn ra làm lính thú biên cương, Tướng "gia" Lý Thường Kiệt vẫn cầm dao truy kích địch, ông Đặng Tiểu Bình trên 85 tuổi vẫn còn cầm mực thước của Trung Quốc và chính cụ Nguyễn Trăn đã 83 tuổi vẫn còn lặn lội hy sinh ra nhận chức vụ Thủ Tướng thì sao ? Miễn là tính thanh niên hoạt động vẫn còn tiềm tàng trong người thì các bộ lão cũng có thể trở thành một bậc Lão Thành ra giúp nước thôi. Vả lại, truyền thống của cha ông