



The conditions of Lao Hmong refugees in Thailand and the United States of America During the term (1975-1995)

Feryal Sabri Ali *

PhD Contemporary History Specialty/ Ministry of Education / Basra Education Directorate /Iraq

Abstract

This paper examines the situation of Hmong refugees in Thailand and the United States after fleeing Laos in 1975 as a result of the communists taking power in the country, and their constant attempts to avenge them for standing by the United States in the war they fought in Vietnam since 1964. The poor living conditions of the Hmong in refugee camps in Thailand, and the attitude of the Thai authorities to the waves of displacement that lasted until 1983. On the other hand, the situation of Hmong refugees who moved to the United States turned out to be good compared to that of Thailand. Many Hmong have turned to education, enrolled in universities and took a number of jobs. Many young people cited aspects of Western culture, which changed the lifestyle and social patterns of the Hmong in Laos. But political changes in the world since the late 1980s have called for Western countries to step back from providing economic aid or attracting refugees wishing to live on their territory, angered by the Thai government, which announced the closure of refugee camps and the return of the Hmong to Laos, especially after it improved Relations between the Thai and Lao governments. Meanwhile, the United States has declared its solidarity with the Thai government's moves to close the camps, despite a wave of Hmong protests in the United States since 1990, and continued until the last refugee camp in Thailand in 1995.

Keywords:

Hmong refugees, Thailand, United States, America During the term (1975-1995)

1. Introduction

Since officially came to power in Laos in late 1975, the communist government in Laos has focused on the task of eliminating the Hmong who collaborated with the Americans during the Vietnam War. It raided

* Corresponding author: PhD Contemporary History Specialty/ Ministry of Education / Basra Education Directorate /Iraq

Email Address: sabri.ali2020@gmail.com

Received 24 February2020 / Accepted 21 March 2021

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24200/jsshr.vol9iss02pp1-10>

2693-8464© Research Hub LLC. All rights reserved

villages and carried out several massacres of civilians, women and children, forcing thousands of Hmong to flee across the Mekong River to Thailand. At a time when Thailand was forced to take in refugees under pressure from the United States, which has pledged to provide live lihood

sustenty by setting up camps in Thailand or deporting them to other countries. However, the Hmong faced the difficulties of new life in the asylum camps, and suffered from food austerity and decent living supplies, as well as the coercive methods they faced by the Thai authorities.

Although thousands of Hmong were deported to the United States in batches from 1975 to 1983, the Hmong faced a different life in the United States and tried to adapt to the new situation. As the number of refugees increased, the United States realized the dangers of being in Thailand as a result of the exodus of arrivals from Cambodia and Vietnam on the Thai border, so the administration decided on the need to repatriate the Hmong and close the refugee camps despite the continued protests from the Hmong, fearing that they would be brutald by the Lao communist authorities.

The study aimed to shed light on the situation of Hmong in asylum camps in Thailand, which naturally differed from their peers who sought asylum in the United States. Despite efforts by the United States with the help of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the continued influx of refugees from Indochina has heightened tensions in the region and increased resentment among Thailand, which feared its political and economic security.

The study was divided into four main themes, the first focus was on the situation of Hmong refugees in Thailand, while the second addressed the hmong situation in the United States. In the third axis, we highlighted the position of the United States of America on the Hmong refugees and the claims for their return to Laos, which took place in the mid-1990s. The research included an introduction and a conclusion, and the research relied on other literature and research that contributed to the production of the research in its current form.

The special nature of the topic and the period of time it covers required a follow-up to the historical development of the political situation in Laos after it fell under Communist rule, and to use the method of historical analysis to follow up the asylum movement to Thailand, the United States of America and some European countries that granted asylum to the Hmong. We also depended on describing the events by following the social and economic activities and living conditions of the Hmong refugees in detail, so that the reader could form an image of the event and its implications. The nature of the topic also called for the adoption of an analytical approach to understand the nature of the political factors that contributed to the retreat from sheltering Hmong refugees, and to discuss them in order to arrive at the truth, even if relatively.

2. Methodology

The present study's research method is library research and description and analysis. it is hoped that the present study can set the ground for the other researchers to deal with this issue and offer scientific and executive solutions for the growth and development of Persian literature amongst the people, particularly the young generations, and present a research first of its type.

The conditions of Hmong refugees in Thailand:

Following the communist victory in Laos, us transport planes carried about 2, 500 Hmong from their mountainous strongholds in Laos, for their efforts in supporting the war waged by the United States of America in Vietnam and Laos through the formation of the Secret Army.

The Hmong lost about 20, 000 soldiers in the war, 50, 000 were injured, and another 120, 000 were displaced from their homes ([UNHCR, 2000](#)). Meanwhile, the communist authorities in Laos began launching revenge campaigns against the Hmong, with the help of records left by the Americans and Lao officials, as they compiled lists of those who worked with USAID, the Interests Section, and the CIA, and

provided the names of those who graduated from the Air Force in Thailand loyal to the former Lao monarchy ([Merritt, 1999](#)).

Thailand rejected the CIA's plan in May 1975 to transfer (24) thousand from the Hmong stronghold in Long Tong, in order to avoid the security breaches that may be caused by their immigration to Thailand. Accordingly, Bangkok issued orders to border police patrols to chase the displaced, take their goods and use coercive methods against them, to persuade them to stay in Laos. However, Thailand's intolerant stance towards the displaced has angered the United States, which pledged to provide aid to the Hmong. On this basis, Washington provided \$ 150 million to help resettle refugees, which persuaded Thailand to backtrack on its stance on the displaced Hmong, so border guards set up temporary camps to receive refugees ([Quincy, 2000](#)). In July 1975, Thailand signed an agreement with the United Nations to grant the High Commissioner for Refugees the authority to initiate coordination to assist the arrivals from the Hmong towards its territory ([Vang, 2010](#)). Thai and American officials worked in the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, as well as relief organizations and committees of different nationalities ([Kartarik Mark, 2012](#)). The ongoing mass migration from the region and the massive international response to the crisis have given UNHCR a lead role in a complex, costly and highly important humanitarian operation.

The first wave of displacement of Hmong refugees included secret army soldiers and their families. They complained of the Thai border guards seizing their possessions of money and valuables, as well as the violations and rape cases that many Hmong girls were subjected to at the hands of the Thai police at gunpoint ([Bruder Harry, 1985](#)). Looting was also widespread, and men in particular were subjected to persecution in the areas they reached on the borders. Some of them were killed and their corpses mutilated. There were also widespread beating and torture of Hmong by Thai officials ([Emery, 2002](#)).

With the continued influx of refugees from the Hmong, crossing into northern Thailand, the Thai government built a refugee camp in Lee County, located 10 miles from the Mekong River, and called it or Camp in 1975 to accommodate 12, 000 Refugee. Ban Vinay camp, located in north-eastern Thailand, is the largest concentration of Hmong in the world ([Conquergood, 1988](#)). It was placed under the supervision and auspices of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees on an area of about 400 acres ([Emery, 2002](#)). To meet the refugees' requirements, the UNHCR contracted with Thai companies to buy and deliver food and send it to the camp. These companies took advantage of this by buying spoiled food ([Emery, 2002](#)).

On the other hand, Ban Vinay camp suffered from serious health problems. As a result of the poor environmental conditions, and the lack of personal care for the Hmong, which required the creation of health and educational programs to raise health awareness, and pay attention to the specific environmental problems and restrictions imposed on the camp. For example, the exacerbation of the number of refugees in the camp, the low level of sanitation facilities, and the spread of large numbers of animals, have caused the outbreak of many diseases that the refugees were exposed to. It is in this context that Senate Subcommittee member (Zoe) made a statement about the affairs of immigration and refugees in Laos, when he visited the Ban Vinay camp. He presented his insights into the environmental distortions that the Hmong lives in. He believed that the Hmong, "the most marginalized group in Indochina society, are still suffering from environmental problems as a result of the deteriorating health conditions " As for (Jonathan Moore), the new US coordinator for refugee affairs in Thailand, he noted that the Hmong "suffer the most from the problems that the region has faced. " He believed that the frustrating thing for agency workers is the difficulty in persuading the Hmong to cooperate for the success of health care programs and services, and their attempts to continue their traditional way of understanding the world everywhere ([Conquergood, 1988](#)).

Jonathan Moore expressed his admission that instead of blaming the Hmong for the deteriorating health condition, we questioned the problems faced by the surrounding environment, which required the provision of a number of educational programs that prepare the Hmong to change their behavior and stimulate critical awareness about the camp environment, especially as it differs to the natural mountain villages that the Hmong used to live in in Laos. Jonathan added, "The difficult conditions in the camp have

caused many suicides as a result of the heightened tension and pressures faced by the Hmong in Ban Vinay camp, and pressures escalated until suicide became to the only recourse" ([Conquergood, 1988](#)).

With the increasing waves of displacement, the second batch of Hmong displaced arrived in 1978, as a result of the exacerbation of reprisals against the Hmong and the flight of thousands of them, as well as the famine that resulted from drought and lack of crops in Laos, and the measures applied by the communist government of Laos by forcing peasants to work in socialist farms. Consequently, the Thai government and international organizations started building new refugee camps ([Pakei Catherine, 1987](#)), such as Dian Nam Yao, Sop Thong, Chiang Kham and Fantanekhum ([Emery, 2002](#)).

In the Vannichom refugee camp, located 90 km southeast of Bangkok, refugees were transferred to it from Laos, some of them underwent "treatment" before they were allowed to leave to a third country of permanent asylum ([Pakei Catherine, 1987](#)). The Wat Tham Krapuk camp was also inaugurated, which received the Hmong wishing to resettle in France, Australia and New Zealand, and the camp prepared programs to treat refugees and psychologically prepare them before their travel ([Khamvonga & Russell, 2009](#)). Although some Hmong were willing to accept the new life, the elderly tried to stay in the camp until they could return to Laos, which prompted them to smoke opium, making it difficult to pass the drug test required before traveling. While the young and the young were keen to start a new life in the West.

It must be emphasized the importance of the American role in supporting the Hmong refugees, as the United States worked to support through two axes, the first providing financial and economic assistance to the Thai government in order to facilitate the task of establishing refugee camps and providing them with food, and the second pledging by the United States to the Hmong to facilitate asylum applications to Third countries, as well as its supportive role for UN and humanitarian organizations that worked on organizing asylum operations and supervising the provision of food and health aid to refugees.

With the outbreak of the crisis between Vietnam and Cambodia in the middle of 1978 and the increase ([Xiaoping, 2010](#)). Thailand suffered from an increase in the number of refugees from the beginning of the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia in 1979, and influx 34 thousand Cambodians fled from the brutality of the Pol Pot regime, forcing Thailand to publicly retract the policy of pressure against it ([Quincy, 2000](#)).

Concerning this, the Indochina Refugee Conference was held in 1979, which witnessed great international interest, and pledged commitment to the protection of refugees, and raised the concept of "first asylum", that is, a country undertakes to protect temporarily until they are resettled in another. The High Commissioner for Refugees took a prominent role in preparing relief programs for resettling the Hmong in the camps, which the United Nations started in 1975.

It provided food for the refugees, and allowed the Thai Ministry of the Interior to employ 15 international voluntary agencies to work in the camp ([Jonsson, 2009](#)). In spite of this, the Hmong have called on the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), relief committees and some countries supporting refugees such as the United States, France, Canada and Australia to intervene to look into their bad conditions in Thailand. Among the refugees' requests were to provide legal protection for the political persecution of the Hmong, especially the threats against them from the communist government of Laos, as well as the violence that many displaced Hmong were subjected to. Through letters and petitions addressed to international bodies, the High Commissioner promised to provide utmost efforts to create a safe environment for refugee protection ([Xiong Yang, 2016](#)).

By 1981, more than 200, 000 people of various ethnicities had left Laos ([Xiong Yang, 2016](#)), which forced the Thai Ministry of Interior in January 1981 to open a camp in Ban Namto to receive refugees. At the same time, she followed a policy of austerity in the camps to deter the new arrivals, and she wanted to pressure the refugees to consider returning to Laos. Under the bad conditions, the health conditions in the camps deteriorated, which led to the spread of various types of diseases, as a result of which large numbers of Hmong died ([Quincy, 2000](#)). In spite of the complaints submitted to the UNHCR in Bangkok, promises were made to improve the conditions of refugees, but to no avail. ([Vang Nengher, 2011](#)).

As a result, some of the Hmong living in the camps resorted to searching for job opportunities in refugee camps and relief committees ([Merritt, 1999](#)). The refugees started creating a new life for themselves, by fortifying their diet and providing nutritional supplements to compensate for the meager rations, by raising a variety of animals within the camp's borders. And buy chicks, chickens, ducks and geese. Due to the large area of the camp, they used to herd herds of cattle, as well as pigs and goats that seemed to roam freely around the camp. For example, the Ban Vinay camp contained herds of cows, which were donated by some charitable organizations with the aim of raising the nutritional level of the Hmong, but the increase in the number of animals contributed to exacerbating health and sanitation problems in camp ([Conquergood, 1988](#)). At the same time, women and children resorted to practicing some crafts such as embroidery and selling them to aid workers or camp visitors ([Merritt, 1999](#)). While some received money through relatives who lived in the countries to which they immigrated. They were distinguished by their purchasing power, which made them buy food from Thai markets or outside the camp gates ([Vang, 2010](#)).

On the other hand, the refugees were able to practice their religious and social rituals by visiting the sick, conducting burial ceremonies and celebrating the New Year in the traditional Hmong way. They also paved the way for adults to attend English language classes and vocational training, and to prepare children to enroll in primary schools set up in the camps. Stalls were opened to sell fresh fish, fruits and herbal medicines. Some of the owners of professions were prepared to practice their work, by opening some small shops such as carpentry and blacksmithing, as well as opening some small restaurants.

By the mid-1980s, living conditions in Ban Vinay were the best among the other camps, and observers often compared the camp to the Hmong villages of Laos. As it exceeded its ability to absorb thousands of its citizens. In 1985, the official number of residents of Ban Vinay camp was (45, 231), of whom 2-3 thousand "illegal" people were living in the camp without food rations ([Conquergood, 1988](#)). Meanwhile, the number of refugees in Thailand in 1987 reached about 75, 000 Hmong refugees in Ban Vinay camp and Chiang Kam. The Thai Ministry of the Interior accused the United States of resettling the Hmong and ignored the most obvious reasons for the sudden influx, which may have caused a shortage of manpower in Laos and caused famine in the country ([Quincy, 2000](#)).

The conditions of Hmong refugees in the United States of America

The transition of Hmong leader and secret army commander General ([Vang, 2010](#)), and a number of Hmong politicians with their families marked the first batch of refugees that arrived in the United States in 1975. They were accepted under the authority granted by the US Attorney General on the recommendation of the US State Department, to protect US allies during the Vietnam War ([Xiong Yang, 2016](#)). The United States granted General ([Vang, 2010](#)) a farm estimated at 440 acres, and paid him a salary of 135, 000 dollars annually. ([Vang Nengher, 2011](#)) was able to buy two homes in Minnesota to accommodate the rest of his family ([Quincy, 2000](#)).

While the number of Hmong immigrants to the United States reached 500 in June 1975, and their number reached about five thousand in 1976, they settled in three American states: California, Minnesota and Wisconsin. The largest gathering of Hmong in the state of California was in the city of Santana, in which about (6354) ([Bengston David, 2008](#)). Social welfare payments to refugees in 1978 amounted to about ten million dollars ([Bruder Harry, 1985](#)). The administration of President (Gerald Ford). also provided refugee grants amounting to \$ 500 per refugee, to help with resettlement, as well as food aid and housing expenses ([Bruder Harry, 1985](#)).

With the increasing displacement of Hmong refugees, UNHCR's total annual expenditures are around US \$ 80 million worldwide. By 1980, it had increased to more than 500 million US dollars, as a result of displacement caused by conflicts in Indochina, which were exacerbated by the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia in 1979 and the displacement of thousands of Cambodians towards the Thai border. The United States recognized in 1982 that the refugees could be resettled in the United States, after their population in 1980 reached about 27 thousand, and in 1981 it reached 38 thousand refugees ([Jacobs Brian, 1996](#)).

Socially, the Hmong refugees in the United States of America faced additional challenges, due to the difference in social patterns, from what is the case in Laos. However, many Hmong adults have turned to education to prove their competence, in a society that has been witnessing economic and educational progress since their arrival in the United States. In light of this, the United States provided financial grants to refugees to help them obtain vocational training, employment, and English language proficiency ([Quincy, 2000](#)). which reduced the rates of social welfare and employment rates increased, after many of them graduated from secondary schools and universities. Their average income was (2-3) times higher than that of the richest Laotian peasants ([Bruder Harry, 1985](#)).

However, elderly refugees have faced difficulties, and many of them have suffered psychological and physical illnesses, such as headaches and stomach pain, because they believe a loss of status and self-esteem in the United States, as the lifestyles therein depend on social status, education, professional achievement and financial success. Often, physical illnesses, depression, and stress intertwined greatly among the elderly, forcing them to learn English, in order to prepare them to enter the labor market, in which there are fewer opportunities for refugees who arrive after the age of forty-five, and the preference for young refugees.

By the mid-1990s, more than 100, 000 Hmong refugees had been accepted into the United States. Most of them lived in five states: California (71, 741), Minnesota (45, 443), Wisconsin (36, 809), North Carolina (7, 982), and Michigan (5, 998). The Hmong in the United States achieved remarkable educational and professional successes in the eighties and nineties, and most of them adapted to live a lifestyle different from the situation in Laos.

The position of the United States of America on the Hmong refugees and demands to return them to Laos

The United States of America described the resistance shown by the Laotian government towards the Hmong with its cruelty and brutality, as the government did not distinguish between the Hmong rebels and the civilian population, and the United States condemned the forced displacement and abuse of the Hmong against the village residents, which was considered a violation for human rights, which are mentioned in many reports. Meanwhile, interviews were held with Hmong refugees in (Tay Rifji) camp, about the assaults and killings they were subjected to, as well as the reports admitted by officials of the UNHCR, which included pictures of violations against the Hmong by the Lao government. The US embassy in Bangkok also expressed its dissatisfaction with the role of the United Nations, for not allocating sufficient funds for Hmong refugees in Thailand as guarantees for achieving minimum human rights.

In 1979, US President (Jimmy Carter) See More: announced that the United States had recognized the existence of 168, 000 refugees from Indochina, and that it was seeking to secure the needs of these refugees by providing them with livelihoods ([Jacobs Brian, 1996](#)). The Human Rights Lawyers Committee in New York revealed the conditions of the Hmong in Laos, and concluded by saying, "Between 1975 and 1980 the size of the losses suffered by the Hmong in Laos reached staggering proportions, as the number of dead was estimated at (350-400) thousand in addition to 100 thousand. Refugees crossed the Mekong River to Thailand "([Merritt, 1999](#)).

However, the United States retreated from its position in support of the Hmong, due to the relative improvement in relations between Laos and Thailand since the beginning of the 1980s, and the Laos trend towards capitalism with the mid-1980s, as the socialist economy was modified and began to facilitate foreign investment in the country, and aid was obtained. Finance from the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank and the International Monetary Fund ([Fox Martin, 2005](#)). On this basis, a team from the American Committee for Refugees has ordered the Thai police to prevent the Hmong from entering Thailand. The Thai Ministry of the Interior has set up refugee screening centers at the border to distinguish economic migrants from political refugees to whom it has permitted asylum ([Quincy, 2000](#)). After accepting the refugees, I sent them to Ban Vinay camp and Na Na camp. Meanwhile, the High Commissioner for Refugees was given an opportunity to appeal the asylum applications of those it refused to receive, before

they were detained and returned to Laos. By the end of 1986, UNHCR reported that of the approximately 7, 000 Laos interviewed, nearly 66% had been approved as refugees. At a time when Bangkok intended to deport several hundred Hmong to Laos in the beginning of 1986.

Meanwhile, Thailand expressed concern about the reluctance of the Hmong to leave its lands, due to their increasing numbers, which seemed to increase, despite the gradual decrease in the number of refugees coming from Laos. The reasons for this were attributed to the rise in the birth rate of the Hmong in the camps, which is one of the highest growth rates in the world. As a result, the Thai government instituted a policy of "humanitarian deterrence" to deter asylum seekers and encourage those in the camps to resettle in the West or return to Laos, which put the lives of Hmong refugees in Thailand under threat, after the Thai government strengthened its grip and tightened its control over the camps. At the same time, Western countries were not ready to receive refugees or find a political solution to their status, and they sought to reduce economic aid to Indochina.

During the conference held in 1989 to discuss the Indochina issue, a shift in the attitudes of Western countries towards refugee issues was evident. As these countries are no longer willing to make open commitments to resettle more refugees as a permanent solution. In the same context, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees indicated during the conference that "the disappointment with resettlement resulting from the Indochina experience had a negative impact on the ability of The Commission is responsible for performing the resettlement functions effectively".

With increasing international pressure on refugees, the Hmong in Thailand have repeatedly protested the Thai government's decision to return refugees to Laos. The Hmong took advantage of the demonstrations and rallies to declare their rejection against the policy of violence and violations of human rights practiced by the communist government of Laos ([Bruder Harry, 1985](#)). With the end of 1990, UNHCR and the Thai Ministry of the Interior established new procedures for asylum seekers. The Commission was allowed to monitor interviews, question the applicants themselves, and challenge the decisions of the Thai commission responsible for assessing claims.

In the United States, the first Hmong protest took place on 3 February, 1990 in Los Angeles, when about 100 people from Santa Ana, California, demonstrated in front of the local government building in Los Angeles. On the same day, three protests took place in St. Paul, Minnesota, at the Capitol, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Zidler Park, and San Francisco, outside the office of Senator Alan Cranston. Similar protests were scheduled for San Diego and Washington. The number of protesters reached about two thousand people, among whom were Hmong veterans. During the protests, the governments of Vietnam and Laos were charged for their ongoing violations of the Hmong's legitimate rights in Laos. The refugees also protested against the restoration of economic and trade relations between the Communist government of Laos and the United States of America, which turned a blind eye to human rights violations in Laos. The protests also extended to the Thai government to impose sanctions on forced returns and serious desecration of Hmong refugees ([Bruder Harry, 1985](#)).

3. Discussion

Despite the continuous protests, the US State Department has begun to draw up an agreement with Thailand and the UNHCR, known as the "Luang Prabang Tripartite Agreement" to return all refugees to Laos. The agreement was finalized in 1991. The administration of US President George Bush also contributed 15 million dollars to support the costs of closing the camps and relocating the Hmong to Laos ([Quincy, 2000](#)). Meanwhile, the governments of Laos and Thailand agreed in mid-1991 to return the refugees whose applications had been rejected to Laos, affirming that "those who were rejected in the screening process will be returned without the use of force in safety and dignity". With mounting pressure, in 1992 the Thai government took the decision to close Ban Vinay camp. With the closing date approaching, several thousand Hmong fled to rural areas in northern Thailand, while others headed south to Tham Krapuk Monastery. At the end of 1993, all refugee camps in Laos were closed except for Na Phu. UNHCR

has shared the main task of repatriating the refugees with the Thai government to persuade them to return to their strongholds of origin in Laos. On the Laotian side, the Commission made clear efforts to help the Hmong reintegrate in light of the new conditions that Laos witnessed at that time.

By the end of 1995, the total number of Hmong returning from camps in Thailand was about 24, 000. While it rejected nearly 4, 400, 000 asylum seekers. UNHCR monitors have stated that "the political security of returnees is not a problem in Laos. All too often, returnees are concerned about re-establishing their lives and feeding their families".

However, Hmong protests continued, especially in the United States, as the organizers of the protests relied on coordinating and presenting protests in which veterans participated, against the US ambassadors to Laos. The Hmong took advantage of New Year's celebrations across the country, as well as other occasions. The Hmong tried to legalize some important issues that were rejected as trivial or illegal (Bruder Harry, 1985).

Thus it became clear that the United States of America would not abandon its role towards the issue of Hmong refugees, for in addition to its material and moral support for them, it adopted the issue of the return of refugees to Laos, under the pretext that the security situation in Laos had stabilized, and took advantage of the improvement in relations between it and Laos. As well as the repeated calls by the Thai government to close the camps, which contributed to pressure on the refugees to end their presence in refugee camps in Thailand.

4. Conclusion

It was found through the research that the Hmong refugees were fully prepared to take the risk of embarking on dangerous journeys in pursuit of a better life and moving to safer places to escape the persecution of the communist government in Laos, which began campaigns in revenge for their standing with the United States of America during the Vietnam War. It also became clear that the Thai government bore the brunt of the influx of Hmong refugees to its lands despite the dangers threatening the region after the spread of communism in Vietnam and Laos, and its fear of the transmission of communism in the country. However, the Thai government dealt with refugees according to international laws that allowed refugees for reasons politics of the right to reside in another country at a time when it was suffering in Thailand from the deteriorating political and economic conditions in the country since 1975. It must be pointed out the fact that the Hmong, many of them were subjected to torture and humiliation, as some lost their lives and suffered in other ways from abuse by the Thai authorities. In addition to the repeated cases of rape of many women and children and their suffering from living under inhuman conditions. The living conditions of the Hmong also differed in Thailand, as it prevented them from having any rights or even exercising their work outside the borders of the refugee camps. On the contrary, the Thai police took the money and symptoms of refugees and dealt with the Hmong in situations in which the law enforcement was absent. The life of the Hmong in Thailand remained hostage to the amount of aid that Thailand receives from the United States and the High Commissioner for Refugees, as well as the indiscriminate practices of security forces linked to political decisions and personal exceptions, under the pretext of preserving state security. On the contrary, we see that the situation is different in the United States, where the Hmong have melted into the American society, through learning the language, and the US government sponsors the social welfare of the refugees, as well as a large number of them joining the labor market after completing their university education. Consequently, the responsibility of caring for the Hmong refugees was a joint international responsibility, which the study tried to diagnose, as the decline in international support for the refugees led to a violation of their human security, which ensured respect for human rights and basic freedoms, as it is an integral part of general international security. While the feeling of lack of opportunities for human rights and legal protection and the desire of some to return to Laos, the decline in international support since 1989 in the face of the political crises that began sweeping the world, led to the failure the political will of the countries that pledged to provide permanent asylum. This research deals the situation of Hmong refugees in Thailand and the United States of America, after fleeing Laos in 1975, as a result of the communists' accession to power in the country, and their continued attempts to avenge them for standing by the United States of America in the war it has fought in Vietnam since 1964. The research touched on the poor living conditions of Hmong in asylum camps in Thailand and the attitude of the Thai authorities to the waves of displacement that lasted until 1983. On the other hand, the situation of The Hmong refugees who have moved to the United States proved to be good compared to that of refugees in Thailand. Many Hmong turned to

education, university enrolment and a number of jobs. Many young people quoted aspects of Western culture, which changed the lifestyles of the Hmong in Laos. However, the political changes that the world has witnessed since the late 1980s have called for Western countries to retreat from the issue of economic aid or the recruitment of refugees wishing to reside on their territory, which has angered the Thai government, which has announced the closure of the refugee camps and the return of Hmong to Laos, especially after relations between the Thai and Lao governments improved. At the same time, the United States has declared solidarity with the Thai government's steps to close the camps, despite a wave of hmong protests in the United States since 1990, and continued until the closure of Thailand's last refugee camp in 1995.

References

- Bengston David N. (2008), Hmong Americans: Issues and Strategies Related to Outdoor Recreation, University of Minnesota, 8(5): 22-40. <https://www.fs.usda.gov/treearch/pubs/36091>
- Bruder Harry V. (1985), A Census and Basic Needs Survey of The Hmong Population, University of Wisconsin, 7(1), 19-36. <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1793/11771>
- Conquergood D. (1988), Health Theatre in a Hmong Refugee Camp: Performance, Communication, and Culture, TDR, United States of America, 32(3): 156-189. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1145914>
- Emery J. (2002), Their World, Not Ours - the Secret War, New York: The World and I, United States of America, 16(6): 170-185.
- Fox Martin S. (2005), Politics and Reform in Lao Politics and Reform in the Lao People's Democratic Republic, University of Queensland, 14(9): 151-169.
- Jacobs Brian W. (1996), No-Win Situation: The Plight of the Hmong, America's Former Ally, Third World Law Journal, United States of America: Boston College, 16(1): 159-179.
- Jonsson H. (2009), War's Ontogeny: Militias and Ethnic Boundaries in Laos and Exile, Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 47(2): 115-139. https://doi.org/10.20495/tak.47.2_125
- Kartarik Mark N. (2012), Behind Laos's yellow rain and tears, Report published: November, 9(4), 112-119.
- Khamvong C. & Russell E. (2009), Legacies of War Cluster Bombs in Laos, [United Kingdom](#): Critical Asian Studies, 41(2): 114-129. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14672710902809401>
- Merritt J. (1999), Tragic Mountains: The Hmong, the Americans, and the Secret Wars for Laos, Indiana University Press, 12(2): 1942-1992.
- Pakei Catherine v. (1987), Medicinal Ethnobotany of Hmong Refugees in Thailand, Journal of Archeology, University of Minnesota, United States of America, 19(2): 13-25.
- Quincy K. (2000), The Hmong & America's Secret War In Laos, Washington University Press, 18(3): 440-486.
- UNHCR S. (2000), The State of The World's Refugees, Fifty Years of Humanitarian Action, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, The UN Refugee Agency, 15(2): 26-37. <https://www.cabdirect.org/cabdirect/abstract/20013063638>
- Vang H. (2010), Dreaming of Home, Dreaming of Land: Displacements and Hmong Transnational Politics, 1975-2010, A thesis of Doctor of Philosophy of History, The University of Minnesota, United States of America, 16(6): 148-163. <https://conservancy.umn.edu/handle/11299/95816>
- Vang Nengher N. (2011), Political Transmigrants: Rethinking Hmong Political Activism in America, A thesis of Doctor of Philosophy of History, Gustavus Adolphus College, Minnesota, United States of America, 19(2): 13-25. <http://www.hmongstudies.org/NHVangHSJ12.pdf>
- Xiaoping D. (2010), China's Decision to go to War with Vietnam, Journal of Cold War Studies, Harvard University, United States of America, 12(3): 77-89. https://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/abs/10.1162/JCWS_a_00001
- Xiong Yang S. (2016), The Centrality of Ethnic Community and the Military Service Master Frame in Hmong Americans' Protest Events and Cycles of Protest, United States of America: Hmong Studies Journal University of Wisconsin, Madison, 12(1): 78-99.