

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	Page III
Executive Summary	1
Dedication	1
To POWs	1
To the Families	1
To those who Remembered	2
The Committee's Purpose	2
The Committee's Methods and Approach	5
Summary of Findings and Recommendations	6
America's "Last Known Alive" in Southeast Asia	6
Investigation of Issues Related to Paris Peace Accords	11
Obstacles Faced by U.S. Negotiators	11
American Protests	12
Post-Homecoming	13
Conclusions	14
Investigation of the Accounting Process	14
Investigation of Intelligence Activities	18
Overall Intelligence Community Support	19
The Role of the Defense Intelligence Agency	20
The Role of the National Security Agency	22
Pilot Distress Symbols	23
Covert Operations	26
Intelligence Support in Laos During the War	27
Cooperation from Governments in Southeast Asia	27
Vietnam	27
Laos	29
Cambodia	30
Government Policies and Actions	30
Declassification	30
Inter-Agency Group	31
Government-to-Government Offers	32
Review of Private Activities	33
Information from Russia and Eastern Europe	34
Gen. Volkogonov's Assessment	35
World War II	36
Cold War	36
Korean Conflict	36
Vietnam War	37
Information from North Korea and China	38
Families	40
Conclusion	41
Chapter 1: Introduction	44
Creation of the Senate Select Committee	44
The Committee's Mission	45
De-Mystifying the Process	46
Accountability and Response	47
Building a Public Record	47
The Investigation	48
Cooperation by Southeast Asian Governments	48
Vietnam	48
Laos	49
Cambodia	50
Previous Wars	51
Previous Investigations	51

VI

Chapter 1—Continued	
The Committee's Mission—Continued	
Previous Investigations—Continued	Page
The Montgomery Committee	52
The Woodcock Commission	53
Live-Sighting Reports	54
Internal DIA Inquiries	55
Reagan Inter-Agency Group	56
Challenge for the Senate Select Committee	56
Baseline Hearings, November 1991	57
Chapter 2: The Paris Peace Accords	59
Key Questions and Key Issues	59
Obstacles to Resolution	59
Purpose	60
Investigative Approach	61
Background	62
Outline of the Negotiations	62
Public Sessions	62
Secret Talks	63
The Issue of Prisoners	65
Timing of POW Release	66
Exchange of Lists	66
Linkage to Release of Civilian Prisoners	68
Application to Prisoners Captured Outside Vietnam	68
The Issue of U.S. Aid	73
The Agreement	75
Implementation of the Accords: The First 60 Days	77
General Expectations	77
Expectations about Laos	78
January 27, 1973: The Lists are Exchanged	81
U.S. Reaction: Disappointment and Dismay	82
U.S. Protests	83
Reactions to DRV/Laos List	83
Kissinger's February 1973 Visit to Hanoi	85
Discrepancy Cases	85
Enforcing the Indochina Understanding	86
The Laos Cease-fire Agreement	87
The Problems Gets Worse	88
U.S. Intelligence Assessment	89
Admiral Moorer's March 22 Cable	89
Ambassador Godley's March 22 Cable	90
Admiral Moorer's March 23 Cable	91
Summary	91
Homecoming Complete Laos Unresolved	92
Post Homecoming	93
Presidential Statements	93
The Clements/Shields Meeting	95
The Nixon/Shields Meeting	96
Shields' Press Conference	97
Shields' Memo to Ambassador Hill	99
Effect of Administration's Statements	100
Kissinger-Le Duc Tho Meetings, May-June 1973	101
Status Change Policy	104
Phase-Out of POW/MIA Task Force	108
Joint Economic Commission	109
Four-Party Joint Military Team	110
Efforts to Gain an Accounting in Laos	111
Discussion	113
Orchestrated Confusion: The DRV and Pathet Lao	113
What Could the Administration Have Done?	115
Diplomatic Efforts	115
Military Options	116
Congress	120
Watergate	121
Pro and Con: Were POWs Left Behind?	122
Indications that Americans May Have Been Left Behind	122
Witness Assessments	122
Laos: Complicating Factors	124

VII

Chapter 2—Continued	Page
Questions of Continued Links Between U.S. Aid and POW/MIAs.....	126
Conclusions.....	126
Chapter 3: Accounting for Missing Servicemen.....	127
Overview.....	127
Records Search.....	129
Civilian Accounting: Department of State.....	132
Civilian Accounting: Central Intelligence Agency.....	133
Deserters.....	133
War-Time Accounting.....	134
The Process.....	134
Early Losses.....	135
DIA's Involvement.....	136
Cross-Border Operations.....	138
Databases and Accounting Terms.....	139
Casualty Status Determinations.....	139
War-Time Lists.....	141
The Sullivan Report.....	142
Preparations for Repatriation.....	143
Operation Homecoming Accounting.....	144
POW Numbers.....	146
Information from Debriefings.....	146
Post-Homecoming Accountability: April 1973–April 1975.....	147
Live Americans.....	149
Status Reviews.....	151
Shifts in Intelligence Priorities.....	151
Disposition of Records.....	152
Post-War Accountability: April 1975–Present.....	153
Accounting Efforts.....	153
Carter Administration Policies.....	154
Reagan Administration Efforts.....	155
Redefining “Unaccounted For”.....	158
Laos: the DIA View.....	159
Discrepancy Cases.....	160
The Vice Chairman's List.....	161
Criticisms of U.S. Government Accounting.....	163
Committee Findings.....	163
Chapter 4: Intelligence.....	166
Overview.....	166
Intelligence and Intelligence Analysis.....	167
Investigating the Intelligence Agencies' Performance.....	168
Intelligence Community Support of the POW Effort.....	168
Priority.....	168
Analytical Priorities.....	168
Central Intelligence Agency Actions.....	169
Management Actions.....	169
Collection and Special Operations After Homecoming.....	169
CIA Primacy in Laos and Information-Sharing.....	169
Analysis or Lack of It.....	170
Current Role.....	170
The Role of the Defense Intelligence Agency.....	170
Background.....	170
DIA's Management Issues.....	170
DIA Internal Criticisms.....	172
Discussion.....	176
Live-Sighting Reports.....	177
Background.....	177
Current Operations.....	179
Committee Investigation.....	181
Cluster Analysis Methodology.....	181
Review of Files and DIA Source Evaluations.....	183
Key Events in the Investigation.....	184
Other Analyses.....	184
Source Analysis versus Content Analysis.....	185
Minority View.....	185
Majority View.....	186
Analysis of Clusters.....	187
Hanoi Ministry of Defense (Vietnam).....	187
Viengxay (Laos).....	189

VIII

Chapter 4—Continued	
Analysis of Clusters—Continued	Page
Son La Area (Vietnam).....	189
Oudomsai (Laos).....	190
Summary.....	191
Other Live-Sighting Reports.....	192
Current Status of Live-Sighting Investigations	193
Example: Pleiku, November 1992.....	195
Discussion.....	198
Pilot Distress Symbols.....	200
Background.....	200
Military Escape & Evasion Program	201
Investigation Procedures.....	201
Possible POW Signals	201
Intelligence Community Assessment.....	203
JSSA Findings.....	205
Intelligence Community Search for Evader Symbols	207
DIA Investigation.....	209
Committee Imagery Analysis	213
Discussion.....	216
Recommendations.....	217
Covert Operations	218
Investigative Procedures.....	219
Discussion.....	219
Private Operations With Official Support.....	221
The Role of the National Security Agency.....	222
Background.....	222
NSA's Responsibilities	222
SIGINT and DIA Case Files	224
Post-1973 Reports and Intercepts on Possible POWs.....	224
An NSA Analyst's View.....	225
NSA and Baron 52.....	227
Intelligence Support in Laos	229
Other NSA Sources	232
Chapter 5: Government Policies and Actions.....	232
President Nixon, Ford, Carter and Reagan.....	232
Declassification	233
Overview.....	233
Existing Law: Executive Order 1236.....	234
Prior Disclosure Efforts.....	235
Senate Joint Resolution 125	235
Committee Task Force.....	236
Senate Resolution 400.....	236
Members' Letter to President Bush.....	237
Senate Resolution 324.....	239
Executive Order 12812.....	239
Central Documentation Office	240
Discussion.....	243
Summary.....	244
Public Awareness Campaign.....	244
Nixon Administration.....	245
Laird Initiative.....	245
Search for Allies	246
H. Ross Perot	246
POW Bracelets	247
Son Tay Raid	247
Operation Homecoming	247
POWs' View	248
Debriefings.....	253
Debriefing Results	255
Life in Captivity	255
The Prison System.....	256
Information about Unaccounted-for Servicemen	256
Other Indications.....	259
Were Specialists Kept Behind?	259
Possibility of POWs Outside Returnees' Knowledge	261
Mulligan	263
Sponeyberger and Wilson.....	264

IX

Chapter 5—Continued

Operation Homecoming—Continued

Possibility of POWs Outside Returnees' Knowledge—Continued

Col. Donald "Digger" Odell

DIA Assessment

Committee Review of Debriefing Reports

Discussion

Inter-Agency Group

History of IAGs

Creation of the IAG on POW/MIA Affairs

Public Accountability

Current IAG Practices

Policies Affected by the IAG

The League's Influence Over Government Policy

Discussion of the League's Role

Discussion

Government-to-Government Offers

The 1981 Alleged Offer

ASEAN Country

Remains Recovery Efforts

Recoverable Remains

Vessey "Sensibility Check"

Warehousing Remains

Vietnamese Amnesty Program

Excavations

Current Operations

Future Plans

Remains Repatriation Efforts

GAO's Investigation of CIL-HI

Outside Experts' Findings

GAO's Findings

On-Going Work at CIL-HI

Discussion

Conclusions: Conspiracy Theory and Other Myths

Conspiracy Theory

Myths

Island of Syphilitic Souls Theory

Systematic Lie Theory

"Black Ops" Theory

"Crazies and Amputees" Theory

Chapter 6: Private Efforts

Overview

Public Awareness Campaigns

Reconnaissance/Rescue Missions

Photographs

Fundraising

Public-Private Alliances

Lao Resistance

Questions about U.S. Government Involvement with Private Efforts to fund Lao Resistance

Other Efforts Related to Lao Resistance Forces

Recent Reconnaissance and Rescue Missions

Team Falcon

1988 Mission to Southeast Asia

James "Bo" Gritz

Dissemination of Unreliable Information

Col. Jack Bailey

Col. Albert Shinkle

Khambang Sibounheuang

Photographs

The Rowley Photo

The Borah Photo

The Carr Photo

The Robertson-Stevens-Lundy Photo

Dog Tag Reports

Discussion

Reward Offers

Fundraising

Page

265

265

268

270

271

271

272

272

274

274

276

280

282

282

282

285

286

286

286

288

289

289

291

292

292

292

294

293

294

295

296

296

299

300

300

300

300

301

301

301

302

302

302

303

303

305

309

310

310

312

314

316

317

317

318

320

321

321

322

322

324

325

326

328

X

Chapter 6—Continued	
Fundraising—Continued	Page
Amounts Raised	329
Professional Fundraising Techniques	330
Operation Rescue, Inc.	332
Skyhook II	334
Veterans of the Vietnam War, Inc.	335
DIA's Analysis of the Fundraising Solicitations	338
Use of Proceeds: Fundraising vs. Program Expenses	339
Disclosure of Fundraising Expenses	339
Other POW/MIA Groups	341
BRAVO	342
Georgia Committee for POW/MIA, Inc.	342
The Lima (Ohio) Area MIA-POW	342
MN League of Families/MN Won't Forget POW/MIA	343
POW Network	343
Prisoner of War Committee of Michigan	343
Red River Valley Fighter Pilots Association	344
Discussion	344
Chapter 7: Families	346
Missing a Loved One	346
Families' Views and Experience	347
Families' Central Role in Committee's Work	348
The Search for Answers	349
U.S. Government Actions During the War	351
War-Time Secrecy	351
Secrecy's Effects	355
Mis-Reporting	355
When Evidence Suggested Death	355
When Evidence Pointed to Life	357
Public Relations Campaign	358
Post-War Government Policies	359
Presumed Findings of Death	359
Changing Definitions	361
Live-Sighting Reports	361
Repatriation of Remains	361
Casualty Officers	362
Families Turn Elsewhere for Help	364
National League of Families	364
National Alliance of Families	365
Fellow Combat Veterans	365
Private Groups	366
Discussion	368
Recommendations	369
Chapter 8: Gauging Cooperation of Governments in Southeast Asia	370
Vietnam	370
From Operation Homecoming Until 1982	371
Reagan Administration Initiatives (1982-1987)	374
General Vessey's Contributions (1987-1991)	377
1991: The Pace of Activity Quickens	379
1992: Administration and Committee Efforts to Encourage Coopera- tion	382
April 1992: Select Committee Delegation	383
Meetings in Hanoi	383
"Breakthrough" Guarantees	383
Inspection of Thanh Liet Prison	384
HCM, Da Nang and Mekong Delta Visits	384
Recent Developments	385
Committee Hearings	388
December 1992: Kerry-Smith Trip	390
Laos	391
Cambodia	393
Chapter 9: Information from Russia, North Korea and China	394
The U.S.-Russia Joint Commission	394
Task Force Russia	394
Investigation in Progress	395
Committee Hearings	396
Volkogonov Testimony	397

XI

Chapter 9—Continued

Committee Hearings—Continued	Page
Volkogonov's Dec. 17, 1992 Letter	401
U.S. POWs and Korea	401
Official Assessments	401
Assessment of Committee Investigator	402
RAND Project/Cole Testimony	403
Volkogonov Testimony	409
Corso Testimony	410
Simpson Testimony	413
Kiba Testimony	414
State Department Testimony	415
Dumas Testimony	416
Oprica Testimony	416
U.S. POWs and World War II	417
RAND Project/Cole Testimony	417
Sanders, Sauter and Brown	419
Cold War Incidents	421
Joint Staff Report	421
Defense Department View	422
Joint Commission Visit to Ukraine	422
RAND Project/Cole Testimony	422
Family Members and Task Force Russia	423
Vietnam War	424
Defense Department Testimony	425
Assessment of Committee Investigator	425
Bui Tin Testimony	425
Other Reports	426
Mooney Testimony	427
Activities in Moscow	428
Joint U.S.-Russia Commission	428
U.S. Delegation	428
Russian Delegation	428
Plenary Meetings	428
December 1992 Meeting	429
Task Force Russia	430
Organization and Mission	430
Personnel	430
Mission	430
Objectives	430
Russian Joint Office	431
Joint Interview Program	431
Interviews with Russian Officials	431
Interviews with Russian Citizens	432
Summary of Requests to Russians	435
Correspondence Files	435
Archives	436
Structure of Archives	436
Visits to Archives	436
Archival Research Agreements	436
Documents Requested	437
World War II	437
Korean War	437
Cold War	437
Vietnam War	437
Documents Received	437
Assessment of Archival Research	438
POW/MIA Family Member Efforts in Russia	438
Repatriation of U.S. Citizens Buried in Russia	439
Mutual Cooperation	439
Russian Inquiries on Afghanistan Veterans	439
Soviet Submarine Incident	439
The Case of "David Markin"	439
Future Actions	441
Levels of Cooperation	441
Trips and Visits	442
Planned Interviews	442
Follow-Up Action Leads	442

XII

Chapter 9—Continued	
Future Actions—Continued	Page
Investigation of Individual Leads	442
Conclusions	442
Information from North Korea and China	445
Chapter 10: Conclusions and a Look Ahead	447
Russia	447
Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia	448
China and North Korea	448
Defense Department	448
Justice Department	449
Watergate Tapes	449
Progress on Declassification	449
Information About the Committee	450
Annex: Committee Members' Floor Statements	450
Appendices	503
Appendix 1: Chronology	504
Appendix 2: Individual POW, MIA, and KIA-BNR Cases	574
135 Discrepancy Cases	578
Sen. Smith List of 324	635
Appendix 3: Prior Investigations	826
Appendix 4: Witnesses	865
Appendix 5: Excerpts from Selected Documents	879
Appendix 6: Selected Excerpts from Hearing Testimony	894