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SAIGON ARTS, CULTURE & EDUCATION INSTITUTE



To Research, Document & Promote Vietnamese-American Culture

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Stephanie Murphy: Elected Congresswoman



Murphy was born in Vietnam in 1978. Her family left Vietnam by boat in 1979 as refugees when she was six months old. Rescued by the U.S. Navy, they resettled in Northern Virginia where she grew up. Her parents worked both day and night jobs to support their family.

With the help of Pell Grants and student loans, Murphy attended the College of William & Mary, graduating with a Bachelor of Arts degree in economics. She then went to Georgetown University where she graduated with a Master of Science degree in Foreign Service. She was the first woman in her family to go to college.

She first worked for the U.S. Department of Defense as a national security specialist before becoming an investment executive at Sungate Capital in Winter Park, Florida as well as an instructor of business and social entrepreneurship at Rollins College.

Having no experience in politics, she ran for Florida's 7th Congressional district against 23-year Republican incumbent John Mica in the November 8, 2016 general election and defeated him with 51% of the votes. She is the first Vietnamese-American woman elected to U.S. Congress. The first U.S. Congressman was Senator Anh Quang Joseph Cao from Louisiana 2nd Congressional district (2009-2011).

<http://www.nbcnews.com/news/asian-america/5-things-know-about-stephanie-murphy-first-vietnamese-american-woman-n680771>

61st ANNIVERSARY OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM (OCT 26, 1955-2016)

The defeat of the French Army at Dien Bien Phu in 1954, followed by the Geneva Accords, led to a divided Vietnam. The French-backed the State of Vietnam, led by former Emperor Bao Dai, provisionally held control south of the 17th parallel. Ho Chi Minh's Viet Minh held the north under the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, which Ho Chi Minh had proclaimed in 1945. The agreements stated that nationwide elections were to be held in 1956 to unify the country under a common government. In July 1954, during the transition period, Bao Dai appointed Diem as Prime Minister of the State of Vietnam.

On 11 October 1954, the border was closed by the International Control Commission, after a period of 300 days during which free passage between both halves of Vietnam had been allowed. About 800,000 to 1,000,000 Vietnamese, mostly Catholics, moved from North to South.

The State of Vietnam 23 October, 1955 referendum determined the future form of government of the State of Vietnam, the nation that was to become the Republic of Vietnam (widely known as South Vietnam). It was contested by Prime Minister Ngo Dinh Diem, who proposed a republic, and former emperor Bao Dai. The latter had abdicated as emperor in 1945 and at the time of the referendum held the title of head of state. Diem won the election with 98.2% of the vote.

Three days later on 26 October, 1955, Diem proclaimed the creation of the Republic of Vietnam, with himself as its first president. (Wikipedia)

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61st Anniversary of Republic of Vietnam...



President Diem

In this video-clip <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hRPzkteelG8>, you will see North Vietnamese youths openly celebrating the 61st anniversary of the Republic of Vietnam followed by a statement by blogger Nguyen Ngoc Gia who effusively thanked the Republic of Vietnam for having given him the educational training and skills to be a Man.

His father who worked the Republic of Vietnam before 1975, was a mole planted by the northern communist regime in the southern government. Gia who lived and was educated in Saigon did not realize his father's role until the war ended. Having lived under the first Republic

and under communism, Gia spontaneously opted for the Republic.



RVNAF: A Collection by Tran Trong Nghia

This is a collection of South Vietnamese fighter planes, tanks, and cannons used by the Republic of Vietnam Armed Forces (RVNAF) during the war. These replicas were painstakingly assembled together by Tran Trong Nghia.



1. F8F1B Bearcat (received from the French)

Fig 1. First fighter plane of the South Vietnamese Air Force F8F1 Bearcat, still bearing the old paint color of the French Navy, and transferred by the French Navy to Vietnam.



2. VNAF F8F1B painted in silver

Fig 2. All the Bearcats of the Vietnamese Air Force (VNAF) were later painted in silver.

Fig 3. Bearcats were replaced by AD-6 (then A-1) Skyraiders. This A-1J, which was posted at Danang AFB

crossed the demilitarized zone (DMZ) on February 8, 1965 to bomb Vinh Linh. In the early 1960's, VNAF fighter planes still kept the color of the U.S. Navy or Air Force, depending on whichever unit transferred the planes to VNAF.



3. AD-6 (later A-1J) Skyraider

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RVNAF: A Collection...

4. A1H Skyraider

Fig 4. In the late 60's, all VNAF planes were painted in camouflage color. Skyraiders were the last propeller driven VNAF planes. Vietnamese jet planes will be presented on July 1, 2017, on the 50th anniversary of the delivery of the first F-5 plane delivered to VNAF.



5. A1HTP

Fig 5. A-1H belonging to General Ky's Than Phong squadron.



6. Cessna O-1

Fig 6. Replica of propeller Cessna O-1 flown by Major Ly Bung as he landed on the Midway deck on April 30, 1975.



7. M8, M24, M24, and M48A3 (RVNAF)

Fig 7. Types of RVNAF tanks: from foreground to back the M8 first used by the State of Vietnam forces; M24 (1950-1960); then M41 in the 1960s and lastly the M48A3 was the last tank used by RVNAF.

Fig 8. From small to large the 75mm (Marines in the 1960s), the 105mm and the 175mm howitzers. The M102, 105mm and the 155mm howitzers have not been assembled yet.



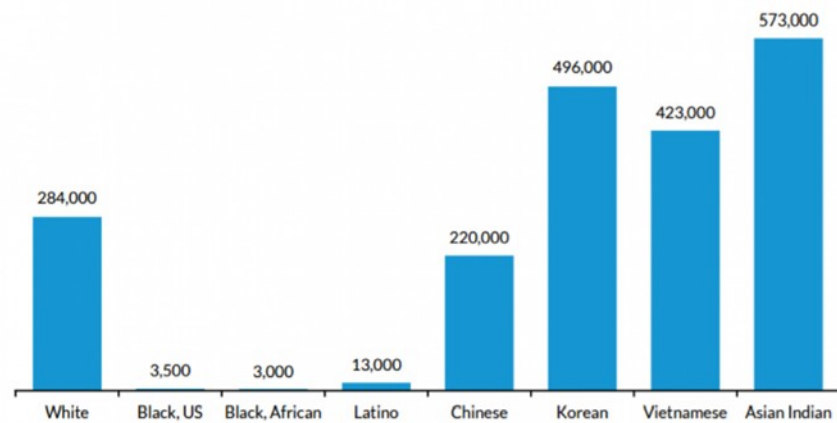
8. 75mm, 105mm, and 175mm howitzers (RVNAF)

Net Worth of Vietnamese-Americans in DC

The Urban Institute report, "[The Color of Wealth in the Nation's Capital](#)," said the Great Recession and housing crisis of 2007 to 2009 exacerbated long-persistent disparities, with black and Hispanic households losing about half of their wealth. In 2013 and 2014, white households in the D.C. area had a net worth of \$284,000 while black households had a net worth of \$3,500, the report said.

Asian Americans in the region amassed more wealth than white residents, according to the study. East Asian Indians, for example, had a net worth of \$573,000, while that number stands at \$496,000 for those of Korean descent, \$423,000 for Vietnamese, and \$220,000 for Chinese.

Comparison of White and Non-White Household Median Net Worth (dollars)



Source: Authors' calculations based on National Asset Scorecard for Communities of Color survey data.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/local/wp/2016/11/02/net-worth-of-white-households-in-d-c-region-is-81-times-greater-than-black-households/>

Was Tom Hayden A Foreign Agent for North Vietnam?

Roger Canfield



<http://americasurvival.org/2016/10/was-tom-hayden-a-foreign-agent-for-north-vietnam.html#axzz4OzAyY1qy>
Tom Hayden, a Usual Suspect

Did Tom Hayden do duty as a foreign agent, not simply a war protester, during the Vietnam War and afterwards? On the short list of America's "usual suspects" as possible agents of the enemy is Tom Hayden, a \$40 million divorcee-escapee from Jane Fonda. Hayden was elected to represent three quarters of a million people in California's State Senate and became for many years a Democratic Party influential.

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Preponderance of the Evidence

Was Tom Hayden a Foreign Agent...

My work americong.com has tried to reveal and describe the actions of Americans who collaborated with the North Vietnamese. The contents of Tom Hayden's secret files, the intelligence archives remain closed. Yet open sources, contemporary documents and court cases released under the Freedom of Information Act, FOIA, suggest that Hayden was an agent. The preponderance of the evidence based on years of research using the Freedom of Information Act, the New Left archives at the Hoover Institute, the Indochina Archives at Berkeley, and online access to Texas Tech's Vietnam Archives, as well as personal interviews clearly implicate Tom Hayden as a prime suspect as a foreign agent. Such a conclusion cannot be easily dismissed.

American radicals and liberals -- not "right wing bigots"—have long called Hayden an American Lenin (Walter Mondale, Dick Flacks, Roger Vadim) and a Stalinist (Abbie Hoffman, Democrat California State Senator James Mills).

Tom said, "I am Viet Cong" at his "solidarity" conference organized for the Vietnamese communists in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia in September 1967.

Hayden "interviewed" American POW Doug Hegdahl, and Vietnamese Premier Pham Van Dong proclaimed Tom a "comrade in arms" against the U. S. [\[1\]](#)

From 1965 to 1973,

- Hayden interviewed POWs,
- Arranged four symbolic POW releases,
- Helped approve POW visitors and mail delivery,
- called POWs "hypocrites, liars, and pawns" after their 1973 "Homecoming,"
- and tied MIA cooperation to reparations for Vietnam, etc.

The Secret (CIA, FBI, NSA) Files of Tom Hayden

In the early nineties the author received heavily redacted FBI files of Tom Hayden under the Freedom of Information Act, FOIA. Among the most intriguing were public records of court cases involving Hayden and issues of national security. It is true no U. S. Government prosecutor ever charged Tom Hayden was a foreign agent.

Yet these court documents disclose that Tom Hayden was frequently overheard on many wiretaps "monitoring ... activities of foreign powers or their agents" according to a court filing on June 13, 1969. [\[2\]](#) Hundreds of still secret intelligence records are cited in court cases.

Foreign communications intercepts.

The full evidence of Hayden's role either as an innocent or as a foreign agent exists in over 10,000 pages of "foreign communications intercepts."

Photo: Hayden's FBI files released to him.

These intercepts were viewed in whole or part by eighteen federal judges in eight court cases during a fifteen-year period. Federal judges refused to release the vast majority of these thousands of pages of documents to Hayden. The judges feared that the release of the Hayden documents held the possibility of "serious or extremely grave damage" to the national security and foreign policy activities of U.S. intelligence agencies.

According to various judges, these "foreign communications intercepts" contained information on:

- "sensitive intelligence operations and activities; ... crypto logic ... intelligence;"
- U. S. foreign "intelligence sources, methods" and activities;
- "signals intelligence operations" on specific channels or types of communications,
- identification of U.S. and "foreign agents."

Exhibit D—The Smoking Guns?

These reasons persuaded judges not to force disclosure of the vast majority of the documents held by U.S. intelligence agencies. Plenty of smoke, but the guns, if any, are in documents locked in vaults – such documents are identified as Exhibit D, two sealed cartons in one case. Until the complete Hayden File, Exhibit D, comes out of the

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Was Tom Hayden a Foreign Agent...

Cold War archives of communist regimes and of the United States, there is no proof and arguable doubt, that Tom Hayden, Jane Fonda, Cora Weiss, David Dellinger or their friends were traitors or agents of influence for Communist regimes.

Still, the circumstantial evidence implies so. The public record of the many instances of Tom, Jane, Cora, David willingly doing propaganda handiwork for America's cold war enemies from 1965 through at least 1975 has been numbingly detailed above in historical context.

To summarize, cautiously worded court documents in eight cases, criminal and civil, from June 1969 to June 1984, involving Tom Hayden and others prove that -- no surprise -- the FBI, CIA, National Security Agency, NSA, and the Department of Defense (Defense Intelligence Agency, DIA) conducted "foreign intelligence" wiretaps on foreign powers and agents. The official existence of legal wiretaps to "obtain foreign intelligence" (as well as other illegal domestic wiretaps) -- frequently overhearing Tom Hayden and others -- were reluctantly revealed in court actions from June 1969 to June 1984, ironically initiated by Tom Hayden and others.

Presidents Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon and Attorneys General Ramsey Clark, John Mitchell and Harold Tyler [3] expanded "coverage of overseas telephone and telegraph communications" [4] during the Vietnam War and approved the foreign intelligence and counterintelligence wiretaps. Hayden's overheard conversations remain secret at the insistence of Presidents Ford, Carter and Reagan and their attorneys general from LBJ's Ramsey Clark through Carter's Griffin Bell.

Hayden Frequently Talked to Foreign Agents

Court records show that, while apparently not directly targeted for foreign intelligence, Tom Hayden was incidentally, but frequently, overheard between 1967 and 1972 talking to foreign agents. Precisely what Tom said to whom, we do not know. The verbatim transcripts of these intercepted conversations --under multiple court orders by the very same judges who reviewed the secret affidavits, indexes, transcripts, or tape recordings -- are sealed and locked away in vaults.

Judges Refuse to Release His Records

The judges, who have carefully examined the overheard wiretap summaries or conversations in U. S. District Courts in Chicago [5] and in Washington, D.C. [6], and in U.S. Circuits Courts of Appeal in Washington, D.C. [7] and in the Seventh Circuit (Chicago) [8], have refused to release the "national security" wiretaps of Hayden conversations or agent references to him. In one case, the U. S. Supreme Court refused to hear the appeals of Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda when the NSA refused release of foreign intelligence reports referring to them [9]. One court said, "It is clear ... that the documents ... do indeed contain 'intelligence sources or methods' or the 'organization ... names, or numbers of personnel employed by the (CIA).'" [10]

"Agents...or collaborators"

The most telling remarks come from U.S. District Court Judge John Pratt in June 1984 who stopped a twelve-year civil lawsuit against U.S. intelligence agencies. After reading the wiretap conversations, Judge Pratt refused to give them up to Hayden and others. Judge Pratt said that the secret and top secret materials "manifestly evince rational national security concerns ...not a pretext for politically or prosecutorial motivated surveillance."

The records were exempt from disclosure because of the "foreign agent exception." As to whether those overheard—Hayden and others-- might be impugned as "agents...or collaborators," Judge Pratt said, "such description has been held to extend to individuals whose activities implicate the foreign affairs of this country." [11]

11,000 Pages Kept Secret

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Approximately 11,000 pages of wiretap and other secret materials on Tom Hayden remain in the vaults of the U.S. government agencies, despite Hayden's fifteen unsuccessful years of lawsuits and appeals -- criminal, civil, and administrative -- attempting to acquire these secret documents. Eighteen federal judges read the details privately in their chambers -- affidavits, summaries, indices, logs, transcripts, and tapes of the wiretaps. These eighteen federal judges ordered the U.S. government to release only a small portion of the total number of pages of wiretap materials.

Was Tom Hayden a Foreign Agent...

Hayden did not "substantially prevail" in his lawsuits

The judges even refused -- given the small number of pages released -- to pay Hayden's attorney fees, because he failed to "substantially prevail" in Freedom of Information Act, FOIA, suits against the FBI, CIA, and NSA. The FOIA law properly favors those wishing access to their private papers. Jane Fonda declared a "moral victory" in her cases, while Tom has reprinted in bold type in his memoirs, *Reunion*, a selection of the few documents he received. Thus, Hayden leads the unsuspecting to believe, falsely, that he has achieved total victory over his U.S. government oppressors.

Illegal Domestic Surveillance was not the Issue

Note: after initial legal delays and ultimate release, illegal domestic surveillance [\[12\]](#) was not at stake in these cases. Security agencies were ordered to release those domestic wiretaps acquired by the illegal -- direct or indirect -- targeting of the persons or premises of domestic political activists. Wiretaps disclosing intercepted communications with foreign powers were not released. [\[13\]](#)

Legal Wiretaps of Foreign Communications

The vast majority, 61 per cent, of the 18,000 pages of the Hayden FBI files [\[14\]](#) about 11,000 pages appear to be legal wiretaps of foreign persons or premises and not illegal domestic wiretaps of Hayden's person or premises. Most of the wiretaps of Hayden and others were apparently legal "surveillance of...foreign communications," according to both the United States District Court and the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia in 1983 and 1984. [\[15\]](#) The judges were critical of abuse of wiretap authority by Presidents, Attorneys General, security agencies, and the military and the judges sometimes outright rejected bogus claims of "national security." Yet none of the judges accepted Hayden's claims of government abuses in the foreign wiretaps.

Time and again Hayden's arguments of government abuse failed:

- as grounds for overturning his two Chicago criminal convictions for rioting and contempt;
- as grounds for a civil suit against his Chicago prosecutors as a justification for releasing wiretaps of him revealed in the Ellsberg case;
- as a reason for honoring his FOIA requests for release of secret documents from intelligence agencies.

Records Sealed Secret

After years reading the actual secret wiretap documents *ex parte* and *in camera*, every judge before which demands for disclosure were made ultimately decided to seal most of the documents, lock them up in vaults, and return them to U.S. intelligence agencies -- without Tom Hayden or his attorneys ever seeing anything except a few, vague descriptions of the nature of his overheard conversations with foreign agents.

While highly suspicious of government claims of "national security" as a possible pretext for illegal taps and after demanding detailed proof of claimed content, all the judges have believed the same officials they have ruled against in cases of illegal domestic wiretaps. The same courts that forced President Nixon to release the secret Pentagon Papers and his own White House tapes did not make public the Hayden files.

Why So Secret?

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Was Tom Hayden a Foreign Agent...

Security agencies have claimed and the courts believed that "...there is "reasonable danger " that revelation of the information...would either... gain insights into national intelligence-gathering methods and capabilities or would disrupt diplomatic relations with foreign governments," as one court put it. [\[16\]](#) Other descriptions of the secret wiretap material -- made by the judges themselves -- include national defense, foreign affairs, foreign intelligence, national security, etc. Several judges protected the material, because it involved "foreign intelligence (communications) taps" -- some of "foreign agents." [\[17\]](#) In a Dellinger criminal and civil case involving Hayden being overheard on "national security" wiretaps, Hayden's closest Chicago associates and POW interviewers David Dellinger and Rennie Davis were also picked up [\[18\]](#), perhaps on "telephone calls to foreign embassies..." [\[19\]](#) In an Ellsberg case involving Tom Hayden, "foreign intelligence taps" also captured the conversations of Hayden intimates Robert Scheer and Stanley Sheinbaum and his political allies Daniel Ellsberg, Leonard Boudin, and Richard Falk. [\[20\]](#)

U. S. Government Satisfies Court

In Hayden's civil suits against the FBI, CIA, and NSA [\[21\]](#), judges required the government to specify reasons for not releasing each and every document [\[22\]](#) to him and, after their review, agreed with the government's specific "national security" exemptions from release for 60 per cent of the FBI files and as much as 80 per cent of the CIA and NSA documents. Of the available public record, Hayden received mostly parts of 39 per cent of his FBI requests [\[23\]](#) and 22 per cent of his CIA requests. [\[24\]](#)

The Historical Record of Hayden's Documented Foreign Contacts

As distinct from the court records, the historical record in this work suggests not only the likely foreign targets of American wiretaps after 1965, but also those targets who very probably talked to Hayden. These are the embassies or agents of Cuba, North Korea, North Vietnam, Cambodia, USSR, China, East Germany, and Czechoslovakia. Clearly it is unlikely that thousands of pages would be required either to record idle gossip about Tom and Jane or to account for Tom Hayden's requests for visas, tourist pamphlets, and travel arrangements through foreign embassy and agent telephones and telegrams. Fear of compromising American agents in place and technical capabilities [\[25\]](#) could explain protecting some documents, but how many for how long?

Frequent Traveler

Surely, more than travel arrangements may be involved in the following publicly documented foreign contacts of Hayden with enemies of the United States during the Vietnam War:

- December, 1965, in Moscow, Peking, and Hanoi;
- April, 1967, in Puerto Rico for the Castro controlled Tricontinental;
- September, 1967, in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia for a Vietnamese-American "Solidarity Conference";
- October, 1967, in Hanoi observing American "war crimes" (interview of POW Doug Hegdahl);
- November, 1967, in Phnom Penh, Cambodia picking up three American POW¹s (Dan Pitzer, Edward R. Johnson, James A. Jackson) and arranging three later POW releases;
- February, 1968, in Havana at Castro's "Cultural Congress";
- June, 1968, "Good fortune, victory" letter introducing Robert Greenblatt to diplomat and Col. Ha Van Lau;
- July, 1968, in Paris with North Vietnamese;
- other 1968 contacts acquiring North Vietnamese information for articles in *Ramparts*;
- August, 1968, telephone calls to Havana during the Democratic Convention;
- Robert Greenblatt's fall 1968, (Hayden arranged?) tour of the Eastern Bloc;
- Robert Scheer's trip(s) to North Vietnam, China, North Korea in 1968-69;
- 1970-1971 contacts acquiring North Vietnamese materials for Hayden's book ... *Love of Possession* . . . ;

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- July, 1972, Jane Fonda on Radio Hanoi;
- fall tour, 1972, in Hanoi;
- December, 1972, Hayden-Fonda telegram to Hanoi;
- April, 1974, tour of "liberated" South Vietnam;
- spring, 1975, the fall of Cambodia and South Vietnam.

Was Tom Hayden a Foreign Agent...

All detailed above.

Hayden, Among Hanoi's Select Few

Tom Hayden was one of few Americans approved by the communists to travel to their capitols during war-time. Hayden was among a very select few to screen, approve and arrange for the travel of others. He interviewed American POWs and took POWs into his custody. He made radio broadcasts from Hanoi and Havana. He wrote many pro-Hanoi articles and books using communist sources. He organized "solidarity" conferences. Hayden was often summoned to Hanoi, Paris and elsewhere to talk with Hanoi's leaders, diplomats and military leaders during war.

If not an agent, Tom Hayden was cheated out of his pay for a job well done. Then, of course, there is Hayden's astounding claim in 1986 that he "cooperated" with the CIA. If so, why doesn't the CIA give him his own personnel records?

A Security Threat?

After Ronald Reagan was elected president, the conservative Heritage Foundation wrote a thick report, *Mandate for Leadership*, making policy recommendations for the new administration. Sam Francis wrote a short chapter on U.S. intelligence in which he cited potential internal security risks - IPS, KKK, and Hayden's Campaign for Economic Democracy. [26] Hayden characterized the Francis report as produced by "the paranoid, fundamentalist right -- and I'm talking about people who openly favor repression, wire taps, "black-bag" operations, ... the ultra-extremist right wing groups. [27]"

Perhaps.

Still Tom Hayden undeniably lost before every liberal judge he faced whenever he attempted to acquire foreign intelligence wiretaps about himself. All courts, including the U.S. Supreme Court, said that full releases of the wiretap reports would jeopardize national security.

The Cold War is over. If Tom Hayden has earned medals and promotions as a secret patriot for communist causes, it is time for the communist and free world archivists to now give him his due and his rightful place in history by opening their over classified records to other patriots and historians. Rumors that POW documents in the U.S. Embassy in Bangkok may have been shredded [28] are a disturbing suggestion of the fate of the Hayden files -- and the truth.

Doubtless, the secret files of other secret patriots in our tale ought to be revealed. I leave that to the next generation of historians.

[1] *Thoi Moi* cited by Bernard-Joseph Carbanes in an *Agence France Presse* dispatch of 20 October, 1967 from Hanoi; Paris AFP in English, 1400 GMT, 30 October 67E. *Thoi Moi*, October 20, 1967

[2] *U.S. v. Dellinger et al*, 472 F 2d 391 (1972).

[3] First officially revealed by the U.S. Government in *Ellsberg et al v. Mitchell et al*, 670 F.Supp 1, June 20, 1984.

[4] Nixon, *RN*, Vol. I, pp. 586-87.

[5] Federal district Judge Julius Hoffman, *U.S. v. Dellinger et al*, criminal cause No. 18295, see especially 502 F. Supp.

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Was Tom Hayden a Foreign Agent...

813 before the U.S. District Court of Appeals, 7th Circuit (Chicago). See also *New York Times*, July 31, 1970.

[6] U.S. District Court, District of Columbia: David Dellinger et. al. v. John Mitchell, et. al. Civil Action Number 1768-69; Thomas C. [sic] Hayden v. U.S. Department of Justice, Civil Action File No. 76-0288; Daniel Ellsberg et. al. v. John N. Mitchell, Civil Action No. 1879-72; Thomas C [sic] Hayden v. Central Intelligence Agency, Civil Action No. 76-284; Thomas E. Hayden v. National Security Agency, Civil Action No. 76-286.

[7] U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit: *Daniel Ellsberg, et. al. v. John N. Mitchell*, No. 82-1085; *Dellinger et al v. John N. Mitchell*, Civil Action No. 23931, 442 F. 2d 782; 143 U.S. App. D.C. 60; *Thomas E. Hayden v. National Security Agency*, Civil Action No. 78-1728, 608 F. 2d 1381.

[8] *U. S. v. David T. Dellinger*, U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit, November 21, 1972, (criminal) No. 18295, 75-77.

[9] N.Y. Times, May 13, 1980, pp. 11-17.

[10] *Hayden v. CIA*, Civil Action No. 76-284, slip opinion, April 15, 1977.

[11] *Ellsberg et al v. Mitchell et al*, Civil Action 1879-72 in 670 F. Supp 1, 4 where Judge Pratt cites *Zweibon IV* at 170. Hayden's case had been separated from Ellsberg and the others in 1981, but the fact of and the nature of the wiretaps overhearing Hayden were revealed in Ellsberg.

[12] The Los Angeles Police Department kept files on Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda according to public and private sources, but these were likely returned to them in November 1983. See: *Santa Monica Evening Outlook*, "L.A.'s Freedom of Information Act sparks debate," November 30, 1983. Also: a confidential conversation with an LAPD officer with contemporary knowledge of these intelligence files.

[13] Yet even the illegal domestic wiretaps first ordered by LBJ's Attorney General Ramsey Clark after the 1967 Detroit riots were ultimately not used in the trial of Hayden and others for disrupting the Democratic convention in Chicago in 1968, because the courts found that the overheard conversations, while illegal, "had nothing to do" with either the riot or contempt court trials. They were ruled, except for Bobbie Seale, not "material or relevant," and the government had not "misrepresented the status of the wiretaps."

[14] Hayden received 7,000 out of 18,000 pages of his FBI files according to news accounts on November 4, 1977.

[15] *Ellsberg et al v. Mitchell et al*, Civil Action No. 72-1879, U.S.C.A., D.C., May 10, 1983 and U.S.D.C., D.C. 670 F. Supp. 1, June 20, 1984.

[16] *Ellsberg ...*, U.S. District Court of Appeals, D.C., 1983.

[17] Concurrence and dissent of Circuit Judge MacKinnon in *Daniel Ellsberg, et. al. v. John N. Mitchell*, No. 82-1085, U.S. Court of Appeals, May 10, 1983.

[18] *Dellinger et v. Mitchell et al*, Civil case No. 1768-69, U.S.D.C., D.C.; and *NY Times*, June 18, 1969, p. 24. Bobbie Seale and Jerry Rubin were both dropped from the case and very likely not overheard on a privileged national security wiretap.

[19] UPI, March 15, 1969.

[20] *Daniel Ellsberg, et.al. v. John N. Mitchell, et al*. Civil No. 82-1085 (appeal from U.S.D.C., D.C. Civil Action 72-1879), U.S.C.A., D.C., 8, 9, 19.

[21] *Hayden v. Department of Justice et al*, Civil Action No. 76-288; *Hayden v. Central Intelligence Agency*, Civil Action No 76-284; *Hayden v. NSA*, Civil Action No. 76-286; and *Hayden v. the Department of Defense* is cited in news clips.

[22] The *Vaughn* index is an itemized inventory of each and every document specifying the nature of the information contained in each document, a detailed factual justification of a refusal to release each item, and a citation of a specific exemption from disclosure for each document. In addition, the courts ultimately received logs, transcripts and tapes of the intercepted conversations.

[23] Of 18,000 pages in 114 volumes, Hayden at first received only 140 of 900 pages processed by November 1975. District William J. Bryant ordered expedited processing on May 21, 1976, but by May 13, 1980, it appears from the public record that the FBI had persuaded judges that the FBI could keep most (11,000 of 18,000 pages or 61 per cent) classified documents -- exhibit D, described as two sealed cartons in a vault. See: *Hayden v. DOJ et al*, Civil Action No. 76-0288. Furthermore, Hayden

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was denied attorney fees, which would have been required had he "substantially prevailed" in his suit.

Was Tom Hayden a Foreign Agent...

[24] Of 117 CIA documents, he received 3 in full and 23 in part. See: Memorandum and Order of District Court Judge Louis (?) A. Flannery on September 27, 1977 for *Hayden v. CIA et al*, Civil Action No. 76-284, also slip order of April 15, 1977.

[25] Revealing some wiretaps might suggest what technical means were necessary to overhear and/or decode conversations on specific telephones or radio channels in specific locations. Similarly, information available to only to one or a few persons at a foreign location might uncover the name(s) of human agents -- some of whom might still be in place and/or in high government positions. Yet as time passes and the Cold War ended, these protections of intelligence sources and methods are less justifiable and need to be weighed against a public right and need to know the truth about its history.

[26] Heritage Foundation, *Mandate for Leadership*. See also: *Washington Post*, April 30, 1981, p. 1.

[27] George Cornell, *San Diego Union*, February 9, 1981.

[28] Evans and Novak column, *Sacramento Union*, April 16, 1993.

Vietnam's State Terrorism

<http://www.jewishworldreview.com/cols/hentoff020402.asp> (Feb 4, 2002) — Provided by Bill Laurie

The Jan. 7, 2002 issue of *Christian Today* reports that the government of Vietnam, while seeking more trade benefits and international loans, continues to conduct state terrorism against those of its people who insist on thinking for themselves and adhering to their own religious beliefs.

The report points out that "underground leaders tell of police raids, church closings and torture ... The government usually reserves torture, harassment and church closings for ethnic Christians living in remote villages, such as Hmong, according to Freedom House." That human rights organization has obtained "four official documents showing that the government intends to eliminate Protestant Christianity in a district of Lao Cai province."

Last year's Amnesty International survey of Vietnam noted that "political dissidents and religious critics of the government were subjected to surveillance, harassment and denial of basic freedoms, including freedoms of expression."

Although more than 54 percent of the Vietnamese are Buddhist, *Christianity Today* reveals that "the government has banned the Unified Buddhist Church of Vietnam for refusing to submit to state controls." The same unrelenting persecution of Catholic churches that will not convert to official government "religious" institutions continues in China -- our permanent trading partner, thanks to Congress and the president, all of whom, of course, ardently believe in free exercise of religion.

Among people of stubborn faith in Vietnamese prisons who still, surprisingly, believe that free people somewhere in the world will come to their aid is Nguyen Hong Quang.

Arrested many times for keeping a record of government insistence on crushing Protestantism, this pastor of a Mennonite church in Ho Chi Minh City -- before being placed in a cell again last August -- urged Christians in the west to "raise their voices and pray and protest the actions" of the government. Why should only Christians raise their voices?

Last October, Vietnam's government sentenced Roman Catholic priest Rev. Thaddeus Nguyen Van Ly to 15 years in prison for "undermining national unity." His crime: giving written testimony to the American Congress about religious persecution in Vietnam. He was also charged with the "public slandering" of the Vietnamese Communist Party

Vietnamese People Shortest in Asia

<http://tuoitrenews.vn/society/13777/vietnamese-people-shortest-in-southeast-asia>

Provided by Bill Laurie

The Vietnamese national average height is only 4 cm more than that of three decades ago. It is the lowest in South-east Asian countries involved in the survey as well as lower than national averages in South Korea, Japan and China, according to a recent survey by the National Nutrition Institute.

Accordingly, the average height of Vietnamese people aged 22-26 is 1.642 meters in men and 1.534 in women, Prof. Dr. Nguyen Cong Khan, head of the Science, Technology and Training Department under the Health Ministry, told *Tuoi Tre*.

A survey of Vietnamese children aged 0 to 18 whose parents live in Paris, France, showed that they are as tall as their French peers.

From the above report, the effect of general malnutrition on the Vietnamese under 40 years of communist regime is obvious. The following images of children having their meals in present-day Lao Kai and Yen Bai in the mountainous Northeast of Vietnam depict the terrible life in children in Vietnamese communist "heaven." They just have to survive on plain white rice with at most a few morsels of vegetable. Their school lunch consists of a handful of white rice with four or five grasshoppers wrapped in a piece of plastic. One does not know that grasshoppers could serve as food for these children. It is no wonder why they are so thin and small.

<http://saostar.vn/doi-song-xa-hoi/nam-com-nho-boc-trong-manh-nylon-cua-hoc-tro-ngheo-vung-cao-khien-nhieu-nguoi-roi-nuoc-mat-889891.html>



Lao Kai



Kiên Thành, Yên Bái

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Eating just white rice

Vietnam's Forgotten Cambodian War

Kevin Doyle, Phnom Penh, 14 September 2014

On 30 April 1975, the last American helicopters beat an ignominious retreat from Saigon as the tanks of the North Vietnamese Army rumbled into the capital of defeated South Vietnam.

Victory over the US military is remembered each year in Vietnam as a triumph over foreign aggression in a war of national liberation.

Less celebrated is Vietnam's quiet retreat from its own deeply unpopular foreign war that ended 25 years ago this month. A war where Vietnamese troops, sent as saviours but soon seen as invaders, paid a steep price in lives and limbs during a gruelling decade-long guerilla conflict.

On the 25th anniversary of their withdrawal from Cambodia, Vietnamese veterans are still haunted by their memories of war with Pol Pot's army.

Some wonder why Cambodians are not more grateful to the troops who freed them from the brutal Khmer Rouge regime.

"Anyone who came back from Cambodia intact was a lucky person," said Nguyen Thanh Nhan, 50, a veteran of the war and author of the autobiographical book "Away from Home Season - The Story of a Vietnamese Volunteer Veteran in Cambodia".

Sent to Cambodia at the age of 20, Mr Nhan served from 1984 to 1987 in a frontline combat unit near the Thai-Cambodian border where some of the bloodiest confrontations with Khmer Rouge fighters took place.

Though the Vietnamese government has never officially confirmed casualty numbers, some 30,000 Vietnamese troops were believed to have been killed before the final withdrawal in September 1989.

Banned in its original form by the Vietnamese government, Mr Nhan's book recounts the hardships of the Vietnamese soldiers and their camaraderie while trying to survive among a population who played host to them by day, and their enemy by night.

Much like the young Americans who fought in Vietnam, Mr Nhan's years in Cambodia have left indelible psychological marks. He still suffers from nightmares, and their daytime equivalent that drag him back into the terror of battle.

"When your companions die in battle, it is a very great loss," Mr Nhan said. "During the war, the battle does not stop. We have no time to reflect. We must be strong to continue. Later, more than 30 years later, memories come back - over and over again."

"The injury in the body is not so heavy but our injury was mental. Many soldiers, one or two years later, when they came back, they went mad."

His experience parallels the disillusionment of American troops, a generation before who arrived in Vietnam believing they were coming to save a nation, only to find that many ordinary people considered them the enemy.

"American soldiers thought they helped Vietnam. Then their illusion was broken," Mr Nhan said. "We were the

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same in Cambodia."

VN's Forgotten Cambodian War...

Vietnam launched an invasion of Cambodia in late December 1978 to remove Pol Pot. Two million Cambodians had died at the hands of his Khmer Rouge regime and Pol Pot's troops had conducted bloody cross-border raids into Vietnam, Cambodia's historic enemy, massacring civilians and torching villages.



Pol Pot fled ahead of the onslaught and Phnom Penh was placed under Vietnamese control in a little over a week.

Those that survived the Khmer Rouge regime initially greeted the Vietnamese as liberators. Years later, however, Vietnamese troops were still in Cambodia and by then, many Cambodians considered them occupiers.

out of the city and into the countryside Up to two million people are believed to have died under the Khmer Rouge

Cambodia was an unpopular war for Vietnam, said Carlyle Thayer, an expert on Vietnam and emeritus

professor at the University of New South Wales at the Australian Defence Force Academy in Canberra.

The dead are lucky as they rest in peace; we struggle every day Nguyen Thanh Nhan, War veteran

"The Vietnamese military had been trained and experienced in overthrowing an occupying power and all of a sudden, the shoe was on the other foot. They had to invade Cambodia and occupy it, and succeed in setting up a government and engineer a withdrawal."

Unlike Vietnam's wars against the French and Americans, the intervention in Cambodia was "downplayed" to the Vietnamese public, Mr Thayer said. When soldiers returned from Cambodia without the fanfare of previous wars, veterans felt that they had been "forgotten".

Gratitude was also not forthcoming from Cambodia, where hostility towards the Vietnamese remains ubiquitous. It is an enmity born of conflicts between ancient emperors and kings, of lost territory and a much smaller Cambodia faring poorly through history to a far more populous Vietnam.

Today, many in Cambodia would like to forget that it was Vietnam that saved their country from Pol Pot's vicious revolution.

Every few months, a group of veterans from the war in Cambodia meet in Ho Chi Minh City. On a recent Sunday morning, their get-together started early with short welcome speeches followed by swift toasts of strong rice wine.

Asked about the war, their mood shifted perceptibly. What happened in Cambodia is not something they discuss often.

One relents, likely out of politeness, and he describes an enduring image from his first days in Cambodia in 1979.

Le Thanh Hieu's unit pursued the retreating Khmer Rouge to the border with Thailand. He remembers seeing Cambodian villagers lying on the sides of roads dying of starvation and illness.

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VN's Forgotten Cambodian War...

"They were dying everywhere. They were dying of hunger," said the 54-year-old. "We didn't have rice to feed the starving. We only had army rations to feed ourselves in battle."

Yet, he said, "faced with this situation the soldiers could not avoid saving lives" and they used their rations to make a thin rice soup for the starving.

"I don't want to have this experience to tell you about," Mr Hieu said.

Vietnam does not want to entirely forget about the war in Cambodia, said Mr Nhan. It only wants to remember an official version: a victorious, lightning attack that toppled Pol Pot.

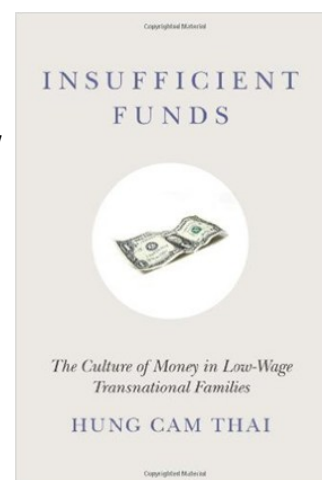
Best forgotten, Mr Nhan said, are the 10 years of punishing hit-and-run fighting and the largely-forgotten veterans still scarred from their experiences.

"For me, the truth needs to be said," he said.

"Sometimes I think the dead are lucky. They rest in peace. We have to struggle every day. Our lives continue."

Insufficient Funds *Huynh Cam Thai*

Insufficient Funds tells the story of how low-wage Vietnamese immigrants in the United States and their poor, non-migrant family members give, receive, and spend money. Drawing on interviews and fieldwork with more than one hundred members of transnational families, Hung Cam Thai examines how and why immigrants, who largely earn low wages as hairdressers, cleaners, and other "invisible" workers, send home a substantial portion of their earnings, as well as spend lavishly on relatives during return trips. Extending beyond mere altruism, this spending is motivated by complex social obligations and the desire to gain self-worth despite their limited economic opportunities in the United States. At the same time, such remittances raise expectations for standards of living, producing a cascade effect that monetizes family relationships. *Insufficient Funds* powerfully illuminates these and other contradictions associated with money and its new meanings in an increasingly transnational world.



Available on Amazon:

<https://www.amazon.com/Insufficient-Funds-Low-Wage-Transnational-Families/dp/0804777322/>

SACEI Wishes You

A **MERRY CHRISTMAS**
&
A **HAPPY NEW YEAR**

