

**Red Flag Associations:
An emerging threat to Catholic communities in Vietnam**



Gathering of Red Flag Association next to the Van Thai Catholic Church in Nghe An Province, October 29, 2017

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“If that association was not established by the government, then why did the government have to notify us [of its upcoming gathering]? Moreover, its prior gatherings were always held in the government building. No association without the blessing of the government may enter a government building to conduct activities.”¹

Rev. Dang Huu Nam, former priest of Phu Yen Parish, BBC interview on October 30, 2017. A target of the local Red Flag Association, he was recently reassigned to another parish.



Background

The rise of the Red Flag Associations in Nghe An Province is closely related to the government’s suppression of popular protests against the Taiwanese-owned Formosa Steel Plant, which has caused the worst ecological disaster in Vietnam’s contemporary history.

In early April 2016, residents along the coastline of four provinces in Central Vietnam, Ha Tinh, Quang Tri, Quang Binh and Thua Thien-Hue, discovered large volumes of dead fish washing ashore. Residents in communities surrounding the Formosa Steel Plant in Ha Tinh Province reported seeing a large level of waste dumped by the plant into the ocean. According to Amnesty International, as many as 270,000 people, including fishermen, women, and others who rely on the fishing industry for their livelihood as well as that of their families, were affected by the deaths of millions of fish.²

As mass protests broke out against the Formosa Steel Plant, in which demonstrators demanded environmental justice and fair compensation, the government violently attacked them and arrested those suspected of being key organizers.

¹ “Nghe An Province: Red Flag Association, spontaneous but approved?”, available at <http://www.bbc.com/vietnamese/vietnam-41801662>

² Amnesty International, Urgent Action, June 1, 2017, available at <https://www.amnestyusa.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/uaa12617-1.pdf>

For two months the Vietnamese government acted to defend the steel plant, attempting to deflect blame from the company and pointing to other alleged causes. In late June 2017, the government finally confirmed the widespread public view that the Formosa Steel Plant, owned by the Taiwanese Formosa Plastics Group, was the source of discharges of toxic waste into coastal waters.

At the same time, the government announced Formosa Steel Plant's agreement to pay 500 million USD in fines and compensation. This announcement was met with public anger as people affected had been completely shut out of the negotiation process. The government-negotiated compensation ranges from 130 to 1,600 USD³ per affected family— equivalent to one month to 11 months of lost income.⁴ Most experts and even Vietnam's government projected that full recovery of the ecology and fishery would take a decade.⁵

The majority of the half million Catholics in the Diocese of Vinh live in fishing communities severely affected by the disaster. Complaints they filed against the Formosa Steel Plant were summarily dismissed by the country's judicial system. Without any other recourse, they took to the streets to make their voice heard. The government has targeted individuals viewed as demonstration organizers for harassment, detention, and/or imprisonment. At the same time, entire communities have been victims of mob terror in the form of Red Flag Associations.



A rally of Red Flag members in Dien My Commune,
Dien Chau District, Nghe An Province, October 29, 2017

³ Vietnam's Growing Environmental Activism, <https://thediplomat.com/2016/10/vietnams-growing-environmental-activism/>

⁴ Average income for a fisherman in Central Vietnam was 890 USD; factoring in a 5% average inflation rate, it would be \$1,760 in 2017.

⁵ Vietnam says recovery from Formosa industrial disaster could take a decade, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-vietnam-environment-formosa-plastics/vietnam-says-recovery-from-formosa-industrial-disaster-could-take-a-decade-idUSKBN14C1F5>

New threat to Catholic Communities

Red Flag Associations are a new phenomenon in Vietnam: non-state actors that systematically commit egregious violations of human rights, specifically targeting Catholic communities that challenge the government's handling of the Formosa Steel Plant-induced disaster. For years the Vietnamese police had been known for their use of thugs to attack peaceful demonstrators.⁶ However, these thugs are assembled for one specific operation and then go their separate ways so as to give the appearance of spontaneity. On the contrary, Red Flag Associations are organized, apparently with a common agenda:

- To suppress and hamper attempts aimed at filing complaints or protesting against the Formosa Steel Plant;
- To sow divisions between non-Catholics and Catholics, and rally non-Catholics to boycott business transactions with targeted Catholic communities;
- To intimidate parishioners by vilifying their priests, attacking their lay leaders, and desecrating their church and homes.

The Red Flag Associations have publicly condemned Bishop Nguyen Thai Hop of Vinh Diocese, Phu Yen Parish priest Dang Huu Nam, Song Ngoc Parish priest Nguyen Dinh Thuc, Dong Kieu Parish priest Nguyen Ngoc Ngu, and Ke Gai Parish priest Nguyen Duc Nhan. Red Flag members have been seen using rallying cries such as “Eliminate Religious Rebels”, “Kill Vinh Bishop Nguyen Thai Hop”, “Remove Phu Yen Parish priest Dang Huu Nam and Song Ngoc Parish priest Nguyen Dinh Thuc”, and “Kill Dong Kieu Parish priest Nguyen Ngoc Ngu”.

Their membership is composed of members of the local security forces, government employees, members of government-sponsored organizations (veterans, young men, women groups, etc.), unemployed adults, and thugs among others. At times youths and children are also seen taking part in Red Flag processions as shown on the previous picture.

⁶ “No Country for Human Rights Activists,” Human Rights Watch, June 18, 2017, available at <https://www.hrw.org/report/2017/06/18/no-country-human-rights-activists/assaults-bloggers-and-democracy-campaigners>



Mr. Trung, a traffic police officer from Hung Nguyen District and member of the Reg Flag group that attacked parishioners at Ke Gai Parish on December 17, 2017

The emergence of Red Flag Associations

The appearance of a Red Flag group was first reported in Nghe An Province. On May 8, 2017 the state media of Nghe An Province carried news that 600 members of the Farmers Association, hundreds of members of the Women’s Union and thousands of “concerned” citizens in the province demonstrated against Rev. Dang Huu Nam, priest of Phu Yên Parish, and Rev. Nguyen Dinh Thuc, priest of Song Ngoc Parish, calling for their expulsion from these localities. A few days later the Director of the Public Security Department of Nghe An Province, Nguyen Huu Cau, was quoted in the news condemning these two Catholic priests as “extremist subjects using religion as camouflage”.⁷

Then, on May 30, 2017, over 100 men wearing red T-shirts and carrying red flags attacked Mr. Ho Van Than, a member of the Song Ngoc Parish in Quynh Ngoc Commune, Quynh Luu District, Nghe An Province. They called themselves members of “Hội Cờ Đỏ” (Red Flag Association), the first time this non-state actor was referred to by its name. The victim alerted the appropriate police and government officials and asked for protection, but the authorities did not show any concern.

⁷ Interview published on May 24, 2017 in “Cong An Nghe An”, the organ of the Public Security Department of Nghe An Province: <http://congannghean.vn/an-ninh-trat-tu/201705/xu-ly-nghiem-cac-chuc-sac-cuc-doan-loi-dung-ton-giao-de-kich-dong-gay-roi-739323/>

In the evening of the same day, over 1,000 individuals wearing red T-shirts and carrying red flags surrounded Van Thai Sub-Parish of the Song Ngoc Parish while Rev. Nguyen Dinh Thuc was celebrating Mass. The thuggish crowd screamed insults at the adherents, threw bricks and rocks to damage their vehicles and a number of houses, desecrated the altar, and beat parishioners as they went home after Mass.

In the evening of the following day, a mob of over 100 individuals forced its way into Van Thai Sub-Parish, entered the homes of parishioners, and destroyed property and religious icons. The mob ransacked business stores in the sub-parish, costing several families hundreds of dollars each. In subsequent days, thugs wearing red T-shirts and carrying red flags repeatedly attacked members of the Van Thai Sub-parish, destroying homes and wrecking the statues and paintings of the Virgin Mary and the saints in the Van Thai Church.



Ransacked religious icons at Van Thai Catholic Church

On June 29, 2017, Ho Van Tu, one of the victims, sent to the commune and district authorities a written request for an investigation of the destruction of his property – the damages were estimated at 150 million VND, equivalent to 6,700 USD. This was about four years of average annual income for a fisherman’s family.⁸ To this day he has not received any response from the responsible authorities.

⁸ The average annual income of a fisherman in South Central Vietnam was 15.1 million VND (approximately 955 USD) in 2005. Assuming that average income was the same in North Central Vietnam and adjusting for a 5% annual inflation rate, it would be 1,700 USD in 2017. See: Fishermen and Distribution System in the Fishing Sector of the

In late August the Red Flag phenomenon spread to Dong Kieu Parish, about 30 km south of Song Ngoc Parish. From August 30 to September 20, 2017, thugs wearing red T-shirts and carrying red flags repeatedly threw rocks causing damages to the homes of a number of Catholics in Dong Kieu Parish, located in Dien My Commune, Dien Chau District, Nghe An Province.

On September 3, 2017, thugs forced their way into Mr. Tran Van Trinh's home in Dong Kieu Parish; they beat up residents, ransacked the place, and damaged the statue of the Virgin Mary. On September 20, 2017, Red Flag members from Dien My Commune carried red flags and banners as they surrounded the Dong Kieu Church and yelled loudly their demand to have parish priest Nguyen Ngoc Ngu expelled from Dien My Commune. Government officials and police officers were present but did not interfere.

On September 22, 2017, priest Nguyen Ngoc Ngu of Dong Kieu Parish, supported by seven priests from nearby Dong Thap Parish and two local Catholic lay leaders, filed a complaint with the authorities of Dien Chau District and Nghe An Province against the perpetrators of the multiple attacks against Dong Kieu parishioners. The complaint gave specific, detailed information about the attacks:

"1) At 23:00 on September 1, 2017, a mob of thugs threw rocks at and caused damages to the residence of Tran Van Tuan's family in Neighborhood 6 and of Tran Van Cuong's family in Cho Dinh Neighborhood, Dien My Commune.,

"2) At 1:00 on September 3, 2017, these thugs again threw rocks at the home of Mr. Tran Van Think, and damaged its front door, and similarly for other families of parishioners at Cho Dinh Neighborhood, Dien My Commune.

"3) At 20:00 on September 15, 2017, a group of thugs again threw rocks at the home of Mr. Tran Van Think and Mr. Hoang Van Hoe, in Cho Dinh Block, Dien My Commune. More aggravating, these thugs broke into the home of Mr. Tran Van Think and demolished the statue of the Virgin Mary and used a gun to shoot at the face of the statue of the Virgin Mary in the home of Mr. Hoang Van Hoe. They then used guns to threaten as they attacked a number of parishioners.

"4) At 21:00 on September 16, 2017, the same thugs pried open the door of the warehouse of Mr. Hoang Van Hoe's home and damaged the two cars of the family; they

South Central Vietnam, available at:

<http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.1020.1096&rep=rep1&type=pdf>

also threw rocks and caused damages to the home of Mr. Tran Van An, in Cho Dinh Block, Dien My Commune.

“5) At 9:00 on September 20, 2017, under the leadership of the government and with the support of the public security police, members of many local associations of Dien My Commune carried red flags and banners with slogans, entered the ground of Dong Kieu Church causing disturbance and demanding the expulsion of Rev. Nguyen Ngoc Ngu from Dien My Commune.

“6) On September 20, 2017, an extremist mob entered the Cho Dinh Market, Dien My Commune, to create disturbance and damaged the goods of parishioners in plain view of the police.”

The complaint denounced the public insecurity caused by Red Flag members and requested investigation and prosecution of the perpetrators.

As the government did not respond, on October 30 parish priest Pham Xuan Ke and Dong Kieu Parish priest Nguyen Ngoc Ngu went to the government building of Dien My Commune to follow up on the filed complaint. When they came out of the building they were surrounded by some 300 Red Flag members, some carrying machetes and knives, who shouted threats at them. The mob lowered the electric cables from nearby utility poles to block the priests’ SUV from leaving. The government later claimed that it was a spontaneous reaction by concerned citizens who opposed the priests’ actions.



The two priests in the SUV were surrounded by the Red Flag members,
October 30, 2017

In certain locations, the local government did not hide their reliance on Red Flag members to do their “dirty” work.

On December 17, 2017, a group of government employees and police officers of Hung Tay Commune, Hung Nguyen District, Nghe An Province showed up to threaten women members of Ke Gai Parish who were working on an irrigation project on their cropland near their church. The government ordered a halt to the work. The women refused to comply with the absurd order. Shortly thereafter, more than 100 men descended from buses or arrived on motorbikes, all with red flags draped around them, and proceeded to attack the women in full view of the local officials and policemen. Under the direction of Hung Tay Commune's chairman and police chief, the group beat up and injured several victims. A few male parishioners who attempted to protect the women were beaten until they passed out. Rev. Nguyen Duc Nhan, priest of Ke Gai Parish, requested the government representatives to explain the reason for the incident and for them to prepare an incident report. The priest also asked the parishioners to disperse so as to avoid a bloody crackdown as some 1,000 or more rapid-response policemen with riot control gear, weapons, and police dogs arrived and were poised to attack. See Appendix 1 for the incident report submitted by Rev. Nhan to the UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief.



Red Flag members at the fields in Kê Gai Parish, October 30, 2017

On February 23, 2018, parents of elementary school students from Dang Cao Parish, Dien Doai Commune, Dien Chau District, Nghe An Province, went to Dien Doai Elementary School to challenge their children's expulsion from the school. Earlier, a few teachers had picked on a number of Catholic students and even threatened them with expulsion because they had not signed up for out-of-school tutoring classes offered by teachers who wanted to make extra money. The targeted children were taunted by their classmates, who also prevented them from using school computers and closed the classroom doors to prevent them from attending class.

School officials then reportedly called in the Red Flag members, who arrived armed with metal pipes, sticks, and staffs. They waited outside and assaulted the parents as they came out of the meeting with school officials. Instead of investigating the violent mob and protecting the targeted parents, school officials accused Rev. Dinh Van Minh, priest of Dang Cao Parish, of inciting his parishioners to create trouble for the school. The school officials referred to this local Red Flag Association as “Autonomous Security Group to Protect the Government”.



Parents of students demanding an answer from school administration after the incident, February 23, 2018

The spreading of Red Flag Associations

Alarmingly, Red Flag Associations have surfaced in areas outside Nghe An Province. On September 4, 2017, twenty Red Flag members wearing face masks and sunglasses and equipped with red flags, banners, a pistol, electric batons, and tear gas dispensers entered Thọ Hoa Parish in Dong Nai Province. They demanded retribution against Rev. Nguyen Duy Tan, the parish priest, after he had posted opinions on his personal Facebook critical of the government’s policy toward independent religions. Rev. Tan recognized Nguyen Trong Nghia, a known Red Flag member, among the mob. Parishioners rallied to protect their priest and were able to disarm the intruders. They prepared an incident report in the presence of the Red Flag members and the public security police. Upon receiving the incident report from the parishioners along with their request for investigation, the government only imposed an administrative fine on a number of intruders, including an equivalent of US \$40 against a Red Flag member for “possessing a dangerous toy gun”, which was the conclusion of police investigators.



Display of weapons used by Red Flag members during their attack on Tho Hoa Parish, September 4, 2017

Similarly, in late 2017 a number of pro-government “opinion shapers” in Ha Noi introduced their newly formed Red Flag Association. Many of them were already members of Vietvision Television, an online television channel broadcasting on Youtube that verbally attacks non-conforming Catholic priests and vilifies any critic of the government.

Alliance of Red Flag Associations

In mid October 2017, the Red Flag Associations announced their inaugural convention titled “Networking – Introducing the Alliance of Red Flag Associations – Son Hai Commune, Dien My Commune, Hanoi and neighboring communes – Protecting National Security” to be held next to the Catholic church of Van Thai Sub-parish of Song Ngoc Parish.

Notified by the local government of the upcoming public event, on October 26 Rev. Nguyen Dinh Thuc, the parish priest, wrote to the local authorities protesting the gathering of hundreds of Red Flag members next to the sub-parish’s church. As his parish had been brutally attacked and ransacked by Red Flag members just a few months before, the coming together of Red Flag Associations near Van Thai Church would have an intimidating effect on his parishioners. The authorities did not respond to his request.



Banner displayed at the convention of Alliance of Red Flag Associations, October 29, 2017

As scheduled, on October 29 some 700 Red Flag members from Hanoi and the Communes of Son Hai, Dien My, Dien Chau and An Hoa assembled next to the Van Thai Church. All the speakers at the event took turns to defame Rev. Nguyen Dinh Thuc, the priest of Song Ngoc Parish, and Rev. Dang Huu Nam, the priest of Phu Yen Parish, and called for their removal. See in Appendix II the full incident report submitted to the UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief.



Scene at convention of Alliance of Red Flag Associations, October 29, 2017

Key actors behind the Red Flag Association movement

Leaders of the different Red Flag Associations are not shy about appearing in public and pronouncing their positions. The most prominent ones include:

- **Tran Nhat Quang:** Red Flag Association in Ha Noi



Tran Nhat Quang (holding microphone) at the October 29, 2017
Convention of Alliance of Red Flag Associations

Also known as “Quang Lun”, meaning Quang the Dwarf, due to his height, he was very active in suppressing Ha Noi marchers protesting China’s violation of Vietnamese territorial waters in 2014 – 2016. He assaulted peaceful demonstrators, including the elderly and children. He is in charge of Vietvision Television channel on Youtube, a media outlet directed at defaming those who demand fair compensation from the Formosa Steel Plant for causing the April 2016 environmental disaster. He coordinates misinformation activities aimed at inciting enmity between Catholics and non-Catholics and at Catholic priests working with fishermen from their parishes who wanted to file a complaint against the Formosa Steel Plant. He introduced himself as the leader of the Red Flag Association in Ha Noi at the first convention of the Red Flag Associations in Van Thai on October 29, 2017.

- **Le Thi Quynh Hoan:** Leader of the Red Flag Association in Son Hai Commune, Quynh Luu District, Nghe An Province



Le Thi Quynh Hoan at the October 29, 2017
Convention of Alliance of Red Flag Associations

She was the lead planner/organizer of the Alliance of Red Flag Associations Convention that took place on October 29, 2017 near the Van Thai Church. She devoted 13 minutes of her 15-minute speech to defaming Song Ngoc Parish priest Nguyen Dinh Thuc and Phu Yen Parish priest Dang Huu Nam.

- **Nguyen Trong Nghia:** Leader of the Red Flag Association in Town of Cao Lanh, Dong Thap Province



Nguyen Trong Nghia, in blue shirt, admitting his violent acts in the presence of the police,
September 4, 2017

On September 4, 2017, Nguyen Trong Nghia led a Red Flag group equipped with sidearms, electric batons, and tear gas dispensers to intrude into Tho Hoa Parish in Xuan Loc District, Dong Nai Province. The intruders threatened parish priest Nguyen Duy Tan and beat up a parishioner. Previously, Nghĩa had used a megaphone to shout accusations and obscenities at the Redemptorist Church in Saigon (Ho Chi Minh City), and wrote a letter brimming with offensive language to attack the Vietnamese Conference of Catholic Bishops for their comments on the draft Law on Belief and Religion circulated by Vietnam's government.

Government's Role

The government is fully aware of the violent acts of Red Flag Associations but has refused to take any action to stop them and/or to investigate allegations made by their victims. Complaints filed by victims have been ignored by local and provincial governments.

There are signs that local governments have tacitly encouraged and facilitated the activities of Red Flag Associations. For example, On October 25, 2017 the People's Committee of Son Hai Commune notified the Van Thai sub-parish representative committee of the upcoming gathering of Red Flag Associations. The government provided them a location near the Van Thai Church. Prior to that large gathering, Red Flag members met at government buildings of Son Hai Commune. A similar gathering of citizens acting independently of government authorities would invariably be violently dispersed by the police.

Despite strong opposition by the priest of Van Thai sub-parish, the event still took place on October 29, 2017. As part of the event, some 700 Red Flag members paraded around Son Hai Commune.



Red Flag members meeting in a government office of Dien Chau District, October 29, 2017

Similarly, on September 20, 2017, escorted by the government officials and security forces, Red Flag members carrying red flags, banners, and signs with hostile slogans paraded in the area surrounding Dong Kieu Parish church to incite disturbance and call for the expulsion of Rev. Nguyen Ngoc Ngu from Dien My Commune.

The government has taken virtually no action in spite of the many complaints filed by the victims or their parish priests denouncing Red Flag members' brutal attacks that had caused significant damages to property and injuries to victims, at times life threatening ones.

The Vietnamese government controls all news media outlets. The fact that these outlets were mobilized to defame and condemn Catholic clergymen in synchrony with the activities of the Red Flag Associations suggests a certain level of coordination.



Nghe An Province's state media covering a rally of Red Flag members calling for the expulsion of Rev. Dang Huu Nam, priest of Phu Yen Parish

The treatment of the Red Flag Associations by the government sharply contrasts with its treatment of Catholic communities that demanded justice. Individuals identified by the government as organizers of peaceful demonstrations against the Formosa Steel Plant have been arrested and sentenced to prison terms: Nguyen Van Oai, a former prisoner of conscience, received 5 years on September 18, 2017; Nguyen Van Hoa 7 years on November 27, 2017; Hoang Duc Binh 14 years on February 6, 2018; and Nguyen Nam Phong 2 years on February 6, 2018. Ms. Tran Thi Xuan of Cua Soc Parish, Ha Tinh Province, was arrested on October 17, 2017 and has been held in pre-trial detention. Four women of Dong Yen Parish, which is located in the immediate proximity of the Formosa Steel Plant, were sentenced to 3 to 6 months of imprisonment on November 3, 2017 for “disturbing public order” – they had held a small demonstration to demand fair compensation for lost livelihood.

Other prisoners of conscience who took part or supported the demonstrators in some protests against the Formosa Steel Plant include: Luu Van Vinh, Nguen Van Oai, Tran Thi Nga, Nguyen Van Duc Do, Nguyen Ngoc Nhu Quynh (Blogger “Mother Mushroom”), and Dao Quang Thuc.

A number of young Catholic environmental advocates have fled to Thailand: Chu Mạnh Sơn, former prisoner of conscience; Tran Minh Nhat, former prisoner of conscience; Bach Hong Quyen; and former prisoner of conscience Le Van Son. Others have gone into hiding in Vietnam.



Red Flag members parading in Son Hai Commune, Quynh Luu District, Nghe An Province, October 29, 2017

Recommendations

The network of Red Flag Associations is growing within and beyond Nghệ An Province. Alarmingly, Red Flag members are coordinating their actions and sharing “best practices”. It is imperative that the international community address this new phenomenon that increasingly threatens the safety of Catholic communities in Vietnam. We make the following recommendations.

To the US Department of State:

- (1) Request that the Government of Vietnam investigate allegations made against the Red Flag Associations and take appropriate actions to protect the victims and prosecute the perpetrators;
- (2) Encourage U.S. posts in Vietnam to meet with and get direct reports from representatives of targeted Catholic communities;
- (3) Include in the Department of State’s annual Country Report on Human Rights Practices and International Religious Freedom Report a specific section about gross human rights violations committed by non-state actors; and

- (4) Include the topic of Red Flag Associations in the agenda of the upcoming U.S.-Vietnam human rights dialogue.

To the UN Human Rights Council and relevant UN Special Rapporteurs:

- (1) Communicate their concerns to the Government of Vietnam and press for a formal response; and
- (2) Address the human rights violations committed with impunity by the Red Flag Associations in the upcoming review of Vietnam's implementation of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Universal Periodic Review of Vietnam in 2019.

In the news

State-Linked Thugs in Vietnam Attack Parents Questioning School Fees, Feb. 28, 2018:

<https://www.rfa.org/english/news/vietnam/parents-03012018173531.html>

Vietnam Catholic Priests Harassed, Threatened by 'Red Flag' Group, Oct. 29, 2017:

<https://www.rfa.org/english/news/vietnam/redshirts-catholic-10302017165759.html>

Catholics in Nghệ An still targeted by Red Flag militants, Oct. 31, 2017:

<http://www.asianews.it/news-en/Catholics-in-Ngh%E1%BB%87-An-still-targeted-by-Red-Flag-militants-42204.html>

Vietnamese 'Red Flags' Thugs Attack Catholic Parishioners in Nghe An, December 18, 2017

<https://www.rfa.org/english/news/vietnam/thugs-12182017163231.html>

Vietnam parishioners attacked by 'red flag' mob, Dec. 19, 2017:

<https://www.ucanews.com/news/vietnam-parishioners-attacked-by-red-flag-mob/81104>

Appendices

1. Report to UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief on attacks against Song Ngoc Parish by Red Flag members
2. Report to UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief on attacks against Van Thai Parish by Red Flag members