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REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM

OFFICE OF THE PERMANENT OBSERVER TO THE UNITED NATIONS

866 UNITED NATIONS PLAZA, SUITE 547-9, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017 • TEL: 688-3850

**COMMENTS ON SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY'S
CRITISM OF VIETNAM**

We regret that Senator Robert F. Kennedy has chosen this critical time to emit unfair and unfounded criticism against the people and the government of South Vietnam which are sweating blood and tears to rehabilitate thousands of civilians, victims of the attacks of the Viet Cong terrorists

The failure of North Vietnam and of Viet Cong to incite the population to uprising has amply answered the Senator's charge that the Vietnamese people do not have a clear sense of identification with their own government.

The determination of our people and soldiers to fight the Viet Cong terrorists has demonstrated clearly to the Senator what cause we are fighting for.

The remarks by the Senator would be more constructive in this junction, if he had refrained himself from making easy criticism without giving evidence for his charges.

REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM

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February 10, 1968

COMMENT ON SENATOR ROBERT KENNEDY CRITICISM OF THE ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

Senator Robert F. Kennedy, in a speech to the New York Press Association in Syracuse, yesterday accused South Vietnamese soldiers of not taking a major share of the fighting in Vietnam. He asked: 'Why should the Americans and not the South Vietnamese be the ones fighting at Khe Sanh?'

This Mission considers the question should be asked the other way around: Why are not the North Vietnamese around Khe Sanh fighting on their own, without the communist chinese workers and technicians at the rear, the most intense training and the most modern and powerful war equipment provided by Communist China and the Soviet Union, such as jet bombers, heavy tanks, artillery, missiles and rockets?'

This Mission is surprised that Senator Kennedy, who claims to be so well informed about the Vietnam war, could show such an irresponsible ignorance of the true nature of this conflict.

In Vietnam today, the battle has no definite frontline, but is everywhere. Every Vietnamese citizen is an anonymous fighter, armed only with his courage and determination. While Vietnamese soldiers of the regular Army are cleaning up cities and provincial capitals of Vietcong and North Vietnamese attackers, elsewhere in every corner of the country, hundreds of thousands of village militiamen, local officials, Revolutionary Development cadres, Open Arms Psywar workers and even women and children, who are not spared from communist reprisals, daily risk their lives under the fire from terrorists and snipers.

It is not necessary to be a strategist to understand that in a total war, the distribution of tasks and the national assignment of forces constitute the first element of common sense.

REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM
OFFICE OF THE PERMANENT OBSERVER TO THE UNITED NATIONS
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May 14, 1968

STATEMENT BY THE VIETNAM OBSERVER
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

In a speech delivered yesterday at the University of Alberta (Canada), Secretary General U THANT of the United Nations was reported to have urged once again an unconditional cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam as an essential condition for fruitful peace negotiations.

In this respect, the Vietnam Observer Mission wishes to point out that only a genuine desire for peace and a mutual restraint could lead to meaningful talks, whereas a unilateral cessation of bombing without any reciprocal restraint on the part of the other side would not help improve the atmosphere surrounding peace talks, but would rather result in prolonging the war.

International peace and security could only be ensured if there were a firm stand against aggression by proxy through so-called wars of liberation.-

REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM

OFFICE OF THE PERMANENT OBSERVER TO THE UNITED NATIONS

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June 18, 1968

PROTEST TO THE LEAGUE FOR THE RIGHTS OF MAN

Ambassador Nguyen Huu Chi, Permanent Observer of the Republic of Vietnam to the United Nations, has protested to the International League for the Rights of Man against the terrorist bombardment of Saigon and other urban centers.

In a telegram sent June 17 to the Chairman of the League, Ambassador Chi pointed out that since May 5, the Communists shelled Saigon and its suburbs sixty times, killing 433 civilians and wounding 3,660 others. These indiscriminate bombardments also destroyed a great number of houses, schools, hospitals and places of worship, far away from military installations.

Acting on instructions of his Government, the Vietnam representative requested the International League for the Rights of Man to take every action to condemn the communist atrocities before world opinion.

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NATIONAL ASSEMBLY REPUBLIC RGLLAUSDNVLVIS EXCELLENCY

U-THANT SECRETAIRE-GENERAL UNITED NATIONS NEWYORK

I

WE WISH TO DRAW YOUR EXCELLENCY'S AND YOUR
DISTINGUISHED COLLEAGUES' ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT
HANOI COMMUNISTS AUTHORITIES HAVE TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF THE
PARTIAL BOMBING PAUSE TO STEP UP INFILTRATION MEN AND
MATERIEL IN VIEW OF

P2

MOUNTING MORE ATTACKS AGAINST THE
REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM PARTICULARLY BETWEEN MAY 5 AND
JUNE 22 1968 SAIGON AND SEVERAL OTHER MAJOR CITIES WERE
SUBJECT TO ROCKET AND HEAVY ARTILLERY SHELLINGS WHICH
NUMBERED OVER 60 DAILY THIS WAS DONE DELIBERATELY AND
INDISCRIMINATELY SO THAT LARGE NUMBER OF BUILDINGS
LOCATED FAR FROM

INDISCRIMINATELY SO THAT LARGE NUMBER OF BUILDINGS
LOCATED FAR FROM

P3

MILITARY INSTALLATIONS INCLUDING
HOSPITALS AND SCHOOLS WERE DESTROYED OR DAMAGED MORE
THAN 500 CIVILIANS WERE KILLED APPROXIMATELY
4000 OTHERS WOUNDED AMONG THEM MANY WOMEN CHILDREN AND
AGED PEOPLE THESE ACTS OF TERRORISM WHICH HAVE NO
MILITARY OBJECTIVE WHATSOEVER AND REPEATEDLY TAKEN
PLACE WHILE PARIS PEACE TALKS ARE GOING ON ARE

P4

IRREFUTABLE PROOFS OF HANOI'S BAD FAITH ONCE MORE
THESE WAR ACTS DIRECTED AGAINST DEFENSELESS
POPULATION ARE AS CRUEL AS THE OBSTINATE AMBITION OF
HANOI LEADERS TO SUBJUGATE SOUTH VIETNAM THEY ARE
FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF
THE RIGHTS OF MAN AND OF THE INTERNATIONAL
AGREEMENTS ON PROTECTION OF

P5

CIVILIANS IN WARTIME

WE SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES FREELY ELECTED BY THE
PEOPLE OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM IN THE NAME OF
CHERISHED IDEALS OF JUSTICE AND LIBERTY PEACE AND
DEMOCRACY HAVE HONOR TO PROTEST MOST STRONGLY
AGAINST HANOI COMMUNIST AUTHORITIES AND THEIR
SATELLITES OF THE NATIONAL FRONT OF LIBERATION AND

P6

TO MAKE A PRESSING APPEAL TO THE CONSCIENCE OF THE
FREE WORLD FRIENDLY PEOPLES ASKING THEM TO CONDEMN THE

AGAINST HANOI COMMUNIST AUTHORITIES AND THEIR
SATELLITES OF THE NATIONAL FRONT OF LIBERATION AND

PG

TO MAKE A PRESSING APPEAL TO THE CONSCIENCE OF THE
FREE WORLD FRIENDLY PEOPLES ASKING THEM TO CONDEMN THE
COMMUNISTS AND THEIR BARBARIC ACTS

VERY TRULY YOURS

NGUYEN WANHUYEN PRESIDENT SENATE

NGUYEN BALUONG SPEAKER HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

COLL ETAT NEWYORK 5 22 1968 500 4000

UNATION 222422 1002 03 JUL

ALD/KSN

cc: Mr. Lemieux ✓
Registry

18 September 1968

My dear Ambassador,

..... Please find herewith a reply which the Secretary-General has asked me to send to H.E. Trần-Chánh-Thành, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Viet-Nam.

Yours sincerely,

C.V. Narasimhan
Chef de Cabinet

His Excellency
Monsieur Nguyen Huu-Chi
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
Permanent Observer of the Republic
of Viet-Nam to the United Nations
866 United Nations Plaza, 5th Floor
New York, N.Y. 10017

ALD/KSN

cc: Permanent Mission
Mr. Lemieux
Registry

18 September 1968

Sir,

The Secretary-General has asked me to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your message of 4 September 1968 which explains the point of view of your Government on the Viet-Nam conflict and also with regard to the way in which peace might be restored. The Secretary-General has taken careful note of your views.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

C.V. Narasimhan
Chef de Cabinet

His Excellency
Trần-Chánh-Thành
Minister for Foreign Affairs
of the Republic of Viet-Nam
Saigon
Republic of Viet-Nam

Saigon, September 4th, 1963

No : 500 /VP

*From the P. observer of
the Republic of Vietnam.*

*lear
11/9/63*

C.V.

Excellency,

On the eve of the Twenty Third General Assembly of the United Nations, I wish to convey to Your Excellency my greetings and my appreciation for your repeated efforts to bring about an early end to the conflict in Viet-Nam and for your unending and dedicated search of peace in Asia and in the world.

Few people have experienced greater human suffering and material loss than the Vietnamese. And no other people certainly more desire peace and security than the 16 million residents of South Viet-Nam, so as to heal the wounds of the war and rebuild their country devastated by a brutal aggression carefully prepared and imposed on them and which in fact had not ceased at any time since 1954.

His Excellency U THANT,
Secretary General,
United Nations Organization,
New York, N.Y.,
U.S.A.

..2.

REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

-2-

The Minister

The ink was hardly dry on the Geneva Agreements which they themselves signed in 1954 before the North Vietnamese leaders began to violate them systematically. Despite the main provisions of these Agreements which provided that forces on both sides be regrouped on one or the other side of the demarcation line drawn at the 17th parallel, the Hanoi authorities left in the South many highly trained political and subversive cadres as well as numerous caches of weapons and ammunition, for the obvious purpose of using them at the right time.

Then began a period of propaganda along with acts of terrorism so as to undermine the authority of the legal Government and intimidate the people. North Vietnamese politico-military cadres, weapons and ammunition were infiltrated at an increasing rate into the South.

With such reinforcements and supplies from the North, the Communists were in a position to add guerilla warfare to their propaganda and sabotage activities.

The Minister

On September 5th 1960, a Congress of the North Vietnamese Communist Party - the Lao Dong Party - gave itself the task of " liberating " South Viet-Nam. Three months latter, Hanoi announced the creation of the " National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam " entrusted with this mission. Thus there is an obvious correlation between the above mentioned propaganda, acts of war and the creation of this Front.

The Legal Committee of the International Control Commission recognized the truth of these facts in its report dated June 2nd 1962:

" ... there is evidence to show that armed and unarmed personnel, arms, munitions and other supplies have been sent from the Zone in the North to the Zone in the South with the object of supporting, organizing and carrying out hostile activities, including armed attacks directed against the Armed Forces and Administration of the Zone in the South.

These acts are in violation of articles 10, 19, 24 and 27 of the Agreements on the cessation of hostilities in Viet-Nam ... "

REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

-4-

The Minister

Throughout these last 14 years, the people and Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam are therefore the daily victims, of an immense campaign of subversion and aggression fomented, directed and ceaselessly supported by the Hanoi regime, with the assistance of countries of the Communist bloc -

It consists of acts of indiscriminate terrorism often directed against the innocent population, systematic sabotage of the economic stability and social realization throughout the country, incessant infiltration of regular troops as well as trained cadres, open introduction of the most modern and sophisticated weapons of the Communist war arsenal, including heavy mortars, rockets, recoil-less cannons, ...

The will of the Hanoi authorities to impose communism by force over South Viet-Nam has been affirmed more and more clearly and the clandestine subversion at the beginning, is now an open war against the people and Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam a situation which very seriously threatens the peace in this area of the world.

..5.

His Minister

Faced with this well prepared and massive aggression started by North Viet-Nam assisted by the Communist bloc - the Chief of the North Vietnamese delegation in Paris, Xuân Thuy, recently claimed it actually started in 1959 - the Republic of Viet-Nam has no other choice than to take up arms to defend herself. After having borne alone the brunt of the struggle for a long time, she finally requested the assistance of her Allies in 1962 to help defend her freedom, in legitimate right of self defence. A call to world aid was reiterated in 1964. Forty three countries responded to that call with their technical, economic, medical and humanitarian assistance so as to help rebuild the country, relieve the burden of sufferings of the people, improve their standart of living.

The aggressive policy of the Communists is given a new illustration in Czechoslovakia. The tragic events in Czechoslovakia and in Viet-Nam show that Communist countries act in a similar manner to stifle any aspirations of people to independence and freedom. The precipitate approval of North Viet-Nam which hailed the invasion of Czechoslovakia as an operation to fulfill " a noble goal " is proof of its close dependence

The Minister

on the Soviet Union which has repeatedly and publicly stated that it was supplying North Viet-Nam with the major part of the war material being used against the Republic of Viet-Nam, therefore making possible the prolongation of the war and the daily holocaust in our country.

Thus, the Republic of Viet-Nam has the right to resist aggression, to fight back violence, to repulse intervention by force into her national life. She only wants to save her independence and freedom, to defend her right to life and peace. Such is her only and unique objective.

As far as she is concerned, the Republic of Viet-Nam wants to live in peace and has never nurtured nor is entertaining any hostile plan against North Viet-Nam or her neighbors.

In this spirit, the Republic of Viet-Nam, has repeatedly appealed to the leaders of the Hanoi regime for direct discussions in view of a peaceful solution and an end to the innumerable sufferings of the people.

REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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The Minister

To emphasize our readiness for direct negotiations, we have agreed to a curtailment of the aerial bombardment of North Viet-Nam, although this actually represented an open opportunity for North Viet-Nam to accelerate the movement of its armed forces and war equipment toward the South.

The Communist regime of Hanoi has responded to this manifestation of goodwill by launching a second wave of attacks against Saigon and other cities in South Viet-Nam in May this year and by repeatedly and indiscriminately bombarding the civilian population of the Capital and other populated areas.

Under these circumstances, an unconditional and total cessation of the bombardment as claimed by North Viet-Nam, if it is not preceded by a clear and positive manifestation of reciprocal restraint on their part, would only result in an increase of infiltration of troops and war material into South Viet-Nam and would lead to more blood-shedding battles and casualties for both sides.

REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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The Minister

In the Honolulu Joint Communique of last July 20, 1968, the Republic of Viet-Nam has made clear its views on the essential conditions of peace, which reflect the basic dispositions of the 1954 Geneva Armistice Agreement and is in accord with the 1962 Agreement on Laos:

- The re-establishment of the 17th parallel as the demarcation line between North Viet-Nam and South Viet-Nam, pending the determination by the free choice of all Vietnamese on reunification ;

- Respect for the territorial integrity of the Republic of Viet-Nam ;

- Complete cessation of hostilities and subversion ; and withdrawal from South Viet-Nam of Communist military and subversive forces to the North ;

- Full compliance with the principle of non-interference between North and South Viet-Nam ;

- Effective international supervision and guarantees.

Concerning the presence of Allied forces in the South, the Government and people of South Viet-Nam have requested their support to resist aggression.

REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

-9-

The Minister

However, as North Viet-Nam withdraws its forces to the North, ceases infiltrations, and the level of violence thus subsides, the Republic of Viet-Nam will ask her Allies to remove their forces and evacuate their military installations, in accordance with the Manila Communique of October 26th 1966.

When peace is restored, the Republic of Viet-Nam is ready to discuss with the authorities in North Viet-Nam all the avenues which may lead to the reunification of the country by peaceful means, through the free and democratic choice of all Vietnamese in the North and in the South. Pending actual reunification, the gradual normalization of economic, cultural and family relations between North Viet-Nam and South Viet-Nam can be usefully explored by common accord between the Republic of Viet-Nam and the authorities in North Viet-Nam.

Therefore, the objectives of the Republic of Viet-Nam are simple and reasonable indeed. They proceed from our deep aspirations for peace and human compassion and our respect for international law and order.

REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

-10-

The Minister

In their struggle for survival and their quest for peace, the people of South Viet-Nam have exerted their right to self-determination through general elections in 1966 and 1967 to select their Constitution, their Government and representatives at the Senate and House of Representatives, as well as local councils at the hamlet and provincial levels.

They reject proposals such as the solution of a " coalition Government " of which Viet-Nam had had a bitter experience in 1946, or any overt or disguised territorial concession. Both solutions would not bring back peace but would simply lead to an inevitable communist takeover or a larger scale war after a short period of disorders.

The people and Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam seek a genuine, just and lasting peace. It must not be a deceptive peace, and must be impervious to renewed hostilities. Such a peace would be on the basis of peaceful co-existence, non-aggression and non-interference in the internal affairs of both North and South.

..11.

REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

-11-

The Minister

For its part, the Republic of Viet-Nam rejects the principles of retaliation and revenge, in favor of national reconciliation, and is offering full participation to all individuals and members of groups who accept to renounce force and abide by the Constitution and laws of Viet-Nam.

We still hold that if North Viet-Nam leaders were genuinely interested in peace discussions, they should respond to our appeal for direct negotiations between South and North Viet-Nam, as the most logical and practical means to put an end to the bloody tragedy which has lasted too long.

Please accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.



TRẦN-CHÁNH-THÀNH
Minister of Foreign Affairs
of the Republic of Viet-Nam

REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM

OFFICE OF THE PERMANENT OBSERVER TO THE UNITED NATIONS

866 UNITED NATIONS PLAZA, SUITE 547-9, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017 • TEL: 688-3850



January 16, 1969

Breakthrough in Paris talks Shows goodwill of South Vietnam

In an effort to break the deadlock at the Paris talks, the Government of the Republic of Vietnam Wednesday agreed to proposing the North Vietnamese delegation the following new package:

1- Seating arrangements: a solid round table with two rectangular tables placed at the midpoint of the circle, opposite each other but separate from the round table by a space of 45 cm. on each side. The rectangular tables are to be used for secretarial purposes.

2- No flags or nameplates will be displayed.

3- The side which speaks first is to be determined by drawing lots either between the U.S. and North Vietnamese delegations, or by the host government in presence of the U.S. and North Vietnamese representatives. The winning side will speak first in whatever order it chooses and when its speakers have completed their statements or have passed their turn, the other side will speak in whatever order it chooses.

The speaking order at the opening of each subsequent meeting will rotate by sides.

The Communists having accepted the proposal Wednesday late afternoon, a procedural meeting will be held this Saturday at 10:30 a.m. in Paris.

The new initiative stems from the goodwill of the Republic of Vietnam and its desire to reach constructive negotiations aiming at ending the aggression by North Vietnam and its auxiliary forces in the South.

The seating arrangements and speaking order, as presently adopted, have been set forward as a practical solution which as a continuation of the two-side formula excludes any recognition of the so-called National Liberation Front. This principle has been reasserted time and again, and as recently as by the official statements of the U.S. Government on November 26th and the Government of the Republic of Vietnam on November 27th. 1969.

9 ✓

STATEMENT MADE IN GENEVA BY TWO TRADE UNION SENATORS, MEMBERS OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM DELEGATION TO THE 53RD INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE, ON THE SUBJECT OF INCREASED VIETCONG BOMBARDMENTS IN SOUTH VIETNAM.

Speaking as Senators elected from the ranks of the trade union movement of the Republic of Vietnam, we protest vigorously the attacks launched on Saigon by communist rockets. Once again, Communists under the label of National Liberation Front have renewed their acts of barbarism on South Vietnamese territory with a series of bloody bombardments during the night of June 5, 1969.

Early in 1968, during TET MAU-THAN, the Communists attacked Saigon using regular army forces from North Vietnam even though they had accepted a 7 day truce on the occasion of the celebration of the lunar New Year (TET). From the first day of the truce, that is at a completely unexpected moment, they started to violate the truce and attacked cities and towns throughout South Vietnam. Their hope and belief was that these attacks would be accompanied by a popular uprising against the legal, constitutional Government of the Republic of Vietnam, recognised by more than 50 countries throughout the world.

More than 50,000 people were killed, wounded or kidnapped by the Communists during this truce violation. More than 5,000 people, including elderly men and women as well as children, were savagely massacred in Hué. Thousands of people were killed en masse or hurled while still alive into mass graves. Including among these victims was one of our colleagues, Senator TRAN DIEN.

However, the Communists failed in this attempt. Instead of the popular uprising the Communists had expected, the population drew back in horror from these atrocities. The people of South Vietnam have good reason to despise the Communists and their agents who have left terror, grief and mourning behind wherever they have passed. For exactly those reasons several million people, old and young, men and women, in the towns and villages formed volunteer groups for their self-defense.

After TET MAU-THAN, the Communists and their agents attempted several other attacks but met only defeat, suffering heavy losses in men and material. Having suffered a series of military setbacks, they fell back on their traditional tactic, that is the spreading of terror among the civilian population by continuous rocket attacks on Saigon and other towns. These rocket attacks were aimed at the most heavily populated sections and destroyed thousands of houses, killed thousands of poor workers. A typical example is the Fourth Arrondissement in Saigon, heavily populated by dockworkers and poor laborers. Rockets striking the street of DO-THANH-NHAN killed entire families as well as several hundred people attending mass in a church destroyed by the bombardment.

These figures speak for themselves, showing the damage caused:

For the Year 1968:

Material damage - 158,000 houses destroyed
with a resulting 750,000 individuals left without shelter.

Loss of human life: 11,696 civilians killed
30,002 civilians wounded
927 civilians kidnapped.

For the Year 1969 (first four months)

2,390 civilians killed
5,930 civilians wounded
3,409 civilians kidnapped

As representatives of the South Vietnamese people and particularly of the working classes, we raise our voices to protest against the violence and inhuman acts to which the Communist forces have had recourse to terrorize the population, to spread mourning and desolation in Vietnam.

We make an urgent appeal to His Holiness, Pope Paul VI, who visited Geneva the 10th of June 1969 for the 50th Anniversary of the ILO, for his support in calling a halt to acts of barbarism which must be repugnant to a church whose doctrine has always opposed violence.

Being ourselves worker refugees originally from North Vietnam, we appeal to workers of the entire world and to the member governments of the ILO to intervene with the United Nations so that a million peasants and workers, refugees from North-Vietnam, can return to their home territory to live in freedom and to enjoy all the fundamental rights of men under the protection of international guarantees.

We especially insist that the ILO should take those actions within its competence to ensure:

1. the immediate release of our trade union militants still held in North Vietnamese concentration camps.
2. the payment of damages to the families of trade unionists massacred or liquidated by the Communist regime of North Vietnam.
3. the restoration of trade union rights and freedoms in North Vietnam.

Today, the whole world desires peace in Vietnam. We, Vietnamese, wish fervently for Peace, but an honourable peace with justice and liberty; not the peace of the grave imposed by Communist dictatorship.

TRINH-QUANG-QUY and TRAN-THE-MINH
Senators and Trade Unionists of
the Republic of Vietnam.

Geneva, 12 June 1969

Monsieur U. THANT



Secrétaire Général

des Nations Unies

Genève

Déclaration faite à Genève par deux Sénateurs syndicalistes, membres de la Délégation de la République du Vietnam à la 53 Conférence Internationale du Travail, au sujet de l'intensification des bombardements VIETCONG au Sud-Vietnam.

En notre qualité de sénateurs syndicalistes de la République du Vietnam, nous protestons énergiquement contre les attaques de Saigon par des roquettes communistes. En effet, les Communistes sous l'étiquette de "Front National de Libération" viennent encore de renouveler leurs actes barbares en lançant sur l'ensemble du territoire Sud-Vietnam une série de bombardements meurtriers pendant la nuit du 5 juin 1969.

Durant le TET MAU-THAN (début 1968), les Communistes attaquaient Saigon en utilisant des forces militaires régulières venant du Nord-Vietnam alors qu'ils avaient accepté volontairement une trêve de 7 jours à l'occasion des fêtes du Nouvel-An lunaire (TET), mais dès le premier jour de la trêve, c'est-à-dire à un moment inattendu, ils commencèrent déjà à violer la trêve et s'attaquèrent à presque toutes les villes et cités du Sud-Vietnam, espérant un soulèvement populaire contre le Gouvernement constitutionnel et légal de la République du Vietnam, reconnu par plus de 50 pays du monde.

Plus de 50.000 personnes avaient été tuées ou blessées ou kidnappées par les Communistes au cours de cette violation de la trêve. Plus de 5.000 personnes (vieillards, adultes et enfants avaient été massacrées atrocement à Hué; des milliers de gens furent tués en masse ou jetés vivants dans des fosses collectives, y compris un de nos collègues, le Sénateur TRAN DIEN.

Cependant, les Communistes ont échoué dans cette tentative. Au lieu de se soulever, le peuple a fui les Communistes et a accordé son entier appui au Gouvernement de la République du Vietnam, car les Sud-Vietnamiens haïssent les Communistes et leurs agents qui sèment le deuil et la terreur partout où ils passent. C'est pour cette raison que plusieurs millions de personnes, vieilles et jeunes, hommes et femmes, dans les

villes et dans les villages, ont formé des groupes volontaires d'auto-défense.

Après le TET MAU-THAN, les Communistes et leurs agents ont essayé de lancer encore plusieurs autres attaques mais ils n'ont essuyé que des échecs après avoir subi de lourdes pertes en hommes et en matériel au cours de ces engagements. Après des défaites militaires successives, ils finissent par recourir à leur tactique habituelle, c'est-à-dire semer la terreur parmi la population civile par des bombardements continus aux roquettes sur Saïgon et d'autres villes. Ces bombardements visant spécialement les quartiers peuplés ont détruit des milliers de maisons et tué plusieurs milliers de travailleurs pauvres. Par exemple, des roquettes sont tombées au 4ème Arrondissement de Saïgon, un quartier peuplé de dockers et d'ouvriers pauvres, rue DO-THANH-NHAN et tué des familles entières ouvrières ainsi que des centaines de fidèles assistant à une messe dans une Eglise effondrée par ces roquettes.

Voici sommairement un bilan des dégâts causés :
Pour l'année 1968 : dégâts matériels : 158.000 maisons détruites. Par conséquent : 750.000 habitants sans logement. En ce qui concerne la population : 11.696 civils tués, 30.002 civils blessés, 927 civils kidnappés.

Pour l'année 1969 (quatre premiers mois) : 2.390 civils tués, 5.930 civils blessés, 3.409 civils kidnappés.

Comme représentants de la population Sud-Vietnamienne et notamment de la classe ouvrière, nous nous élevons énergiquement contre la violence et les activités inhumaines auxquelles les Communistes ont recours pour semer la terreur, le deuil et la désolation au Sud-Vietnam.

Nous lançons un pressant appel à sa Sainteté le Pape Paul VI, qui est venu à Genève le 10-6-69 pour le cinquantenaire

de l'OIT, priant Sa Sainteté le Pape Paul VI de bien vouloir prendre les initiatives nécessaires pour que cessent les actes barbares des Communistes car nous savons que l'Eglise est toujours contre la violence.

Comme étant nous-mêmes des travailleurs réfugiés du Nord-Vietnam, nous faisons appel aux travailleurs du monde entier et aux gouvernements des pays membres de l'OIT pour intervenir auprès des Nations Unies afin qu'un million de paysans et travailleurs réfugiés et leurs familles puissent revenir au Nord-Vietnam, y vivre librement et jouir de tous les droits fondamentaux de l'homme, sous la protection et la garantie internationales.

Nous demandons enfin avec insistance à l'OIT de prendre, selon ses compétences, des actions adéquates pour :

1) la mise immédiate en liberté de nos militants syndicalistes encore détenus dans les camps de concentration au Nord Vietnam.

2) le dédommagement matériel à des familles des syndicalistes massacrés ou supprimés par le régime communiste au Nord-Vietnam.

3) la réinstauration de la liberté syndicale au Nord-Vietnam.

En ce moment-ci, le monde entier souhaite la Paix au Vietnam. Nous, Vietnamiens, nous aspirons ardemment à cette Paix, mais une paix honorable, une paix dans la liberté et dans la justice et non une paix de cimetière, imposée par la dictature communiste.

Fait à Genève, le 12.6.69

Signé : TRINH-QUANG-QUY
TRAN-THE-MINH

Sénateurs Syndicalistes de
la République du Vietnam.

20 September 1969

Sir,

The Secretary-General has asked me to acknowledge your letter to him dated 15 September 1969 in which you conveyed a telegram from His Excellency Mr. Tran Van Lam, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Viet-Nam. I would be grateful to you if you could transmit to His Excellency the Foreign Minister the following message from the Secretary-General.

"Excellency,

"I have taken note with interest of the content of your communication and I would like to express my gratitude for your greetings and for your appreciation of my efforts in favour of peace in Asia and in other parts of the world.

"As you know, I have always expressed my concern for the situation in Viet-Nam and the wish that a just and durable settlement will be reached through negotiations between Viet-Namites themselves. I fervently hope that peace will be restored and that Viet-Nam, given its natural resources and the intellectual capacity and vigour of its people, will become the driving spirit of a new co-operative effort among the countries of the region, irrespective of their political systems.

His Excellency

Mr. Nguyen Van Chi

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
Permanent Observer of the Republic of Viet-Nam
to the United Nations

866 United Nations Plaza, 5th Floor
New York, N.Y. 10017

- 2 -

"You may be assured that I will continue to use all my energy and influence to contribute to finding a solution to a conflict which, beyond Viet-Nam, is of the greatest concern to the entire world community.

"Accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

U Thant"

"I avail myself of the opportunity to renew to you, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

G.V. Karamanlis
Chief of Cabinet

CVN/CC

cc: Mr. de Branche
Mr. Lemieux

20 September 1969

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C.V. Narasimhan
Chef de Cabinet

NEW YORK, September 15, 1969

THE PERMANENT OBSERVER
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

*You may wish to ask?
or shall I? Jean
15/9/69
L.V.*

Mr. Secretary General,

I have the honour to forward the text of a telegram addressed Your Excellency by His Excellency Mr. Tran Van Lam, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Vietnam, as follows:

" Saigon, September 13, 1969

Excellency,

On the eve of the Twenty-Fourth General Assembly of the United Nations, I should like to convey to Your Excellency my greetings and my best wishes for a successful session of this Assembly.

Also, the people and government of the Republic of Vietnam wish to express their appreciation for your repeated efforts to help bring about an end to the conflict in Vietnam and for your dedicated search for peace in Asia and in the world.

The people of Vietnam are fighting for self-defense, for freedom and survival so as to maintain their independence, and will continue to do so as long as the North Vietnamese Communists have not given up their ambition of conquering South Vietnam by force.

Being victims of a war of aggression, the Vietnamese people have many times manifested their longing for peace, a just, long-lasting and guaranteed peace, so as to be able to build their country and participate in the activities of the world community.

In this spirit, the Republic of Vietnam proposed on July 11th. 1969, a six-point plan for the settlement of the war by means of free elections:

1. All political parties and groups, including the N.L.F. which is now bearing arms against us, can participate in the elections if they renounce violence and pledge themselves to accept the results of the elections.

2. To make sure that the elections would be conducted in all fairness, an electoral commission could be set up, in which all political parties and groups, including the N.L.F. now fighting against us, could be represented.

The Electoral Commission will assure equal opportunities in the campaigning to all candidates.

It will also enable all political parties and groups to participate in watching the polls to see that the people vote absolutely freely, and in watching the counting of ballots to see that they are honestly counted.

3. An international body is to be established to supervise the elections, and to make sure that the elections are held under conditions fair to all.

4. We are prepared to discuss with the other side the time-table and the modalities under which the elections will be held.

5. There will be no reprisals or discrimination after the elections.

6. The Government of the Republic of Vietnam declares that it will abide by the results of the elections, whatever these results may be. We challenge the other side to declare the same.

It is crystal clear that the above mentioned proposal proves the good will of the Government of the Republic of Vietnam in its intentions to put an end to the conflict by peaceful means, those based on the noble principle of self-determination laid down in the Charter of the United Nations.

The Republic of Vietnam has confirmed her goodwill in the offer to the N.L.F. for private talks, without preconditions, to bring into being the idea of national reconciliation.

So far, all initiatives taken by the Republic of Vietnam have met with outright rejection on the part of the communists. They have denounced the above mentioned six-point plan turned down proposals for private talks and are stubborn in their determination to overthrow the legitimate government of South Vietnam as well as in their demand to our allies for a unilateral and unconditional withdrawal of their forces.

The Paris meetings have not been able to record any progress because of the negative and unrealistic position of the communists who cling to their fight-and-talk tactics. They keep on launching offensives, using terrorism, violence, and indiscriminate mortar and rocket shellings on populated areas in South Vietnam to terrorize the population.

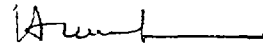
The Republic of Vietnam has time and again made clear that because there is aggression by North Vietnam, she needs assistance from allied forces, but the moment the military and subversive forces of North Vietnam are withdrawn, the Government of the Republic of Vietnam is ready to ask its allies to remove their forces from South Vietnam.

The Government of the Republic of Vietnam has demonstrated its goodwill to the maximum in the search for peace. Now it is time for the other side to show their willingness to accept serious and reasonable proposals to put an end to the war.

Please accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

Signed: TRAN VAN LAM
Minister of Foreign Affairs
of the Republic of Vietnam."

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.


NGUYEN HUU CHI
Ambassador

His Excellency U Thant
Secretary General
Organization of the United Nations.

RdeB/ksn

cc: Mr. Narasimhan
Mr. de Branche
Mr. Lemieux
Registry

26 February 1970

Sir,

On behalf of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 12 February 1970 in which you have informed him that "the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam proposed some time ago to release and repatriate sixty-two North Viet-Namense prisoners of war who had been singled out for being crippled or incurably ill". In the same letter you have also informed him of the reasons why it has been impossible to carry out this proposal.

As you know, the Secretary-General has often expressed his grave concern for the sufferings and tragedies endured by the people of Viet-Nam on both sides because of the war. He

His Excellency
Mr. Nguyen Huu-Chi
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
Permanent Observer of the Republic of Viet-Nam
to the United Nations
866 United Nations Plaza, 5th Floor
New York, N.Y. 10017

- 2 -

very much hopes that a solution will be found which will alleviate the plight not only of the prisoners but also of the populations concerned.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

C.V. Narasimhan
Chef de Cabinet

OFFICE OF THE PERMANENT OBSERVER
OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM
TO THE UNITED NATIONS
866 UNITED NATIONS PLAZA
SUITE 547-B
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

James
12/12/70

Mr. Sullivan

February 12, 1970

His Excellency
U Thant
Secretary General of the
United Nations
United Nations Headquarters
New York, N.Y. 10017

Mr. Secretary General:

I have the honour to avail myself of Your Excellency's concern for the fate of the prisoners of war on both sides in the Vietnam conflict, as well as your concern for the observance of the 1949 Geneva Convention on Prisoners of War, to bring to your attention and for your personal information, the following:

In view of the Tet holidays and in a purely humanitarian spirit, in accordance with the 1949 Geneva Convention on Prisoners of War, the Government of the Republic of Vietnam proposed some time ago to release and repatriate 62 North Vietnamese prisoners of war who had been singled out for being crippled or incurably ill.

The proposal was made through the International Red Cross in Geneva, and also directly by the delegation of the Republic of Vietnam to the Paris peace talks, during meetings No. 42 on November 13, 1969 and No. 47 on December 8, 1969.

The other side, after repeatedly turning down our proposal, finally suggested that the Republic of Vietnam simply set those prisoners free anywhere either on the border between the two zones or on the shores of North Vietnam.

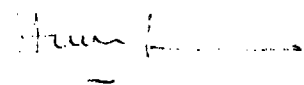
This suggestion could not be carried out though, because those prisoners of war, being disabled persons, could not be left alone, and because the International Red Cross made its intervention conditional to a formal

agreement by North Vietnam to receive them. Furthermore, most of those prisoners of war, although they wished to be back with their families in North Vietnam the earliest possible, expressly set forth the condition that North Vietnamese authorities formally accept them and warrant their political rights as well as conditions for a decent life.

At the 52nd meeting of the Paris peace talks on January 29, 1970, that is a week before the Tet holiday, the delegation of the Republic of Vietnam once again put forth its proposal, supported by letters written and signed by the prisoners of war who requested their own repatriation provided the Hanoi authorities guarantee their political security and a decent life. Those letters were confirmed by verbal declarations of the signatories, recorded on movie films.

The delegation of the Republic of Vietnam also proposed that since the Hanoi authorities were not willing to receive the prisoners of war, their relatives should be allowed to come South of the demarcation line to take them back. The Government of the Republic of Vietnam warranted all required security for those families, but the Communists' answer was once again negative.

Accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.



NGUYEN HUU CHI
Ambassador

Duplicate copy.

2/16

cc Mr. Friedman

✓ . REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM

THE PERMANENT OBSERVER
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

NEW YORK.

Mr. Secretary General:

On instructions of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Vietnam, I have the honour to forward herewith, for your Excellency's information, the copy of his letter dated Saigon June 12th, 1970 to the Right Honourable Michael Stewart, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom.

Accept, Mr. Secretary General, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

New York, June 29th, 1970

NGUYEN HUU CHI
Ambassador

His Excellency
U Thant
Secretary General
United Nations
New York, New York

THE PERMANENT OBSERVER
OF THE
REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM
TO THE
UNITED NATIONS

His Excellency U Thant
Secretary General
The United Nations
New York, N.Y. 10017

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The Minister

Sir,

On behalf of the Government of the Republic of Vietnam, I have the honour to draw your attention, in your capacity as Co-Chairman of the 1954 Geneva Conference, to the subversive and aggressive activities perpetrated by communist North-Vietnam against the Republic of Vietnam in violation of the Geneva Agreements.

On June 25, 1962, Her Britannic Majesty's Government, as Co-Chairman of the Geneva Conference, made public a Special Report dated June 2, 1962.

In this Special Report, the ICSC in Vietnam has recognized in the most formal manner the existence of an overt campaign of subversion and aggression against the Republic of Vietnam by communist North Vietnam.

Since the publication of this Special Report, the subversive and aggressive activities of the Hanoi authorities against the Republic of Vietnam, far from diminishing, have considerably increased.

I.- The continuous infiltration of men and weapons into South Vietnam by communist North Vietnam, with the aim of conquering the Republic of Vietnam by force

With the all-out support of the communist powers, Communist North Vietnam has intensified the infiltration of troops and war materials through the demilitarized zone and the borders of Laos and Cambodia.

Factual evidence of these violations of the Geneva Agreements has been each time forwarded by the South Vietnam Liaison Mission to the International Commission for Supervision and Control. On many reported instances, members of the mobile teams of the ICSC made on-the-spot investigations, interrogated the captured North Vietnamese soldiers and witnessed a considerable quantity of weapons and original documents seized from the infiltrated Northern Communist troops.

North Vietnam's attempts to impose its domination by the use of force, have brought destruction and suffering to the people of the Republic of Vietnam. Since the beginning of 1959 until April 1970, there have been 31,761 civilians killed and 38,289 kidnapped by the Hanoi agents besides 74,523 wounded who were victims of various indiscriminate shellings and terrorist acts. Thus, the total of the victims scored by

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The Right Honourable Michael STEWART, C.B., M.P.
Her Majesty's Principal Secretary
of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

LONDON

the communist crimes amounts to 144.573 civilians over the past 11 years. These figures speak for themselves about the acts of cruelty perpetrated by the Northern communists against the innocent population of the South.

II.- The goodwill of the Republic of Vietnam

While the entire world wishes for the cessation of hostilities and the quick restoration of peace in Vietnam, no progress has been recorded in the talks which started more than 1 year ago in Paris. The paralysis of the Paris Meetings proceeds exclusively from the ill-will of the Hanoi communist regime in the settlement of the conflict through negotiations.

As far as the Republic of Vietnam is concerned, the goodwill of its Government has been translated into real efforts for world opinion to take note at all times.

The Republic of Vietnam has made concrete offers based on the fundamental principles of the Geneva Agreements of 1954.

On the one hand, she has proposed the mutual and simultaneous withdrawal of all the outside forces.

On the other hand, she has manifested its good-faith by adopting a policy of national reconciliation. Indeed, she has put forward a political solution based on the free choice of the people as expressed during general elections organized under international supervision and free from all internal and external coercion.

The Government of the Republic of Vietnam gave evidence of its goodwill in making, on July 11, 1969, a new six-point proposal as a basis for the organization of free elections. In this proposal, it stated that all political groups including the so-called "NLF", can participate in the elections if they renounce violence and pledge themselves to accept the results of the elections. To ensure the fairness of the elections, it proposed that all political parties and groups including the so-called "NLF" could be represented in the Electoral Commission, which will not only supervise the elections, but will also assure equal opportunities in the campaigning to all candidates.

Furthermore, the Government of the Republic of Vietnam stated that it is prepared to discuss with the other side the time-table and modalities under which the elections will be held. It declared itself ready to abide by the results of the elections, whatever these results may be.

On July 20, 1969, the 15th Anniversary of the Geneva Agreements, the Government of the Republic of Vietnam made a solemn renewal of its offer to Hanoi for direct and serious negotiations toward the reunification of Vietnam, and the solution of mutual problems pending reunification.

Thus, contrary to the ill-will of North Vietnam, the Republic of Vietnam has demonstrated its goodwill in seeking a peaceful settlement of the conflict by means of negotiations.

III.- The ill-will of Communist North Vietnam.

In contrast with South Vietnam's repeated acts of good-faith for peace, communist North Vietnam in the meantime, has continued to infiltrate troops and war materials into South Vietnam. They have used the territories of Laos and Cambodia not only as infiltration corridors but also as sanctuaries and bases for logistics to serve their troops. The infiltration

of North Vietnamese communist troops into Laotian and Cambodian territories has been denounced by the competent authorities of Laos and Cambodia as a violation of the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements.

The Hanoi communist authorities chose to reject the six-point proposal of the Government of the Republic of Vietnam, which has been hailed as a most generous offer. They have refused to hold serious talks in Paris and maintain their absurd demand for the unconditional and unilateral withdrawal of Allied troops.

Moreover, the communists of Hanoi have insisted on the formation of a coalition Government as a preliminary condition for negotiation. Such a Government would in effect legalize their subversive organization the aims of which would be to destroy all those who do not share the same political views and to gradually seize power.

The communist side's position amounts to a demand for unconditional military and political surrender from our side, which is the side fighting for self-defense against communist aggression.

To sum up, every logical and reasonable proposal offered by the Government of the Republic of Vietnam has been rejected without due consideration by the communist authorities of the North. Instead of preparing for peace they have escalated the war. Insensitive to the sufferings of the innocent population of the South, the Northern communists have not renounced their dream of military victory and conquest. They continue to inflict misery and mourning on the Vietnamese people.

IV.- Appeal to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam.

On instructions from its Government, the Liaison Mission of the Republic of Vietnam in a letter dated 11th February 1970, requested the ICSC in Vietnam to take more positive actions. In this letter, the Liaison Mission of the Republic of Vietnam suggested that another Special Report similar to the one addressed in 1962 by the ICSC to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference on Indochina, denouncing the aggression of North Vietnam, would be appropriate for the present circumstances. As a warning against North Vietnam's escalation of the war, this new Special Report would contribute to making the talks in Paris progress and would help restore an early and just peace in Vietnam.

The Government of the Republic of Vietnam deems it necessary that the flagrant violations of the 1954 Geneva Agreements by Communist North Vietnam be brought to the knowledge of international public opinion, so as to deter the policy of aggression from the Communists in North Vietnam.

V.- Appeal to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference.

In sending this Message, the Government of the Republic of Vietnam appeals to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference to take whatever steps they deem appropriate to put an end to the North Vietnamese communist's subversive and aggressive activities in South Vietnam.

Attached to this Message are 9 White-papers published by the Government of the Republic of Vietnam from 1962 to 1969. Indeed, the Government of the Republic of Vietnam deems it useful that the Co-Chairmen have at their disposal complete documentation and evidence of the multiple acts of violations committed by

communist North Vietnam in defiance of the 1954 Geneva Agreements.

In order that the Soviet Co-Chairman as well as the 1954 Geneva Agreements' Signatories might be fully informed of this aggression by communist North Vietnam against my country, I have the honour to request Your kind assistance, in Your capacity as Co-Chairman of the 1954 Geneva Conference, in circulating to them the text of this Message.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to You, Sir, the assurances of my high consideration./-

Signed: TRAN VAN LAM

Enclosures:

- 9 White -papers

cc: Mr. Narasimhan
Mr. Muller
Mr. Lemieu x ✓

RM/fp

30 June 1970

Excellency,

The Secretary-General has asked me to acknowledge receipt, on his behalf, of your letter of June 29, 1970, forwarding to him, on instructions of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Vietnam, the copy of his letter dated Saigon June 12, 1970 to the Right Honourable Michael Stewart, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom.

Accept, Excellency, the assurances of my high consideration.

Yours sincerely,

Robert G. Muller
Director

His Excellency Nguyen Huu Chi
Ambassador
Office of the Permanent Observer
of the Republic of Viet-Nam to the United Nations
866 United Nations Plaza
Suite 547-9
New York, N.Y. 10017

OFFICE OF THE PERMANENT OBSERVER
OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM
TO THE UNITED NATIONS
866 UNITED NATIONS PLAZA
SUITE 547-9
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

29/6
Robert

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New York, June 29th, 1970

Hu

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Enclosures:

- 9 White -papers

THE PERMANENT OBSERVER
OF THE
REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM
TO THE
UNITED NATIONS

His Excellency U Thant
Secretary General
The United Nations
New York, N.Y. 10017

HỘI BẢO - TỒN CỔ - ĐÔ HUẾ

84 Nguyễn-Du

~~106/128, XX - M~~ ~~NGUYEN - DU~~ — Saigon, Vietnam

~~Điện thoại 93.520~~

*(a) Read with them -
C.V. 15/8*

SAIGON, August 8th, 1970

The President of the
Association for The Preservation of
the Old Capital City of Hue

to

Secretary General U THANT

United Nations

NEW YORK, N. Y.

(USA)

Mr. Secretary General :

(a) On behalf of the Hoi Bao Ton Co Do Hue (Association For The Preservation of the Old Capital City of Hue), I have the honor of forwarding to you one first day cover and a set of stamps issued by the Post Office of the Republic of Viet Nam as part of a campaign to enlist public support, both at home and abroad, for the restoration of the historic monuments of Hue, the old Imperial city of Viet Nam which have been severely damaged, and for the preservation of what remains.

As you are well aware, the former imperial city of Hue was severely damaged by heavy fighting during the communist offensive in February 1968. The fighting lasted almost a month, during which the former Imperial Palace, the Citadel, as well as several pagodas, temples and other monuments of the country's cultural history were the victims of war.

The above monuments are priceless expressions of the material, and especially cultural efforts of the Vietnamese people for many centuries. They are also monuments of the culture of the East and of the culture of mankind. Through them, we can reconstruct what man's efforts to advance his culture in this part of the world has been. They should therefore be preserved for the benefits of all men interested in the legacy of mankind.

For the above purpose, a number of Vietnamese citizens have come together. They have set up the above Association. But in a country beset by war, the means of everyone, including the Government of the Republic of Viet Nam, are limited. Appeal must therefore be made beyond the borders of Viet Nam, to those whose countries are fortunate enough to live and develop in peace.

We are therefore appealing to you to do everything in your power. If you can help us with funds, we shall be deeply grateful.

But more than funds, we appeal to you to use your capacity to call upon all the governments, as well as people of good will, to intercede with the belligerent parties to respect the historical monuments, to avoid damaging them, and also to help restore them.

We understand that you are working hard to secure the above in regard to the Angkor monuments of Cambodia. We take the liberty of suggesting that you extend that action to the former imperial city of Hue, and to other cultural monuments of the country generally.

Respectfully

President

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'N. P. Dai', written over a horizontal line.

Mrs NGUYEN PHUOC DAI

c.c. Mr Lemieux

CVN/jw

26 August 1970

Dear Madam,

The Secretary-General has asked me to acknowledge your kind letter to him dated 8 August, with which you sent him one first day cover and a set of stamps issued by the Post Office of the Republic of Viet Nam as part of a campaign to enlist public support, both at home and abroad, for the restoration of the historic monuments of Hue.

The Secretary-General is grateful to you for your thoughtfulness. He regrets, however, that there is no provision for the United Nations to offer financial support for the cause that you have in mind. Perhaps the Director-General of UNESCO might be in a position to help.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

C. V. Narasimhan
Chef de Cabinet

Mrs Nguyen Phuoc Dai
President
Hoi Bao-Ton Co-Do Hue
84 Nguyen-Du
Saigon
Vietnam

TO : The Secretary-General

FROM : Jean Gazarian

Man
19/11/70

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

DATE : **19 NOV 1970**

UNITED NATIONS



NATIONS UNIES

NEW YORK

CABLE ADDRESS—ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE: UNATIONS NEWYORK

REFERENCE: PO 240 VINA(2)

..... The enclosed communication dated 10 November 1970 is transmitted to the Permanent Missions of the States Members of the United Nations for their information.

13 November 1970

BK

OFFICE OF THE PERMANENT OBSERVER
OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM
TO THE UNITED NATIONS
866 UNITED NATIONS PLAZA
SUITE 547-B
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

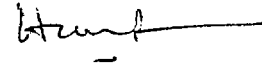
November 10, 1970

Mr. Secretary General:

On October 21st. 1970, at the request of the Hungarian delegation, the United Nations circulated among Member States two documents devised by the authorities of North Vietnam to allegedly denounce "war crimes committed by the United States of America" in Vietnam (Reference: Note Verbale PO/240/VINA(2) of October 21st. 1970).

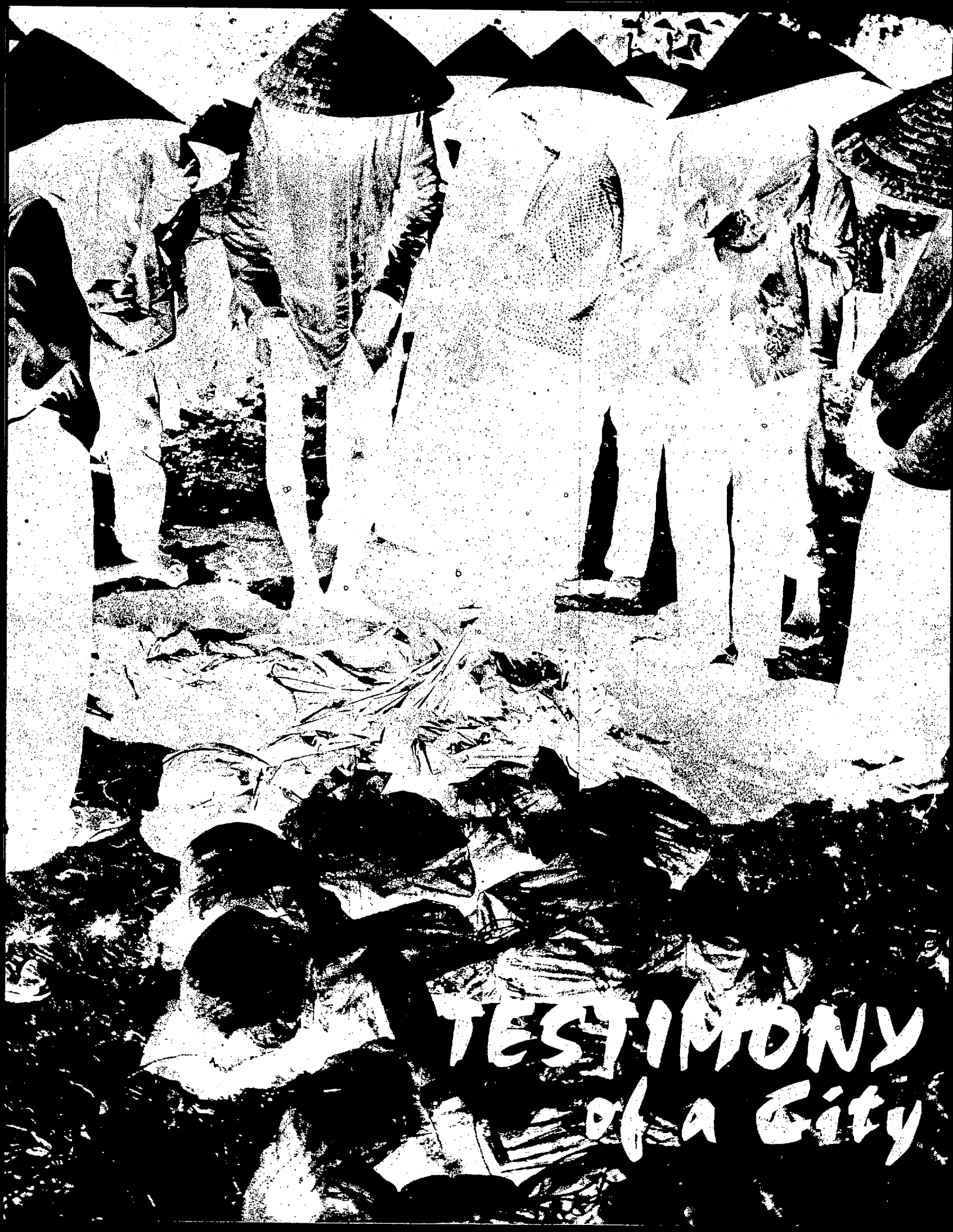
To provide Member States with a proper documentation on the matter, I have the honour to enclose one hundred and fifty (150) copies of a document pertaining to a single instance of communist atrocities in South Vietnam, which I kindly request Your Excellency to circulate among Member States of the United Nations. No translation of this document into any language is requested.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.



NGUYEN HUU CHI
Permanent Observer

His Excellency U Thant
Secretary General
Organization of the United Nations



TESTIMONY of a City

COVER: Exhumed bodies of VC victims (in plastic bags, with identification articles--if any--attached to bags) are left at a central collection point for possible claims by relatives for proper reburial. (Thua Thien Province, RVN, March 1969)

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The articles reprinted herein are selected for their informative and comprehensive character, representing various shades of opinion. They do not necessarily reflect the views of the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam.

Introduction

No Vietnamese will ever forget the atrocities of the Communists during their Tet Mau Than offensive in the Imperial City of Hue.

Hardly had the first firecrackers been fired to welcome the New Year, than the Communists already launched a large scale attack which they described as a general offensive against a number of cities in Viet-Nam, during a period of truce that they themselves expressly proposed and advocated.

One recalls that in that so-called general offensive, Communist troops occupied Hue in Central Viet-Nam for about 24 days and that during this short period, the Communist cadres had arrested more than 2000 civilian people including civil servants, school teachers, university professors, clergymen, employees of various American business firms, etc. . .

Upon their arrest, the victims were told to go to a Communist camp for political indoctrination. In fact, herded into groups of 10-15 each and tied to one another with rattan ropes they were led to freshly dug trenches, where they were summarily executed, shot, clubbed or bayoneted to death, and in many cases buried alive. The villagers, who lived next to the site, later reported that the agonizing screams were heard throughout several successive nights. Among the victims were a Catholic priest, Father Urbain, and three German professors at the Medical School of Hue University.

As soon as the Allied forces succeeded in driving the Communists out of the city, people rushed out to search for their missing relatives. Volunteered information from witnesses and foul smell from decomposed bodies brought about the discovery of several mass graves: there were 14 in Gia Hoi, 12 at Tang Quang Pagoda, 3 at Bai dau, 20 at Kings Tu Duc and Dong Khanh Tombs.

In the area which included the beach and some faraway villages that was pacified late last year, it was not until recently that the farmers felt safe enough from Communist reprisals to inform the local authorities about the location of more mass graves.

Until today more than a thousand corpses have been removed. About 200 were identified and returned to their families for reburial. The unidentified dead were given a mass funeral, which was attended by thousands of men and women, whose husbands, sons, fathers or relatives have been missing since the Tet offensive.

In the face of such barbarous war tactics the whole Vietnamese people joins the Government of the Republic in denouncing the Communists to the conscience of the free world. Crimes and atrocities coupled with assassination and terrorism which have been their daily practice ever since aggression against the South began have found in the Hue Massacre a culminating height for a doctrine which pretends to preach peace and happiness but which in reality brings forth only death and destruction.

Such tactics have stigmatized our enemy but have so far failed to demoralize us. Yet the enemy will resort to them again now that they come to a new phase of their sinister plan of aggression by asking for a coalition government which would eventually push South Vietnam into the waiting arms of the Communists.



Mass funeral organized by local authorities for reburial of unidentified bodies.

EMBASSY OF VIETNAM

2251 "R" Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

Tel.: (202) 234-4860

Press Release

April 3, 1969

From March 26 to March 30, while helping the villagers to dig irrigation canals, two Revolutionary Development Teams discovered ten collective graves of 150 bodies.

On April 2, Regional and Popular Forces, during an operation discovered four more graves containing the remains of 200 persons including soldiers, civil servants, civilians, women as well as children.

According to the reports of two recently escaped ARVN soldiers, Sergeant Chau and Corporal Doi (they were captured by the Vietcong during the Tet offensive of 1968), who were eye-witnesses, the Communists tied the victims together by groups of two and either shot them or beat them to death by crushing their heads with a hard stick - then buried the bodies in shallow ditches.

The above soldiers affirmed that some of the victims were even buried alive, a fact which was confirmed by doctors and experts upon examination of the remains.

Only 25 out of 350 bodies have been identified. They were returned to the respective families for burial. The remainder were given a collective funeral organized by the local authorities.

All the graves were found at Phu Thu, a small district about 20 kilometers from Hue.

Corporal Doi also revealed that there are many other collective graves, dug by the Communists, along the sea-coast, North-east of Hue.

Efforts are being made by local people and authorities to locate them.

The Press Corps in Viet-Nam, including foreign journalists, radio and television reporters, have been invited to the site to observe these proofs of mass slaughter of defenseless people by the Communists.



A section of the receiving area where the bodies are assembled and examined for possible identification.

HUE MASSACRE

by

James Cary

Washington,--On the night of January 30, 1968, reconnaissance elements of South Viet-Nam's crack 1st Division were on an area surveillance mission in the Viet Cong infested countryside Southwest of the old imperial capital city of Hue.

A regional forces company was probing the area to their East.

Neither expected to find much evidence of Communist activity. The annual lunar New Year or Tet truce was under way.

Suddenly, about 10p.m., a large Communist force hit the regional forces company hard, brushing it aside and driving straight ahead into the inner walled portion of the city called the Citadel.

That was the beginning of the Battle of Hue, highwater mark of Communist strength in the now famous Tet Offensive of 1968.

It was not until 25 days later that the last Communist troops were forced out. And it is only now, after months and months of interrogation of prisoners and survivors, and the finding of mass graves, that the world is learning what happened in and around Hue during those 25 days.

The picture that is emerging is one of massacre, mutilation and terror.

Of 3,000 persons missing, bodies of more than 2,200 have been discovered in shallow trenches at more than 25 locations.

Some were buried alive, standing, eyes open. Some were beheaded. Many were bound and shot in the back of the head. Some had dirt or cloth stuffed in their mouths to stifle their screams.

There were at least three death marches. A number of victims were lined up and machine gunned.

Nationality, occupation or political background was no protection. Scores of Buddhists in Hue's strong, anti-government resistance movement were slaughtered. So too were American and German civilians,

French priests, South Vietnamese Government officials, anyone with relatives in the South Vietnamese army, village chiefs, political leaders, anyone who worked for the Americans, and particularly anyone who was known for his opposition to the Viet Cong.

The Communists have admitted responsibility for the killings. A Communist document, captured in the Delta area last November, who fell into their hands, claiming:

"We paralyzed the enemy machinery when we killed 2,000 reactionaries in Hue."

Again on April 27, 1969, a Hanoi radio broadcast boasted that the bodies then being discovered in the Hue area were "holligan lackeys who had owed blood debts to the . . . Hue compatriots and who were annihilated by the Southern armed (Viet Cong and North Vietnamese) forces . . . (last) spring."

The agony of Hue began almost with the first shots that were fired. After the regional forces company was shattered by the Communist advance guard more and more North Vietnamese battalions, supported by Viet Cong guerrilla and local force units, poured into the city from the South and West.

At 3:40 a.m. two salvos of enemy rockets came shrieking down on the city, setting widespread fires.

By dawn, the Communists controlled all of Hue except their two prime objectives--the 1st South Vietnamese Army Division Headquarters in the Northern corner of the Citadel, and the American Military Assistance compound South of the Perfume River. Attempts to capture both were thrown back with heavy Communist losses.

For two days after that the Communists left the population alone. Then Viet Cong cadres began to move from door to door.

Some confiscated radio receivers. Others, working from prepared lists, sought out South Vietnamese Government officials and invited them to political indoctrination meetings. They never returned, but it is now known what happened to some of them.

At the Gia Hoi High School and in a field behind the Tang Quang Pagoda, 33 mass graves containing 200 bodies have been found. A monk at the Pagoda told South Vietnamese interrogators that during the first two weeks of February he heard Communist execution squads at work nightly. The victims cried out, pleading for mercy. A volley of pistol and rifle shots would follow. Then silence.

Nguyen Ngoc Ky, leader of the Viet-Nam Nationalist Party, was among the victims found here.

Another band of 80 to 100 civilians took refuge in the R demptorist Church in Hue. On February 8 the Communists forced them to leave and started them marching East, across the Perfume River. Bodies of 20 of the group were found at Ap Lang Xa Con, a hamlet 4 kilometers from the church. National Police said they had been buried alive with hands bound. The body of Tran Dien, one of five elected senators in the National Assembly from Hue, was among them.

At the University of Hue, three German doctors on the medical faculty tried unsuccessfully to wait out the Communist occupation. The Viet Cong arrested them on February 5 at their homes. On April 2, 1968, the bodies of Dr. and Mrs. Horst Gunther Krainick, and Dr. Alois Altkoester were found buried in a common grave in a potato field behind the Tu Quang Pagoda, two kilometers South of Hue. Their arms had been bound with wire. All had been shot.

Two French priests at the Thien An Mission suffered a similar fate. Their monastery was located on a hill top surrounded by pines. When fighting engulfed the area 3,000 to 4,000 peasants sought refuge there. Communists troops suddenly appeared, many of the peasants attempted to flee. Two pleaded with the Communists to spare the building, but as one Vietnamese priest who escaped said later:

" They took over the whole building, firing from the ground level at first, and then mounting into the upper stories." The bodies of the two resident French priests, Father Urbain and Father Guy, were among 201 bodies found later on the slope of a scenic overlook above the Perfume River. Father Urbain, 52, had been bound hand and foot and buried alive with 10 others. His body was identified by a laundry number on his underclothing and by his silver denture and bald head. Father Guy, 48, was stripped of his cassock by the North Vietnamese, forced to kneel, and shot through the back of the head.

Americans suffered similar fates, a U.S. report to the International Committee of the Red Cross reveals:

Stephen H. Miller's hands were bound behind his back. He was shot in the back of the head.'

Kermit J. Krause and Heffrey S. Lundstedt were cornered by the enemy in the bedroom of their house. They were shot in the face. Their bodies were bound in bathtubs.

Thomas M. Gompertz, Bourtney Niles and Robert T. Little were shot in the back of the head, apparently executed. Niles' arms were bound.

It was equally hard with the South Vietnamese.

On February 9, Viet Cong came to the home of Major Tu Ton Khan, commanding officer, Provincial Revolutionary Development (Pacification) cadres. They ordered his wife to tell her husband to report to Viet Cong authorities. They threatened to burn the house if she did not do so. Frightened, Mrs. Khan called her husband and two other revolutionary development workers who were hiding in the attic. Major Khan was tied up and taken away with all his belongings. His body was found February 28, pierced by 200 bullet holes.

There are many similar stories.

Tran Hy, a popular forces member, was arrested by the Viet Cong on February 20 and buried alive with 20 others near the An Ninh Ha Bridge.

On the night of February 18, a Viet Cong group appeared at the home of Ho Tan Sy, a teacher, and invited him to attend a meeting. He was shot and killed as he left his house.

On February 10, Le Van Tru, chief of the Thua Thien program for Communist defectors, was arrested and shot near the Dong Ba gate.

Nguyen Van Dong, resident of the Hue Citadel, was arrested February 17 and buried alive at Gia Hoi.

Viet Cong soldiers broke into the home of Miss Hoang Thi Tam Tuy on February 22, and led her to Gia Hoi High School with four other persons. They were buried alive in the same grave, arms and legs bound. Of 200 bodies found at the school, Vietnamese authorities estimated more than half were buried alive.

By mid-February, the fighting for Hue had turned decidedly against the Communists. The enemy commander had been killed and his replacement, it was learned later, had asked and been refused permission to withdraw. Now the killing became if anything even more vicious as the Communist grip on the city weakened.

A Viet Cong unit assembled more than 200 South Vietnamese civilians and local administrators at the town of Ton Nam Duong. They were started South, bound together in three groups of ten.

Other similar marches began.

Nguyen Tan Chau, of the South Vietnamese Army's Medical Corps, was in Hue visiting his family during the Tet holidays when the Communists attacked. He was captured and held with 30 other prisoners. They were started South, bound together in three groups of ten. He told South Vietnamese investigators later that when the column halted for a rest, he freed his hands and slipped away in the darkness. From a hiding place he witnessed the following scene:

"The larger prisoners were separated into pairs, tied together back to back and shot. The others were shot singly. All were dumped into two shallow graves, including those who had been wounded but were not dead."

Winter and early spring rains washed away the more obvious signs of the slaughter but the bodies were found later in the Phu Thu District about 20 kilometers South of Hue.

A similar story is told by Phan Duy, a key official of Anha Hamlet, seven miles East of Hue. He knew his name was on the Viet Cong's execution list after the Communists seized Hue. He slipped away from the hamlet to a small house on the outskirts of Hue, hoping to escape detection. The ruse almost worked.

It wasn't until Hue was virtually recaptured by U.S. and South Vietnamese forces that enemy troops discovered him as they pulled back through the area where he was hiding.

On February 28, five Viet Cong entered Duy's house, bound his hands and marched him seven miles to a row of houses near an area of sand dunes East of the city. He and four other prisoners were locked in one of the houses for seven days. They were allowed outside only to relieve themselves, but this was long enough for Duy to realize that some 100 prisoners in the other houses were being systematically shot.

On the seventh night Duy and nine other men were lashed to a bamboo pole and marched for 300 yards. Their hands were untied. They were told to remove all outer clothing. As he was undressing Duy heard his guards talking to a group of Viet Cong laborers.

"Did you dig the trench yet?" They asked.

"No, not yet, there are too many people and not enough time," the laborers replied.

Three of the guards left to help dig while the prisoners' hands were retied. Duy managed to work his hands free, then made a run for it.

"I ran about 300 meters and I saw a pool," he said. "I fell into the water and covered myself with reeds."

Hours later, half frozen, he emerged and began walking toward the lights of the Hue radio tower beacon. He stumbled into the Phuvang District headquarters and reported what had happened.

Many others were not so lucky. So far 356 bodies have been found in the sand dune graves that Duy escaped. Investigators have reported

the victims were killed in groups of 25 to 40. Cartridges from Russian-made AK47 rifles used by the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese were found nearby. Some of those who died had been bludgeoned to death. Others had been shot.

Despite all these accounts the story of the Hue Massacres is still not complete. Hundreds of other case histories are already known and reports are still being collected at the combined interrogation centers in Hue.

The investigation has pinpointed the location of many still-unopened mass graves. Consequently there is little hope for the 800 citizens of Hue who are still missing.

They, too, are believed to be a part of the grisly record the Communists left behind the one time they have occupied a South Vietnamese city.

This story of what happened when the Communists occupied the South Vietnamese city of Hue in 1968 was compiled from records made available by the U.S. State Department, Defense Department, South Vietnamese Embassy and South Vietnamese Government.

Reprinted by permission from the author and Copley News Service
June 19, 1969

HUE AND KATYN - A TRAGIC
SIMILARITY

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. PUCINSKI) is recognized for 30 minutes.

(Mr. PUCINSKI asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the discovery of mass graves showing Communist atrocities against South Vietnamese citizens near Hue, South Vietnam, earlier this week is a tragic reminder that the same form of mass murder was committed by the Communists against our allies in the Katyn Forest, near Smolensk, Russia, at the beginning of World War II.

I was the chief investigator of the special congressional committee which in 1952 investigated the Katyn Forest massacre, and I was struck by the tragic similarity between the methods used by the Communists in the Katyn Forest in 1940, and the methods and techniques used by the Communists again earlier this week against the South Vietnamese in Hue.

There is no question in my mind that the entire free world should be shocked by this bizarre discovery of mass graves near Hue earlier this week.

The discovery was made by two South Vietnamese Army noncoms who were captured by the Vietcong during the Tet offensive of 1968. These two men were able to free themselves and found many of the graves by digging.

To date, the mass graves have produced a total of 350 bodies.

Digging is still going on, and the two military men who were witnesses to some of these killings are now trying to identify more of the areas.

These two noncoms are Sergeant Chau and Corporal Doi of the South Vietnamese Armed Forces. They actually witnessed some of the atrocities and mass murders inflicted upon their countrymen.

These men say that some of the victims were pushed down into the grave while still alive, and this has been confirmed by doctors who have examined the corpses.

The victims were killed with a single shot in the back of their head while their hands were tied behind their backs. They were pushed into mass graves. This is precisely the method used by Communist soldiers when they massacred 15,000 Polish Army officers in the Katyn Forest in 1940.

Among the 350 victims found, 25 have been identified. Many are women. The

identified bodies have been returned to their families for funeral and the rest have been taken care of by the Government of Vietnam for burial.

The location of the grave is the village of Phu Thu, about a distance of 15 kilometers from Hue.

According to Corporal Doi there are still many other graves dug by the Vietcong along the seashore and the local authorities are now proceeding to investigate them.

Mr. Speaker, it occurs to me that the free world cannot overlook nor ignore the bizarre similarity between what happened in the Katyn Forest almost 30 years ago and what is now happening in South Vietnam.

I know that all of our hearts cry out for peace in Vietnam and we pray for the day when our troops can be brought home.

I know every resource of our own Government and every effort by the South Vietnamese Government is being made to find some way to resolve this conflict and to bring it to a victorious conclusion. The United States has offered to withdraw its troops from South Vietnam if North Vietnam would agree to a similar withdrawal.

But, certainly, Mr. Speaker, as we look at the discovery of the mass graves and at the brutal techniques being used in Hue in South Vietnam today against the innocent citizens of that country, and compare them to the techniques used against the 15,000 Polish Army officers who were brutally massacred by the Communists in the Katyn Forest 30 years ago, we see that nothing has really changed in the Communist design of mass execution for those who would stand in the way of their pattern for conquest.

I would say, Mr. Speaker, the world has really not given enough attention to the discovery of these mass graves in South Vietnam last week. This discovery of mass graves in South Vietnam, in my judgment, is a prelude to what awaits millions of South Vietnamese if they should falter in their struggle against the Communist Vietcong. I am sure that mass graves and mass executions and the whole business of Katynism, so thoroughly developed by the Communists 30 years ago, will be the order of the day in South Vietnam if the Communists were to emerge victorious.

Mr. Speaker, I would hope that those who would today urge peace at any price in South Vietnam would think about these tragic consequences.

We want peace and I am confident we shall find peace only if we do not waver

in our determination. The South Vietnamese Government has offered to seek a reconciliation with the Vietcong and such moves should be encouraged. But at this critical juncture, when victory is within reach, we must not waver in our defense of freedom in South Vietnam.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield to the very distinguished gentleman from Indiana who was chairman of the Select Committee To Investigate the Katyn Forest Massacre here in this Congress in 1952.

I have had the highest admiration for the gentlemen since the days when he headed that committee because the Katyn Forest Massacre Committee demonstrated to the world the techniques used by the Communists in mass executions of those who would stand in the way of their aggression.

The gentleman from Indiana (Mr. MADDEN) has rendered a noble service in bringing before Congress the first indictments against the Soviet Union for those mass atrocities against the Polish Army officers who were murdered in Katyn.

Mr. Speaker, I deem it a privilege to yield to my colleague, the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. MADDEN. I thank my colleague for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I want to commend the gentleman from Illinois for calling the attention of Congress and reminding us of the barbarous atrocities against their victims, the Communist leaders committed during and at the beginning of World War II.

The gentleman from Illinois was one of the real leaders in the work that was done by this committee. We held hearings not only in this country but in England, Germany, and other places in Europe.

The attention of the world was drawn during those hearings to the uncivilized brutality that is embedded in the Communist leaders attitude toward humanity generally. Their leaders crave for power. They have no respect for human life. I remember distinctly when we held our hearings in Frankfurt, Germany, back during the days of the 82d Congress when the television and newspaper reporters and radio communications media packed our committee hearing room.

They sent word all over the globe, revealing that Stalin's barbarity is embedded in the minds of all Communist leaders. That barbarity calls for the extinction of human life, if, in the form of individuals or masses, interferes with their program to enslave the world.

"I think the gentleman from Illinois was present along with former Congressman Machrowicz, who is now a Federal judge in Michigan, and myself at the opening of the annual convention, in Berlin Germany, of Eastern and Western European journalists. The gentleman from Illinois, now speaking, Congressman Machrowicz, and myself spoke to the convention of about 200 journalists. There was a lot of opposition from the Communists in adjacent countries to the meeting there being held in Berlin.

At a luncheon at which the gentleman was present along with myself and Congressman Machrowicz, one journalist delegate revealed that the Communist propaganda machine daily published smears that the Katyn Committee was nothing but a tool of capitalism. Notwithstanding the fact that we had invited Stalin and all other Communist leaders to come to Frankfurt and testify—but we had received no answer from them—they proceeded to malign and blaspheme our committee.

These journalists, in speaking to those attending the luncheon, said that in the work of the Katyn Forest Massacre Committee, for the first time in the history of communism placed their propaganda machine on the defensive. They had no answer whatsoever to the avalanche of testimony convicting the Stalin soldiers of the mass murders of Polish leaders in the Katyn Forest.

The hard facts showed their method of human extermination, as the gentleman just stated: They shot almost 4,000 Polish patriot leaders of Poland in the Katyn Forest and two other slave camps. They followed the same pattern which they are using in Vietnam, they tied the victims hands behind their backs and shot them in the back of the head. We remind the people of America not to forget that the Communist technique has not changed one iota since those days at the beginning of World War II, when they massacred and killed millions of people through that method and also through mass starvation in the Ukraine. The people of the world should not become too forgetful of what will happen, God forbid, if ever the Communists succeed in their designs for world domination and to enslave humanity throughout the globe.

I want to thank the gentleman for his statement here today.

Mr. PUCINSKI, Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the distinguished gentleman from Indiana for his contribution. Certainly we cannot permit the world to overlook this frightening, striking similarity in techniques. I remember the discovery of the Polish Army officers' bodies in mass graves in the Katyn Forest. Their hands were tied behind their backs. There was a single bullet through the nape of the neck. Then these men were dumped, literally dumped, one on top of the other, in the mass graves. Today, 30 years later, we are discovering the identical technique. And who are the victims? Innocent people of South Vietnam, whose only wish, whose only

desire is to be free. Those men and women were dumped into graves without the benefit of a trial, without the benefit of any charges, without the benefit of any defense, picked out by the Communists for only one crime: they are the leaders of the resistance.

And this is important, because here the similarity becomes truly striking. The 15,000 Army Reserve officers who were massacred in the Katyn Forest were the lawyers, the educators, the doctors, the ministers, and the businessmen of Poland. These were, for the most part, the intelligentsia of Poland. These were the people who would have led the resistance to Communist aggression. As early as 1939 the Soviet Union, which professed to be our ally, already was plotting the take-over of all of those countries of Europe. In 1939 and 1940, Communist troops methodically picked the intellectual leaders of Poland from within the Army Officers Reserve Corps whom they imprisoned when Russia invaded Poland on September 17, 1939, so they would not be around when the Communists overwhelmed Poland and destroyed her institutions of freedom.

This is the lesson we see now again in South Vietnam, where people are again being pulled out, picked out. These are the leaders of resistance to the Vietcong. These are the leaders, and these are the people who are holding together the spirit of freedom in South Vietnam.

I tell you this: The discovery of mass graves at Hue proves more than anything else that the Communists have on their drawing boards the blueprint for another Communist "cordon sanitaire" of captive nations in Southeast Asia, identical to the "cordon sanitaire" of captive nations that now remain in Soviet bondage in East Central Europe.

We have right to ask: Where are the great liberal voices in this country, the great defenders of human dignity? Where are their voices in denouncing the kind of genocide—brutal mass atrocities being committed against the innocent people of Southeast Vietnam?

The American liberal has been in the forefront in denouncing genocide and urging a world treaty against mass murder of people. Where are their voices of protest against this genocide of South Vietnamese discovered in Hue last week-end?

There was the same kind of conspiracy of silence in 1940, when the Polish government in exile tried to sound the alarm about Katyn. The investigation of the Katyn massacre by the congressional committee clearly showed there were forces within our own country that did not want to talk about Katyn and the discovery of those mass graves because the Soviet Union was our "gallant ally," and any discussion of the Katyn massacre in the war years would have supposedly driven a wedge between the Allies.

I submit that had the free world been told of the infamy and the brutality of the Communists discovered in Katyn, perhaps the whole course of history

could have been changed.

On Pennsylvania Avenue, in front of the National Archives Building are two monuments. One says:

What is past is prologue.

And the other one says:

Study the past.

I suggest to those who today seek peace at any price and who would let the Communists take over in Southeast Asia, ought study that wise admonition.

Look at Katyn, look at what happened after Katyn, and look at the way the Communists were able to take over 180 million people in Eastern and Central Europe, and then look at what we found in Hue.

We should ask ourselves how long America can remain free, how long can institutions of human dignity prevail in our country if the Communists' juggernaut continues to close in and in and in, as it is doing around the entire world?

The mass grave discoveries in Hue are of monumental importance. I am amazed the mass media and instruments of information have treated these discoveries with such meager attention.

Mr. MADDEN, Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI, I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. MADDEN, Mr. Speaker, I might say further that so many of the younger generation do not remember or have not had called to their attention in the schools of America the Katyn massacre and the facts regarding many other mass exterminations of humanity that the Communists inflicted upon central Europe during the dark days before World War II.

I might explain why Congress investigated the Katyn massacre. The congressional investigation of the Katyn massacre was brought about because for the first time in world history the guilt of an international crime was not established to the satisfaction of many people throughout the world. The Soviet Union, through its false mass propaganda, had millions convinced that Hitler had committed those massacres in the Katyn Forest. They were committed in the winter of 1939-40, when both armies were closing in on Warsaw.

When these massacres were committed, the bodies in the Katyn Forest were not found until 2 years later.

Immediately Stalin said that Hitler massacred the Polish leaders at Katyn. Hitler, of course, denied it and said that Stalin massacred them. That is why this Congress, through the pleading of the Polish American Congress throughout the United States, insisted that to settle the question for future history an investigation should be made. That is how the Congress became interested in investigating an international crime when one nation had accused another of committing it.

So we settled for all time that it was the Communists who committed that crime, although Hitler had a different method of exterminating people than

Stalin had. There is no question, Hitler was the most brutal tyrant of our time. Nevertheless, the Katyn Forest Massacre Congressional Committee settled once and for all that it was the Communists who killed the Poles in the Katyn Forest.

Let me say something further. This is for so many of these agitators in our country today who are so enthusiastic about letting the younger folks know what a great millennium they would have if communism takes over. I might say it was revealed in our testimony that among some of the mass murders that were committed by the Communists were massacres and murders of some of their own Communist disciples who were taken in with the network that brought in these people from the satellite nations, and they did not have any regard whatsoever for the agitators who were preaching communism, or for their own Communist fellow travelers. Some of them, according to the testimony before our committee, were massacred along with the free victims who were massacred by Stalin and his Communist cohorts.

So I might state to some of the younger folks in this country who are becoming enamored with this organized Communist propaganda in colleges and other places, if the Communists ever took over they also might be among those massacred. They care not what is the thought of the people they massacre or exterminate. That was proved by the evidence submitted in our committee, that some of the so-called super-Communist propagandists who happened to be wedged in the mass onslaught lost their lives the same as the other unfortunate prisoners in the Communist prisons and slave labor camps.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The gentleman would agree that the Katyn investigation, exhaustively conducted by the Congress of the United States, would be a hollow exercise if we failed to learn the lesson that investigation taught us.

Mr. MADDEN. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The lesson is this: Today, while the Communist leaders are stalling in Paris and refusing to address themselves to the real issues and refusing to talk about peace and refusing to make any forward movement, they are methodically engaging in mass executions of those people in South Vietnam who would constitute resistance to communism if and when some rapprochement is reached. It is quite obvious to us that just as at Katyn, where they methodically destroyed potential opposition, we are witnessing in Hue and the other mass graves all over South Vietnam an identical pattern. They are stalling in Paris because they want first to methodically destroy through those mass executions those elements of resistance which might try to protect the institutions of freedom and dignity in South Vietnam when peace finally comes.

I think that is the lesson that Hue ought to teach us. Those who fail to see that lesson, I believe, have just not read the transcript of Katyn. More importantly, they are looking at the world

through rose-colored glasses.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield to my colleague from Illinois (Mr. FINDLEY).

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague from Illinois for yielding to me.

I want to express my appreciation to him for this timely reminder of the barbaric massacres at Katyn Forest. My colleague, like I, had a part in World War II. I am sure both of us were proud to have had that part and do look back with pride upon what small contributions, at least on my part, were made in that effort against the Nazi tyranny. My colleague and I do disagree on what ought to be done in Vietnam. I am sure this is not the place to go into the bases for a disagreement. However, I would like to enter this one thought here. I have always felt our Government has undertaken a very serious obligation to the people of Vietnam who have fought at our side. Should the day come when we do disengage and withdraw our forces from there, as I hope we will soon, I feel we must measure up to that obligation to those people and invite other nations to join with us in every possible resettlement of these people that can be undertaken.

After the Cuban episode our country opened its doors to refugees from Cuba. I think that was the right thing to do. Now because we have been involved in Vietnam we have a similar obligation there. I do not suggest that this would eliminate or perhaps even materially reduce the possibility of atrocities that might follow such a disengagement. Even so, we should do our best to provide safety and a future for the people who choose to leave their homes in the event that we should extricate ourselves from this position.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I have no quarrel with the gentleman's suggestion that we start a methodical withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam. I would join him in that plea but I would also insist that the free world must insist that the North Vietnamese have a similar withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam. Premier Thieu has said South Vietnam could carry on with its own army of 700,000 but it would need our continued Air Force support. I am hopeful we can withdraw American troops from South Vietnam but I believe our offer to withdraw our troops if North Vietnam similarly withdraws its troops today offers the best hope for disengagement.

More importantly, Mr. Speaker, it would be my hope that the discovery of these mass atrocities against the innocent citizens of South Vietnam would now finally, at last, shock the sensitivities of those of our allies who have meekly sat back and let the United States and the handful of our allies fighting in Vietnam, including the South Vietnamese, carry the full brunt of the conflict.

The issues in southeast Asia and the issues in South Vietnam affect the whole

free world. It is incredible to me that those free world rulers who espouse the doctrine of freedom cannot recognize what we are witnessing in South Vietnam today is a repeat performance of what we saw in World War II vis-a-vis the captive nations of Europe. If we learn nothing else from the discovery of the mass graves in Hue, it would be my fervent prayer that our allies would finally be shocked into a realization that nothing has really changed in the communist world. Mass atrocities, mass murders, and mass assassinations continue to be their main stock in trade to be used against anyone or any nation which dares to interfere with or interrupt their plans for ultimate conquest.

I would suggest that those here in this country—sincere, honest, patriotic Americans who on many occasions have tended to falter in the fight in Vietnam—take a look at these mass atrocities. These were all innocent people. These were citizens. These were people who had no greater desire than to live and let live, and be free. These are people who are being massacred in mass numbers in a most brutal manner, with their hands tied behind their backs, shot through the head with a single bullet, dumped into mass graves.

This is the true picture of communism.

Mr. Speaker, I would hope that my fellow Americans who have a tendency to waiver will look at this discovery and then ask themselves: "What can we do as Americans, as united Americans, to bring this war to a successful conclusion?"

Mr. Speaker, I say that the course of history is being written in South Vietnam just as it was in the Katyn Forest. There is no question in my mind but that if the American people had known the full facts of the Katyn Forest massacre the whole course of history would have been altered.

Mr. Speaker, I was not here at that time. Like many others, I was in the armed services, fighting the war. We were helpless to say anything at that time. But now I say this: That so long as the good Lord gives me the strength I shall remain in the well of this House and try to point out the true and full, ugly consequences of compromise with communism, if we falter.

Mr. Speaker, I pray for the day when peace will return to Vietnam. I know what it is like to deliver a flag that has flown over this Nation's Capitol to a mother in my district who lost her son in Vietnam. I know the hardships our American boys are suffering in Vietnam.

I say that the tragedy of our time is that the free world wants the United States to carry this burden all by itself. This in itself is an indictment against the naivety of the leaders of the world. We saw those leaders here earlier this week. These are the men who have within their power the ability to call a halt to hostilities in Vietnam. But this they have not chosen to do; they have chosen to stand aside and watch this huge conflict develop.

It would be my fervent prayer, Mr. Speaker, that the discovery of these mass graves somehow or other will reach the conscience of the rest of the world, and that we can stand together united, and bring peace to Vietnam.

We can bring peace very quickly. Right now there are ships going into Hanoi. Many of our allies are continuing to do business with the Communists because the almighty dollar is more important to them than a principle. I am not surprised that the American people are asking more and more questions. I myself question the values of these fair-weather allies.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. DADARIO). The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

(On request of Mr. McCORMACK, and by unanimous consent, Mr. PUCINSKI was allowed to proceed for 10 additional minutes.)

Mr. PUCINSKI. I thank our distinguished Speaker for this extension of time.

So it is my hope, Mr. Speaker, that out of this discovery the conscience of the entire world can be sufficiently aroused so that peace can come.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the words on the

National Archives Building are very important. They state that—

The past is prologue, study the past.

We cannot close our eyes to reality for the sake of expediency.

My colleague from Illinois who spoke a moment ago says that he wants to pull our troops out of Vietnam. Of course we want to pull our troops out. I want to pull the American troops out. I want to get our boys back home just as quickly as possible, but it would be a tragic mistake if, for the second time in recent history we, as a free people, overlooked and failed to understand the full design of the Communists. They are not quitting. There is not an iota of proof that they are in any way quitting. They are today holding fast in Paris. Why, Mr. Speaker, this war could be brought to a conclusion in 24 hours. What does the United States want in Vietnam? Nothing. Do we seek territorial gains? Of course we do not. Do we seek domination over any other nation or group of people? Of course we do not. All we want is for the South Vietnamese to have a chance to be masters of their own destiny as free people. Is this so difficult? Is this so impossible? Is our demand so outrageous?

I think if we could pull together the

resources and the determination of the whole world to make it clear that we are not going to surrender South Vietnam to Communist infamy, this war could be brought to a conclusion very quickly. I do not think the Communists are made of such strength that they do not feel the impact of this war. I think the Communists are having just as much of a problem in Hanoi and in North Vietnam and that there is as much resistance to the continuation of this war over there among the people of North Vietnam as there is among the American people here.

So it seems to me that those who falter and those who would want us to waiver and those who would suggest that somehow or other we walk away before the job is finished, are really prolonging this war and inadvertently they are contributing to false hopes among the Communist rulers.

I hope that the President will look at these mass graves, marshal the forces of the free world in indignation against this form of genocide, and then use whatever means he deems necessary to bring this war to an end in Vietnam.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, Hue and Katyn—they constitute a tragic similarity.



A stretcher team carrying one of the murdered victims to a central collection point.

Hue slayings **Viet Cong pattern broken**

By Elizabeth Pond
*Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor*

Saigon

The South Vietnamese currently are getting a grim reminder of the more ruthless practices of the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese troops.

This comes with the almost-daily uncovering of mass graves near the old imperial city of Hue. They contain victims of mass killings by the Communists when Viet Cong and North Vietnamese forces held the ancient capital for 24 days during the Tet offensive of last year. About a thousand civilians were missing and have remained unaccounted for since the battle.

It is still too early to assess the full impact of these discoveries on public opinion. But they have come at a time when mutual suspicion again is clouding the relationship between the Saigon government and many students and Buddhist leaders.

The killing of civilians in Hue on a wide scale was a departure from the general Viet Cong practice of highly selective terrorism.

Before 1968 the classic targets of assassination were the best and the worst government officials in hamlets and provinces — the best to eliminate competition for the National Liberation Front, political arm of the Viet Cong, and the worst to win villagers' gratitude and allegiance.

Attacks indiscriminate

Even when the NLF stepped up the campaign of mining roads it warned civilians to stay off these roads.

With the 1968 Tet attacks on cities and towns, however, the NLF and North Vietnamese deliberately ceased discriminating, at least insofar as indirect fire—shelling and mortaring—on civilians was concerned. This helped achieve the intended shock effect of showing city dwellers, previously immune to the war, that they, too, were vulnerable.

Still, the larger part of the destruction of civilian housing—some 60-odd blocks in Saigon's teeming Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Districts, and substantial portions of several key cities in the Mekong Delta—was accomplished by South Vietnamese and American firepower rather than by the Communist attack. Realizing the public bitterness against the Americans and the government that such destruction entails, the Communists sometimes baited an allied response in the city offensive by sending a few snipers into heavily populated blocks to draw retaliatory fire.

Evacuation spurs shootings

The mass killings in Hue by the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong were thus an exception, even to the pattern of the Tet offensive. Reportedly these troops were relatively discriminating while they held the city.

They killed only anti-Communist leaders at first, but as they were on the verge of being forced out they began the mass shootings. There were still some attempts at discrimination, but personal grudges on the part of informers played a role as well.

In this bedrock country of the old Vietnamese nationalist parties, in central Vietnam, almost everyone has dabbled in politics in some way. But instead of courting these people — many of whom were basically hostile to Saigon — the Communists simply executed them.

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Những hình ảnh thể thảm khốc khai quật các hầm chôn tập thể ở Huế

TẤT CẢ ĐỀU BỊ ĐẬP BỂ ĐẦU bằng cán cuốc rồi lấp vùi dưới cát

● MỘT PHỄ BÌNH CỤT HAI CHÂN CỨNG BỊ HẠ SÁT

SAIGON 11-4.- Các vụ khám phá liên tiếp những hầm chôn xác tập thể nạn nhân biến cố Tết Mậu Thân ở Huế đã làm xôn xao dư luận, làm nổi lòng đồng bào trong toàn quốc. Phái viên Việt Tân Xã đã tường thuật chi tiết những vụ khai quật các hầm trên như sau :

Ủy ban truy tìm nạn nhân của biến cố Tết Mậu Thân, trong hai ngày 7 và 8 tháng 4 năm 1969 đã tìm được thêm 98 xác chôn tập thể tại vùng liên ranh giữa hai thôn Đông Di và Đông Sơn thuộc Quận Phú Thứ, Thừa Thiên, nâng tổng số nạn nhân tìm được xác lên tới 233 người.

Tức đây, ngày 27-3, Ủy ban này đã tìm được 135 xác chôn tập thể ở cách địa điểm mới lối năm cây số.

Hầu hết bị đập bể đầu bằng cán cuốc

Khác với những nạn nhân được tìm thấy hồi cuối tháng ba, theo đó tất cả những bộ xương khô lằn này hầu hết nạn nhân thịt còn đỏ hồng và có những dấu vết chứng tỏ họ đã bị đập bể đầu bằng cán cuốc trước khi được chôn một cách cầu thả tại vùng nói trên.

Anh Hồ đắc Thuận, người được coi là nhân vật số 1 trong vấn đề hốt xác các nạn nhân, thuật lại rằng: xác các nạn nhân chỉ được phủ một lớp cát mỏng manh dưới đường rãnh dài hàng 100 thước chạy từ Đông Lộc sang Quảng Xuyên, Quận Phú Thứ.

Có những nạn nhân chỉ được cất phủ kín từ cổ trở xuống trong khi chiếc «sọ dừa» nằm chính ỉnh trên mặt cát. Trong ngày 7-4, Ủy ban tìm được cả thảy 43 xác, và ngày 8-4 Ủy ban tìm thêm được 55 xác. Điều đáng ghi nhận, có ba người trong Ủy ban tìm được xác của (thả) nhân.

Người thứ nhất nhận được ra xác của chồng là ông Phan Quynh. Ông Quynh nguyên là Trưởng Phòng Kế Toán, «Đo Sơn Thôn», Huế.

Người thứ hai tìm được xác con tên Trần thị Hương. Con trai bà Hương tên Nguyễn văn Đăng, 24

tuổi, nguyên là quân nhân. Hiện người đàn bà này còn một người trong gia đình mất tích. Đó là ông Nguyễn văn Mai, chồng bà.

Người thứ ba tìm được xác thân nhân là ông Hứa Thoại, Trưởng phòng Tài Chánh tỉnh đoàn Xây Dựng Nông Thôn Thừa Thiên; ông Thoại đảm nhiệm chức trưởng ban Nhiếp ảnh của Ủy ban truy tìm nạn nhân, và người ông đã nhận xác chính là thân phụ của ông tên Hứa Thuận năm nay đã 70 tuổi.

Ông Thoại cho biết, bọn VC đã bắt cha ông đem đi hạ sát cùng với hàng ngàn đồng bào ở Thừa Thiên vì chưa lúc nào bắt ông nhưng không được.

Một phỄ bình cụt hai chân cũng bị hạ sát

Trong số những xác nạn nhân, người ta ghi nhận có một phỄ bình đã bị cụt cả hai chân. Người vợ nhận được ra xác của chồng nhờ cặp nặng có khắc tên nằm chồng lên xác của anh ta.

Ngoài ra người ta còn thấy 1 cơ gái xác còn tươi, trong «xứ chiến» có để một sợi giây chuyền vàng tây và một giấy ghi tên Sen, nữ Cảnh sát viên phụ trách điện thoại tại Ty Cảnh Sát Thừa Thiên.

Một số nhân vật tên tuổi ở Thừa Thiên cũng đã được tìm thấy trong số 98 xác được phát giác hôm 7 và 8/4, trong số có ông ông Châu khắc Tụy, Giáo sư Toán Trường Quốc Học Huế, và ông Tôn Thất Tân, 62 tuổi, nguyên Quận Trưởng Nam Hòa, hồi hưu. Ông này bị bắt cùng với 3 người con đều là Sinh Viên Đại học Saigon, hiện chưa biết là đã bị hạ sát hay còn bị giam tại trại giam nào.

Xác các nạn nhân được đánh dấu rất cẩn thận

Theo thông cáo của Ủy ban truy tìm và an táng nạn nhân bị VC thảm sát trong biến cố Tết Mậu Thân, hiện nay mới chỉ có 99 xác được thân nhân nhìn nhận đem về mai táng. Số còn lại, kể cả những xác đã được an táng hôm 30-3 và những xác mới được tìm thấy đề tại Trường Trung học La Sao, Quận Phú Vang đều được Ủy ban ghi nhận lại những dấu tích rất cẩn thận để thân nhân có thể căn cứ vào các dấu tích đó mà nhận diện.

Hôm Ủy ban khởi sự cuộc tìm kiếm «đợt hai» ngày 7-4, người ta ghi nhận có hàng ngàn đồng bào đi theo. Những người này đều có thân nhân bị mất tích trong biến cố Tết Mậu Thân nên họ đi theo với hy vọng tìm được xác thân nhân, nhưng thật sự trong thăm tìm chính họ lại không muốn tìm thấy... xác, và hy vọng rằng thân nhân của họ còn được giam giữ ở một nơi nào đó.

Mỗi lần một chiếc xác được tìm thấy là mỗi lần họ giành giật nhau đến gần để... nhận diện, và khi biết chắc đó không phải là thân nhân của mình họ lại cùng thờ phào ra mộ, cách nhẹ nhõm.

Thiếu Tá Quận trưởng quận Phú Vang cùng Trung úy Chỉ khu phố của quận này đã phải đích thân yêu cầu đồng bào duy trì trật tự để công cuộc khai quật nằm mộ tập thể khỏi gặp phải trở ngại.

Riêng những đồng bào nhận diện được xác của thân nhân, họ đã nằm phục bên cạnh những xác đó khóc lóc thảm thiết, bất chấp cả mùi hôi thối.

Tiếng khóc của những người này khiến một số người chưa tìm được thân nhân khóc theo, tạo nên một không khí vô cùng nặng nề bi thảm.

PATHETIC EXHUMATION SCENES OF MASS GRAVES IN HUE

(Rough Summary from Chinh-luan, April 12, 1969
on opposite page)

Saigon, April 11, 1969. Vietnamese people throughout the country have been deeply grieved by successive discoveries of mass graves in the vicinity of Hue.

A Special Committee has been set up by the local authorities for the excavation of these graves. Since mid-April, hundreds of bodies, buried in hollow ditches have been found in the area located between Dong Di and Dong Son Villages, of Phu Thu District, Province of Thua Thieu.

Mr. Ho Dac Thuan, a key member of the Committee, reported that the victims had been beaten to death on their heads with a hard cane and were buried pell-mell under a thin cover of sand; some victims even had their heads above the ground.

Three members of the Committee had found their relatives remains among hundreds of excavated bodies; the victims were:

Mr. Phan Quynh, husband of one of the Committee members, who was Chief of Accounting Bureau of the Hue Court of Justice;

Mr. Nguyen van Dang, 24, son of Mrs. Tran thi Huong, whose husband, Mr. Nguyen van Mai, was also missed;

Mr. Hua Thuan, 70, who was killed in lieu of his son, Mr. Hua Thoai, Chief of Finance Bureau of Thua Thien Revolutionary Development Team, whom the Communists had tried in vain to capture.

Among the victims were also a disabled veteran, who had lost his two legs, and a young police woman. The former was identified by his wife through the pair of crutches bearing his name; the latter was recognized as Miss Sen, a telephone operator at the Police Headquarters of Thua Thien Province, by her name tag and a golden necklace hidden under her brassiere.

The following well-known personalities in Thua Thien Province were also on the list of identified bodies found on April 7 and April 8: Mr. Chau Khac Tuy, professor of Mathematics at Quoc Hoc High School; Mr. Ton That Tan, 62, former Chief of Nam Hoa District, abducted with his three sons who were students of the Saigon University.

Thousands of people followed the Committee since the excavation started in the hope of finding their missing relatives. As soon as a body was uncovered, people rushed to the site; and when one of them succeeded to identify it, he threw himself on the ground, and mourned in deep grief. Everyone at the site shared his grief.

PHÁI ĐOÀN BÁO CHÍ RA HUẾ QUAN SÁT TẠI CHỖ NHỮNG CẢNH
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ĐÃ TÌM THẤY NGÔI 2.000 XÁC CHẮC SẼ CÒN KIẾM ĐƯỢC TRÊN 3.000

● 48 nạn nhân vừa mới tìm được cỡ đều bị trói với nhau
và hầu hết bị chôn sống dưới một đường mương

● TÂM CHUNG

HUE 12-4 — Người ta lại mới tìm thêm được 48 xác nạn nhân bị C.S. hành quyết trong cuộc tấn công dịp Tết Mậu Thân tại khu Huế. Như vậy cho tới nay tổng số xác tìm thấy đã lên đến gần 2.000 người. Đại tá Lê Văn Thân, Tỉnh Trưởng Thừa Thiên kiêm Thị Trưởng Huế cho biết tổng số nạn nhân có lẽ sẽ lên tới 3.000 hoặc hơn. Ông so sánh vụ hành quyết tập thể này của C.S. với «những hành động dã man nhất trong Thế Chiến 2».

Hầu hết số 48 nạn nhân, kể cả một số đàn bà, đã bị trói vào với nhau và tay còng bị trói ra đằng sau. Một số người bị chôn sống — có người này vào cổ người kia.

Trong tuần lễ 24-3, những người tìm kiếm tìm thấy 135 nạn nhân bị Cộng sản sát hại tại 12 mỏ chôn tập thể gần ấp

Vinh Lưu. Giới chức cho biết hầu hết những người này đã bị đánh cho đến chết. Những người khám nghiệm y khoa ấn định rằng một vài người đã bị chôn sống.

59 nạn nhân khác được tìm thấy tại làng Xuân Hòa, về phía đông Huế. Khoảng 90 người trong số các nạn nhân đã được nhận diện cho tới nay.

Chỉ 1/3 là cảnh sát viên và binh sĩ Việt Nam Cộng Hòa. Một số ít là các viên chức xã ấp số còn lại là dân làng.

Đ.T. Thân cho biết hơn 2.000 thường dân ở Huế đã được ghi như là «mất tích» kể từ cuộc tấn công Tết năm ngoái. Hiện nhiên họ bị cộng sản bắt cóc đem đi. Gia đình họ sống trong hy vọng rằng họ bị bắt đi làm tù binh và rằng họ sẽ thấy lại những người này. «Nhưng sau những phát giác trong ít ngày qua, chúng tôi có thể nói chắc chắn rằng phần đông những người mất tích này đã bị Việt Cộng đem đi thủ tiêu».

Vẫn đang tìm kiếm

Kể từ ngày 7-4 69 đến ngày 10-

4-69, đã có thêm 230 thi hài nạn nhân C.S. được tìm thấy tại Thôn Đông Sơn, quận Phú Thứ. Trong số này có 14 người là Quân nhân. (Tới nay chỉ có 59 thi hài được thân nhân đến nhận lãnh; còn bao nhiêu đã được bọc Nylon đóng trong hộp tập trung tất cả tại trường La San, để chờ xem có ai đến nhận lãnh nữa không. Nếu không chính quyền sẽ tự động đi chôn cất và công việc tìm kiếm vẫn còn đang tiến hành).

Báo chí ra tận nơi

Sáng 11-4, một phái đoàn báo chí đã được hướng dẫn ra tận Huế để mục kích những cảnh khai quật các nấm mồ trên.

Nhân dịp này, chúng tôi có được tiếp xúc với một em nhỏ 14 tuổi, tên Hồ Văn Hà — Theo lời em Hà trong họ em 5 người đã bị VC giết, gồm 2 bác trai, 1 bác gái, 1 anh và 1 chị. Bác gái của em bị giết chỉ vì bà mất gà lổ chửi tại chúng, nên chúng giết chết.

Ngoài ra, cha em trước đó cũng bị VC bắt đi giam trên Cồn, trong thời gian này nhờ có người cho biết, nên ở nhà đã gửi tiền lên 3,4 lần và mỗi lần 5,6 trăm đồng. Tuy gia đình biết gửi sẽ không tới tay, nhưng vẫn gửi.

Rồi bằng đi một thời gian, tới ngày hôm qua người ta đã tìm thấy cha em thân bị nát bấy hết, quần áo bị chúng lột hết và chỉ còn thể cấu cước bêu bọ xương cùng chiếc quần sã lộn.

Hiện tại em chỉ còn mẹ đi buôn bán nuôi 5 anh em, còn nhỏ cả.

Tối qua trưa, phái đoàn Báo Chí đã được hướng dẫn tới một cồn cát rộng lớn, không nhà cửa tại ấp Đông Thanh xã Phú Hộ, Quận Phú Thứ (cách thị xã Huế chừng 13cs) để chứng kiến những nấm mồ tập thể đang được khai quật.

Từ sáng đến 13g trưa (11-4) Ủy ban Truy tìm và cải táng đã tìm thấy thêm được 26 thi hài nạn nhân, trong số này có 4 đàn bà. Giới hữu trách cho biết đây là đường mương của ấp Chiến lược khi xưa. Cộng quân đã dùng để chôn sống đồng bào xuống dưới đó. Trước mắt chúng tôi, tất cả những thi thể đều bị chôn sống và 2 cánh tay đều bị trói khuyu về phía sau và lăm thi thể còn để lại dấu tích chứng tỏ trước khi bị mang chôn còn vùng vẫy quần áo rách tươm. Các thi hài ngồi dài theo một hàng luôn 12 xác

Những đồng bào «chuồn» thúng bán mật» lao động, nghèo khổ có thân nhân bị Cộng Sản tàn sát, bấy lâu nay chưa tìm kiếm thấy xác cũng đã có một quanh chiếc hòm đang được đào xới và cứ mỗi khi thi hài được tìm thấy, những tiếng khóc thảm thiết lại vang lên.

Dã man hơn Trung Cổ Tàn ác hơn Phát Xít

Cứ mỗi xác vừa được kéo lên gói vào khăn đưa vào bao hồ sơ thứ tự

tử thi được tìm thấy là tiếng khóc lại càng gia tăng mãnh liệt họ khóc thê thảm, khóc lẫn lóc, khóc gào thét đến khản tiếng hệt hơi cứ như thể cơn xúc động như chờ sẵn nung nấu đồng bào tham dự. Qua các sự quan sát tận chỗ, người ta thấy VC quá dã man, quá đoán hậu «Tiếng oán hận» người dân Thừa Thiên dùng để rủa những kẻ tàn ác nhưt, vô nhân đạo nhất nay người ta được tận mắt chứng kiến những xác này bởi vì lần lượt lấy xác lên người ta nhận thấy có hàng trăm trường hợp bị hành hung đến chết như chém đầu, đâm bụng, tra tấn bằng cách xéo tai, cắt mũi mổ bụng chôn sống dã man hơn cả thời Trung Cổ và tàn ác hơn cả Phát Xít Đức đốt người trong các trại tập trung trong Thế Chiến 2.

Tổ chức đám tang tập thể

Theo 1 nguồn tin người ta được biết trong đợt II, UB mới đào tất cả 7 hòm tại Phú Xuân thuộc Quận Phú Thứ Cồn 12 hòm khác đã khám phá được nhưng chưa kịp đào lên vì thiếu nhân công. Công cuộc tìm xác đợt II sẽ tiếp tục đến thứ hai 14-4 thì tạm ngưng vì còn phải lo an táng thi hài số nạn nhân vô thừa nhận quá nhiều. Trong dịp này, buổi lễ tôn giáo sẽ được tổ chức vào ngày 14-4 trước khi cử hành đám tang tập thể vào sáng thứ ba 15-4-69.

TWO THOUSAND BODIES UNEARTHED

IN HUE

(Rough Summary from Chinh-luan, April 12, 1969
See opposite page)

Hue, April 12--Forty-eight more bodies of victims tortured and murdered by the Viet Cong during the Tet Mau Than Offensive have been uncovered. This number brings the total of bodies found to 2,000.

All forty eight victims, including women, had been tied together either by the necks or by the hands.

After the Tet Mau Than Offensive more than 2,000 inhabitants of Hue were listed as missing. At first, hopes were that these people had merely been captured and taken away. However, as more and more bodies were uncovered, it seemed that most if not all of them were dead.

Medical autopsies reveal that the worst kinds of torture had been inflicted on these poor victims. Many had been buried alive; others had been beaten to death; still others had been decapitated. Missing ears, noses, arms and legs as well as open stomachs are proofs that many had been horribly tortured before being killed.

A young boy of 14, named Ho van Ha, told of how five of his relatives had been murdered by the Viet Cong, a brother, a sister, two uncles, and an aunt. The aunt was killed merely because she had shouted at the attackers for having stolen her chickens.

Besides, Ha revealed that his father had been taken prisoner by these so-called liberators. For months his family had sent food and money, hoping against hope that these necessities would reach him. Then for a time, there was no news.

Yesterday, the battered body of Ha's father was found with nothing on it except his identification card.

SAIGON POST
April 18/69

Over 400 Victims Of Reds Buried

SAIGON (VP)— Some 5,000 residents of the ancient imperial capital of Hue, Tuesday attended one of the biggest mass burials of the Vietnam war held in accordance with traditional rites at the foot of Mount Thien Thai in Ba Don, Nam Hoa district, Thua Thien province.

The funeral cortege, organized by the Thua Thien Search and Funeral Committee, started from La San school in Phu Vang district and moved through the big streets of Hue in a solemn and touching atmosphere. It was the second collective funeral following that held two weeks ago for 135 victims.

The 219 victims were killed by the Communists and buried in sandy fields in Phu Thu, Phu Vang, Vinh Loc, and Huong Thuy districts.

The number of victims reported as missing in the Mau Than Tet offensive has been estimated at 2,000 but so far, only 600 decomposed bodies have been found in mass graves after a month-long search.

Attending the funeral were Mr. Nguyen Ngoc An, Information and Open Arms Minister, representing the Prime Minister, Senator Tran Van Don, representing the Senate's Chairman, Rep. Tran Ngoc Chau, Secretary General of the Lower House, representing the House Speaker and many newsmen and local notables.



Decomposed bodies are being lifted out of the shallow trench for wrapping in plastic sheets.

April 21, 1969

COMMUNIST ASTROCITY-POLITICAL
ACTION BY MURDERHon. John R. Rarick
of Louisiana
in The House of Representatives

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, despite mutterings of the ultra left that communism is mellowing, Communist atrocities against the innocent in 1969 continue just as in 1917 when the Bolsheviks murdered to gain control in Russia.

While U.S. leftists shout and proclaim a gospel of dissent against all throughout our land, their counterpart, the Communist Vietcong, slaughter thousands of innocent men, women, and children in South Vietnam; if for no other reason than the victims reject communism and are not under party control.

Yet, loudmouths in the United States continually spout their false propaganda, which is repeated by "cooperative and sympathetic" pinkos in the communications field and passed on to the American public for mental conditioning to accept the promises of winds of change.

The fact that Communist atrocities are not covered by the same media with similar exposure for the same American public is unquestioned.

Brutal acts of slaughter reminiscent of the 1917 Communist revolution continue yet there is no indignant outcry from so-called antiwar protesters, moralists, pacifists, and their sympathetic cronies in the news profession. Do they apply the commandment "Thou shall not kill" only to those of the Western Hemisphere?

Communists have not changed. They follow their original plan to murder all recognized leaders and all potential leaders in any given community in South Vietnam—just as they have done in Russia, China, and Korea in years past. Murder through infiltration is still murder.

The Reds liquidation for conquest is quite evident—should elections be eventually held the only leaders available for political action will be Communist members, agents, and puppets.

Mr. Speaker, the victims of Communist atrocity should haunt every free man. I insert an eyewitness account of the Hue massacres taken from Chicago's American and an editorial from the Baton Rouge Advocate follow my remarks.

The material follows:

[From the Chicago American, Apr. 12, 1969]
LUCK AND SURVIVAL IN VIETNAM: HIS LIFE
HUNG ON A CORD AND DEATH SQUAD LOST 1
(By Robert Ohman)

HUE, SOUTH VIETNAM.—A Viet Cong death squad was digging his grave when hamlet official Phan Duy escaped execution in the sand dune massacres of Hue.

Few were so lucky. Grave diggers sifting thru three mass graves east of the old imperial capital have found the bodies of more than 500 men, women, and children, clubbed and shot to death by the enemy during the 1968 Tet offensive.

Duy, a key official of An Ha hamlet 7 miles east of Hue, knew his name was on the Viet Cong's execution list. When North Vietnamese and Viet Cong guerrillas seized Hue in February, 1968, he moved away from the hamlet into a small house on the outskirts of Hue, hoping to escape detection in the larger mass of townspeople.

He made it thru one month of enemy occupation, but when United States and South Vietnamese troops recaptured Hue, the enemy pulled back thru the area where he was hiding.

On Feb. 28 five Viet Cong entered Duy's house.

"They said nothing," he said softly thru a translator. "They knew where I was and my duties."

After binding his hands with cord, they asked him to name other people who worked for the government. Duy told them he lived alone and didn't know anything.

The Viet Cong then marched him 7 miles south to a row of houses near the sand dunes, where 135 bodies of slain civilians and unarmed soldiers were found 2 weeks ago. Duy said he was pushed into a house where four other prisoners were confined.

The five men remained locked in the house for 7 days, walking outside only to go to the toilet. On these walks Duy said he saw more than 100 prisoners being shot in other houses.

"One day I saw many people in one house, and the next day it was empty," he said. "I knew they already had been killed."

On the seventh night, Duy and nine other men, all tied together to a bamboo pole, were told they would be taken elsewhere for "communist study." The guards took their watches and money, promising both would be returned.

But this time the march only lasted 300 yards. The prisoners' hands were untied and they were told to remove all their outer clothing because they were going to have to cross a river.

As Duy was undressing he heard his guards talking to a group of Viet Cong laborers.

"Did you dig the trench yet?" they asked. "No, not yet, there are too many people and not enough time," the laborers replied. Three of the six guards then left to help dig the trench, while the other three retied the hands of Duy and his nine fellow prisoners.

"It was very cold. It was about midnight. The three guards they left behind were boys about 15 and they covered themselves with blankets," Duy said. I worked to free my hands because I knew I would be dead in a few minutes."

Duy said he worked loose of the ropes and leaped forward as one guard fired a burst of about 20 shots.

"I ran about 300 meters and saw a pool."

Duy said. "I was so tired I fell into the water and covered myself with reeds."

Soon he saw flickering lights pass by his hiding place as the guards searched for him. About 20 minutes later he heard shots.

"I knew the prisoners I had been with were dead," Duy said.

Hours later Duy emerged from the water and headed toward the lights of the Hue radio tower beacon. He stumbled into the Phu Vang district headquarters and reported what had happened.

"I remember on the second day I was held in prison in that house," he said, "other people from my hamlet told me the Viet Cong had entered my home and killed my mother. When I returned I found her body still in the house. I was her only son."

[From the Baton Rouge (La.) Morning Advocate, Apr. 16, 1969]

THE MASSACRE IN HUE

Evidence of one of the great atrocities in the modern history of warfare has been uncovered by Allied officials exploring the rice fields and sand dunes near the South Vietnamese city of Hue, a center of action during the Tet offensive of 14 months ago. In mass graves they are finding the bodies of hundreds of civilians, slaughtered by the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese after being forced to dig their own graves. Details of these massacres, now being brought to light, are reminiscent of accounts of the Nazi extermination camps.

The victims were public officials and private citizens, young and old, men and women, whose offense was that of being anti-communist and of having fought or being suspected of having fought to defend their city against the communist attackers.

This monstrous crime has been fully reported by the press, with evidence so complete and circumstantial that its nature cannot be doubted or even questioned. Yet, it has received singularly little attention in some quarters.

It goes unnoticed and unmentioned by the student kooks and the hippie-yippies who rage against American assistance to the South Vietnamese and libel their country with allegations of vast savageries that no one else seems to know anything about.

The Hue massacre goes unnoticed by the political and social theorists who see the war in Vietnam as a "colonial war" waged by this country and suggest that there has been no attack by Viet Cong terrorists and North Vietnamese invaders on the people of South Vietnam.

It goes unnoticed by those woolly-minded critics who compare Ho Chi Minh with George Washington and the Viet Cong with the American patriots of the Revolutionary War. If any mass graves of slaughtered Tories and loyalists ever were found outside Philadelphia or Boston or New York, history has been extraordinarily silent on the fact.

Intellectual dishonesty can be one of the greatest of crimes.

292 More Hue Victims Uncovered

HUE, Vietnam (UPI)—Gravediggers have uncovered the bodies of 292 person executed by the Viet Cong during the Tet offensive in February of 1968, province officials said Thursday.

The mass grave was located in the sandy platlands four mile east of Hue, 390 miles north of Saigon. It brought to 850 the number of dead executed since digging began almost two months ago in the area.

Officials said nearly 2,000 persons, most of them civilians were unaccounted for after the communists held the city of Hue for 24 days. Most of the victims were believed kidnapped and marched to the outskirts of Hue and executed.

The 850 bodies were found in a narrow series of trenches not far from the south China Sea. Some had been shot, others had their skulls crushed. The hands of many had been tied behind their backs.



VIETCONG " JUSTICE"

Crying in utter despair and agony, a young wife keeps vigil next to the body of her husband whom she has just identified.

COMMUNISTS ADMIT MASS MURDERS

300 more bodies found

COMPILED BY THE VIETNAM GUARDIAN

The Vietnamese communists have admitted the cold-blooded execution of thousands of their countrymen during the battle of Hue in last year's tet offensive.

The admission was made in a Hanoi Radio broadcast beamed to South Vietnam. In an attack on Hue's local government officials, the broadcast said in part:

«In order to cover up their cruel acts, the puppet administration in Hue recently played the farce of setting up.»

The admission came as gravediggers uncovered the bodies of 292 more persons executed by the communists in the Hue area, bringing the total number of bodies discovered in the last two months to 850.

«The so-called Committee for the Search for and Burial of the Hooligan lackeys who had incurred blood debts to the Tri-Thien-Hue compatriots and who were annihilated by the southern armed forces and people in early spring.»

In communist terminology the «compatriots» are members of the Viet Cong hierarchy and their sympathizers, and the «Southern Armed Forces» are the Viet Cong troops which attacked Hue.

The «hooligan lackeys» were the 3,000 or more citizens of Hue and the surrounding area, most of them innocent civilians, who were missing after the month-long 1968 battle in and around the city.

More than 1,200 bodies of men, women and children were uncovered in mass graves soon after the communist troops were driven from the city last year.

In recent weeks several other mass graves have been found, yielding the remains of close to 1,000 more victims and Hue authorities fear the final total may exceed 3,000.

From the position and condition of the bodies it is evident that in many cases the victims' hands were tied behind them with wire and some were shot, some bludgeoned to death, and some simply buried alive.

West Berlin Paper Hits Hue Murders

WEST BERLIN— The indiscriminate killing of South Vietnamese civilians during last year's Tet offensive, highlighted gruesomely by the discovery of mass graves at Hue recently, is commented on at length by the Far Eastern correspondent of Berlin's *Tagesspiegel*, Dietrich Mummendey, in an article in the April 27 edition of the paper.

«They were not collaborators, they were not active anti-Communists, but they were victims of a seemingly indiscriminate mass murder, perhaps a punishment for the absence of the Communist-desired popular uprising,» Mummendey says.

He points out that many Vietnamese at that time believed their relatives had been captured but that they have now learned the truth about the cruel fate of their kin.

Mummendey reports that the mass graves were detected a week after South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu had said he was ready to negotiate with the Viet Cong in direct and secret contacts, but the mass graves are bad publicity for the VC.

«Terror has always been the preferred weapon of the Viet Cong,» Mummendey says. «The terror of mighty Viet Cong missile attacks on South Vietnamese cities is designed to demonstrate that neither the government nor the Americans are in a position to protect the population.»

Noting that between Jan. 1 and the first week of April 1969, 2,101 Vietnamese civilians were killed by the Viet Cong, 5,397 wounded and 3,178 abducted, Mummendey emphasizes that the Hue mass slayings were a striking example of indiscriminate Viet Cong terror which may arouse the population against the Communists rather than against the government.

Mummendey considers it one of the greatest disappointments for the Communists that their hope for an uprising did not materialize, nor did South Vietnamese soldiers defect in masses when the Tet offensive began. Just as scantily did the urban population welcome the Viet Cong as liberators, Mummendey says.

The *Tagesspiegel* correspondent sees as one of the most urgent problems the political confrontation with the Communists which is bound to follow the military one.

«Can Saigon dare confront its citizens one day with the alternative of rejecting or electing the Communists?» he asks.

«The Saigon government in the past few days has gone a surprisingly long way since a few months ago when it still tried to boycott the Paris talks because the U.S. had agreed to have the Viet Cong sit at the conference table along

with Hanoi's negotiators. When Saigon later sent a delegation to Paris it continued stubborn on the issue of recognizing the NLF as an independent delegation. This led to the famous dispute over the form of the conference table and the arrangements of seats...

«There is no doubt that President Thieu's change has been accelerated by constant American pressure. On the other hand, diplomats believe, he has smartly adjusted himself to the changed world situation. That this was possible at all is regarded by many in Saigon as an indication that Thieu's political position in South Vietnam is much stronger today than it was a year ago.»

Mummendey adds that «South Vietnam is also militarily stronger than a year ago, while the morale of the Viet Cong is perhaps lower than the present offensive permits (one) to assume. Despite this offensive, more Viet Cong are defecting to the government than ever before.» In the first three months of the year their number totaled 10,000. Most of the defectors come from the government pacification areas and Saigon observers are puzzled by the fact that the Viet Cong seldom use their offensive to attack the pacification centers.

«It is true that retaliatory

THE SAIGON POST
May 5/69

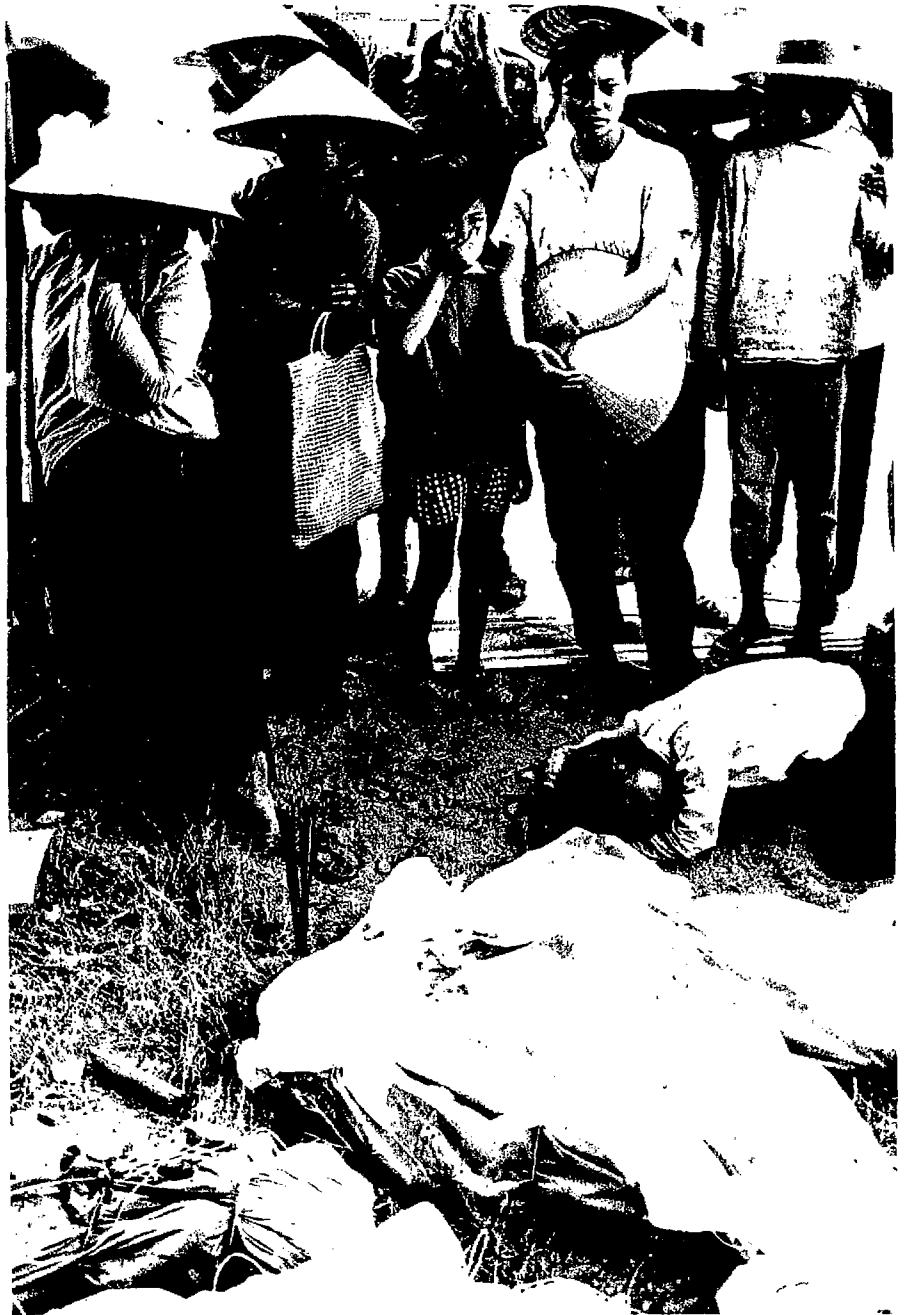
terror in the villages has not abated, but the pacification today seems to be more successful than before the Tet offensive, even in areas in which no government official has set foot in years.»

Mummendey says the Viet Cong no longer seem to have objections to the government installing markets, schools, and wells in villages since it is expected that the out-come of the war will be decided at the conference table.

«Saigon and its American allies hope that whoever can prove he controls most villages in South Vietnam will have a strong influence on the results of the negotiations.»

Mummendey cites an American who participated in the pacification campaign, quit the army in protest against Washington's Vietnam policy after the Tet offensive, and recently visited his old friends in the Mekong Delta as confirming the success of the pacification.

«But still it appears futile to ask anyone if he would vote against the Communists so long as he does not know who will prove to be militarily the stronger. The more a man comes to this unfortunate country and the more mosaic pieces he assembles, the more blurred appears the answer to the question if such simple facts still influence what will ultimately happen here,» Mummendey concludes.



Exhausted and overcome with grief a young woman collapses next to the remains of her murdered husband

350 Hue VC Victims Given Mass Funeral

By Robert G. Kaiser
Washington Post Foreign Service

HUE, May 5 — Three hundred fifty nameless citizens of Hue were buried here today in small red coffins. They were victims of the worst Communist atrocity of the war in Vietnam, but only about 30 mourners attended the funeral.

The mourners were joined by hundreds of others—soldiers, distinguished guests, old women selling soap, boys selling ice cream and important local officials. The funeral was planned by the local officials, who also organized two other mass burials in recent weeks.

Mass burials have become regular events in Hue. More than 800 bodies have been found so far in makeshift graves that are little more than a year old.

The graves, more accurately ditches, were dug by the Vietcong early last year during their occupation of Hue, which lasted nearly a month. Perhaps 2000 people were murdered in that month; at least that is the number of residents still unaccounted for since the 1968 Tet offensive.

The victims were murdered on the edges of the ditches that volunteers have been uncovering for the last six weeks. Many were shot in the back of the head. Others

were beaten to death. Every principal bone of one skeleton found two weeks ago was broken. Some of the bodies showed no signs of any injury and presumably were buried alive.

Many were South Vietnamese soldiers and minor government officials. Officials here believe that the names of the dead appeared on Communist blacklists. But this cannot account for the women and children who were slain.

"Some may have just got caught up," Maj. William Johnson speculated today. Fewer than half the bodies recovered have been identified, so the precise pattern of terror remains a mystery.

Trucks Bear Coffins

Today's funeral began with a mass procession down Le-loi, a principal street of Hue that parallels the Perfume River. Policemen in jeeps led the procession. They were followed by 2½-ton U.S. Army trucks decorated with wreaths and flowers.

Each truck carried eight to 12 coffins made of American plywood painted red. Every coffin was numbered and on its top rested a small

bouquet and sticks of burning incense.

It took nearly an hour for the procession to reach the burial ground several miles out of town. This was the second cemetery selected for the murder victims. The first, chosen before officials realized how many bodies would be found, was in a rich rice paddy south of Hue. It has since been decided that this productive land should not be turned into a huge graveyard, so a more barren site was found.

The trucks arrived in a clamor of horns and clouds of dust. The teenage boys and girls riding on them — members of the Peoples' Self-Defense Forces — unloaded the red boxes. They set the coffins beside the graves, and the field looked like a table covered with hundreds of carefully spaced red dominoes.

Later, while the coffins were being lowered by hand into the graves, a religious ceremony began 20 yards away. The service and some speeches were broadcast over a tinny public address system which ran on current from a portable generator that hummed in the background.

The sun was bright and hot. People milled about; boys hawked popsicles to

soldiers who had come as an honor guard. (Other soldiers in armored personnel carriers provided security for the ceremony from behind a ridge half a mile away.)

'Better Organized'

The ceremony ended quickly. ("The first funeral ran 5½ hours; I thought it would never end," an American official commented. "They've gotten better organized.")

The important guests, who had come with Gen. Hoang Xuan Lam, the South Vietnamese commander in the Hue area, started back for their helicopter. Most of the others also started to leave and the trucks began rumbling down the road.

But about 30 women remained, bowing, bending and wailing before the makeshift altar, mourning in the Buddhist fashion. They lingered, tossing handfuls of dirt onto many of the graves.

They had decided that their missing relatives must have been among this batch of bodies, though they could not identify them.

There will be more mass funerals if more bodies are found, but many American officials here want to stop looking. "We've made the point," said one adviser. "We need to spend more time on the problems of the living."

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May 28, 1969

Hue Delegation Tells Of Massacre By Reds

By PETER J. KUMPA
[Staff Correspondent]

Saigon, May 28—A delegation of Hue citizens led by their City Council chairman came here today to complain that they had been misunderstood and massacred by the Viet Cong last year during the Tet offensive and then insulted by Saigon's minister of information earlier this year.

With Nguyen Khac Thieu, council chairman, as their spokesman, the independent-minded citizens of the ancient Vietnamese capital voiced most of their anger against the Communists for the mass killing that they claimed would reach a total of between 3,500 and 4,000 innocent unarmed people. This figure is about twice the previous estimates of the slaughter victims, only about half of whom have been dug out of mass graves.

Allegations Denied

Mr. Thieu angrily denied allegations that the Viet Cong killings were in political reprisal against those who opposed militant Buddhists in a 1966 struggle.

He said the Viet Cong misunderstood the temper of Hue. When they found only small minority support, they turned on the populace in "the most barbarous waves of slaughters," reminiscent of Hitler, to kill Buddhists and non-Buddhists alike.

The Hue delegation proposed in the House of Delegates that they send Madame Nguyen Thi Binh, the Viet Cong deputy leader in Paris, a large, sealed metal box containing a collection of rope, wire and vines that had been removed from trussed-up victims of the Communists.

Madame Binh had told the BBC that the Hue massacres were the result of "Partisan

struggles and internal liquidation" carried out by local South Vietnamese. This explanation clashed with an earlier admission on April 27 by Hanoi Radio. It admitted that "hooligan lackeys" had been "annihilated by southern armed forces" (Viet Cong) because of alleged previous blood debts.

But while rejecting this view, the Hue delegation defended its "regional honor" against Nguyen minister of information.

But while rejecting this view, the Hue delegation defended its "regional honor" against Nguyen Ngoc An, minister of information, for a funeral oration he delivered April 13.

The minister, now under severe attack from the House of Representatives here, suggested that those in Hue who had taken to the streets in 1966 "must assess for themselves this tragic massacre." He was tying together the old struggle movement with the subsequent slaughter. He proposed unity and support for the Saigon government.

The Hue City Councilman said the speech had made his citizenry "angry and miserable."

Led In 1966 Battle

Mr. Thieu vowed that Hue would continue "struggles" even against the government because "struggles are a form required for real democracy."

"So far," he added, "we have been ill-treated, and victims of so many injustices [by ministers] but we are proud of the achievements of our struggles and manifestations."

The Hue delegation recalled that it was Hue that led in the 1966 battle for a constitutional assembly that came a year later. He said it was from that struggle that the Viet Cong got

the wrong idea of the political inclinations of its citizens.

The Information Minister was criticized two weeks ago in the House of Representatives here for being incompetent, and impolite as well. Out of the total House membership of 176, some 92 members signed a petition for his removal.

Refusal Claimed

Mr. Nguyen Ngoc An is also minister for the Chieu Hoi agency which administers those persons returning from the Viet Cong. The Hue delegation claimed today that he had refused to let them borrow persons who could point out more mass graves of the Tet offensive slaughter. They also complained that they were not given military security so they could search out the hidden burial sites.

The Hue delegation of nine persons, including two City Council members and two widows whose husbands had been murdered by the Viet Cong, had to explain their long delay in coming before the Saigon press.

They said that the Ministry of Information had done nothing about telling their story.

Simplified, the story is a critical one for South Vietnam. As the Hue spokesmen told it, no one was immune from Viet Cong murder squads even though they played no political role, or even if they had opposed the government.

"Never believe," they said, "that the so-called National Liberation Front has a program saying that association will be made with all patriotic nationalist parties for national independence and reconstruction, and that as you are an integral member of this or that party, you may never be killed by the

Viet Cong, if not invited to cooperate."

"In a word," they concluded, "with the Viet Cong, if we are not members of the Communist party, and have not been collaborating with them in a continuous manner for several years, we should never believe that they will co-operate with us by not killing us right away."

The message from Hue was that everyone, political or not, had to choose sides in South Vietnam or face possible death from the Communists.

Diễn văn của Dân Biểu

TRẦN-NGỌC-CHÂU

Tổng-thor-ký, đại diện Ủ. Chủ-tịch Hạ-Viện

**ĐỌC TRƯỚC ĐÁM TÁNG TẬP THỂ ĐỒNG
BÀO NẠN NHÂN CỘNG SẢN TẠI HUẾ
NGÀY 15-4-1969**

Thưa Ông Chủ Tịch Hội đồng Nhân dân Thị Xã,
Huế,

Thưa Ông Chủ Tịch Hội đồng Nhân dân Tỉnh
Thừa Thiên,

Thưa Đại Tá Tỉnh Trưởng,

Thưa Quý Vị Thân hào, Nhân sĩ.

Thưa toàn thể Đồng bào,

Tôi rất lấy làm hân hạnh được đại diện Ông Chủ
Tịch Hạ nghị Viện đề cùng với Quý Vị Dân biểu địa
phương Nguyễn Ngọc Nghĩa, Nguyễn Lý Tường và
Kiều Mộng Thu trở về Cố đô Huế từ nhiều ngày nay
để tiếp tục chịu tang chung cùng hàng ngàn gia đình
trước đây và của trên 500 gia đình vừa tìm lại hài cốt
của thân nhân đã bị Việt Cộng tàn sát trong biển cố
Tết Mậu Thân.

Thưa Quý Vị,

Thưa Đồng bào.

Trước hết, Phái đoàn Hạ nghị Viện chúng tôi xin
thành kính cầu nguyện cho vong linh của các Đồng bào
thọ nạn được sớm giải thoát.

Chúng tôi cũng xin kính gởi đến Quý vị thân nhân
các gia đình có nạn nhân lời phân ưu chân thành của
Hạ nghị Viện Việt Nam Cộng Hòa.

Thưa Quý, Vị,

Thưa Đồng bào.

Kể từ Tết Mậu Thân, hơn 1 năm dài đã trôi qua.

Thế mà dĩ vãng đau thương vẫn không thể xóa
nhòa được.

Lần lượt, tuần này qua tuần khác, nhiều đồng bào
mất tích trước đây đã trở về trong hình hài tan nát,
dưới một vài lớp đất mỏng manh.

Nhưng nỗi đau thương của Tết Mậu Thân chưa lúc
nào lại nở bùng dậy đến mức độ cao nhất như trong
những ngày hôm nay, với hơn 500 thi hài vừa được tìm
thấy trong các hầm hố tại các Quận Phú Vang và Phú
Thú.

Phải chăng vào lúc Chính quyền và Quốc dân ta
đang bày tỏ Thiện chí hòa giải dân tộc để mong sớm
tìm lại Hòa bình cho Xứ Sở thì sự trở về của các Đồng
bào nạn nhân Cộng sản dưới hình thể của những thi hài
vỡ vụn, bể ngực, tay chân bị trói xích vào nhau đang nhắc
nhở cho mọi người chúng ta đừng bao giờ quên được
bản chất hiếu sát và tàn bạo của Cộng sản, ngược hẳn
với luận điệu tuyên truyền êm dịu của họ tại khắp nơi.

Thưa Quý Vị,

Thưa Đồng bào.

Cố đô ta đã từng chứng kiến bao nhiêu lần vùng
đậy của Nhân dân để chống lại đô hộ Pháp, chống lại
bạo quyền của những năm trước đây,

Nhưng chí khí quật cường, tinh thần tranh đấu của
Đồng bào ta lúc nào cũng hướng về những mục tiêu xây
dựng.

Xây dựng cho Thề chế Quốc gia được tự do, dân
chủ thật sự, xây dựng cho Đời sống của Nhân dân được
cải thiện.

Xây dựng cho những truyền thống tín ngưỡng thiêng
liêng được tôn trọng.

Nhiều Giới chức lãnh đạo trước đây và một phần
dư luận ngoại quốc đã thường nhận định lầm lẫn về sự
đấu tranh của Đồng bào ta cho những mục đích xây

dụng với sự đấu tranh của Cộng sản cho những mục đích trái ngược.

Do đó, họ đã thường kết tội những người đấu tranh tại vùng đất này như có tinh thần tương trợ cho Đối phương.

Chính Cộng sản cũng đã nhận định sai lầm như vậy và với Tết Mậu Thân, nỗi tuyệt vọng, căm hờn của họ đã đổ lên trên hàng ngàn sinh mệnh của những người mà

họ tưởng có thể lợi dụng được tinh thần đấu tranh sẵn có để phục vụ cho Tà thuyết Cộng sản.

Thưa Quý Vị,

Thưa Đồng bào,

Biến cố Tết Mậu Thân vẫn còn để lại cho chúng ta những xót thương không bao giờ nguôi được.

Những biến cố Tết Mậu Thân tại Cố đô này cũng là cơ hội để chứng minh cho những người có trách nhiệm trong Quốc gia này và dư luận thế giới là Nhân dân Việt-Nam chúng ta lúc nào cũng sẵn sàng đấu tranh chống lại tất cả mọi Chủ-Nghĩa, hình thức và uy thế bạo tàn bất công bất cứ xuất phát từ đâu.

Và những sự đấu tranh nội bộ trong Cộng đồng Quốc gia giữa những người Quốc gia không nhất thiết sẽ dẫn dắt những người chống đối đấu tranh phù trợ cho Cộng sản.

Thưa Quý Vị,

Thưa Đồng bào,

Đến đây, tôi xin phép được có đôi lời với những người bên kia giới tuyến.

Hỡi những người Cộng sản và những người còn ôm ấp ít nhiều ảo tưởng với Cộng sản,

Biến cố Tết Mậu Thân với sự cam chịu đọa đầy, tàn sát thay vì phục thù bạo lực, tà thuyết của hàng ngàn đồng bào tại Cố đô này đã chứng minh những điều tôi vừa trình bày.

Cộng sản sẽ mãi mãi không bao giờ còn hy vọng lôi kéo Nhân dân Miền Nam này vào cuộc đấu tranh tuyệt vọng của Cộng sản nữa.

Chúng tôi tha thiết mong rằng đã đến lúc chính những người bên kia giới tuyến phải nhìn nhận thực tế đó, phải sớm hồi tỉnh để trở về với Quốc gia, để đáp ứng lại đề nghị hòa giải dân tộc, tái lập hòa bình của Chính quyền và Nhân dân Việt-Nam Cộng-Hòa. Hầu sớm kết thúc cuộc chiến tranh đau thương và tàn bạo này.

Thưa Quý Vị,

Thưa Đồng bào.

Phái đoàn Hạ-Nghị-Viện chúng tôi một lần nữa xin kính cầu nguyện vong linh những người quá cố được sớm giải thoát.

Chúng tôi xin ghi nhận cái tang của Cố đô như Tang chung của toàn thể Quốc gia chúng ta.

Trân trọng kính chào Quý Vị và toàn thể Đồng bào.



Workers examined the remains of a victim found in one of the mass graves located in Phu Thu District.

SPEECH BY CONGRESSMAN TRAN NGOC CHAU
SECRETARY-GENERAL, Representing the
Speaker of the Lower House, delivered
during the mass funeral for the victims
of the Viet Cong in Hue.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am greatly honored to have been chosen to represent the Speaker of the Lower House so that together with Congressmen Nguyen Ngoc Nghia, Nguyen Ly Tuong and Kieu Mong Thu, I could once again return to this ancient capital of this time to mourn with the thousands of families whose relatives had been cruelly murdered by the Viet Cong during the Tet Mau Than Offensive.

First of all, we should like to extend our prayers for the souls of these victims, that they may soon be liberated. We would also like to extend to the families of these victims the deepest sympathies of the Lower House.

More than a year has passed since the Tet Mau Than, yet the painful memories of the past is still with us. Week in, week out, the battered bodies of those persons listed as missing have turned up covered over by a thin layer of dirt.

But the miseries of the Tet Mau Than have never been shown more clearly than during these past few days when more than 500 bodies have been uncovered in the trenches of Phu Vang and Phu Thu.

Is it because, at this time when our government and our people are showing a conciliatory spirit in the hope that peace will soon come back to our land that these poor innocent victims whose bodies had been savagely ravaged have returned to remind us never to forget the cruel and inhumane nature of the Communists.

Our ancient capital has witnessed many risings by the people in opposition against French colonialism and against the totalitarian regimes of the past years.

But the fighting spirit of our people has always been aimed at constructive goals: How to keep the Nation truly free and democratic and how to make the lives of the people more progressive.

Many former leaders and some foreign observers have erratically confused the struggle of our people whose aim is constructive with that

of the Communists, which is the opposite. Thus, they have accused the fighters of this area as having sympathies with the enemy.

Even the Communists themselves have had these false thoughts and with the Tet Mau Than, their revenge for dashed hopes were heaped on thousands of lives of whom they thought they could take advantage in order to advance the Communist ideology.

The events of the Tet Mau Than leaves us with painful wounds that will never heal. These events in this ancient capital also prove to those in responsible positions in this country and abroad that our Vietnamese people are always ready to fight against all ideologies whose nature is cruel and inhumane, no matter from where they originate.

With your permission, I would like at this time, to address a few words to those on the other side, to those who are Communist or who have sympathies for the Communists.

The events of the Tet Mau Than which brought pain and misery to the thousands of people in Hue are proof of what I have just said.

The Communists no longer have any hopes of ever attracting the people of the South to their hopeless fight. We sincerely hope that by this time those on the other side have realized this reality and will soon awaken and return to the National cause in answer to our call for conciliation so that this savage and painful war will soon come to an end and peace once again restored to our beloved country.

Once again, we would like to send our prayers that the souls of those who have passed from this life will soon be free.

Please know that the mourning of this ancient capital is the common mourning of the whole nation.

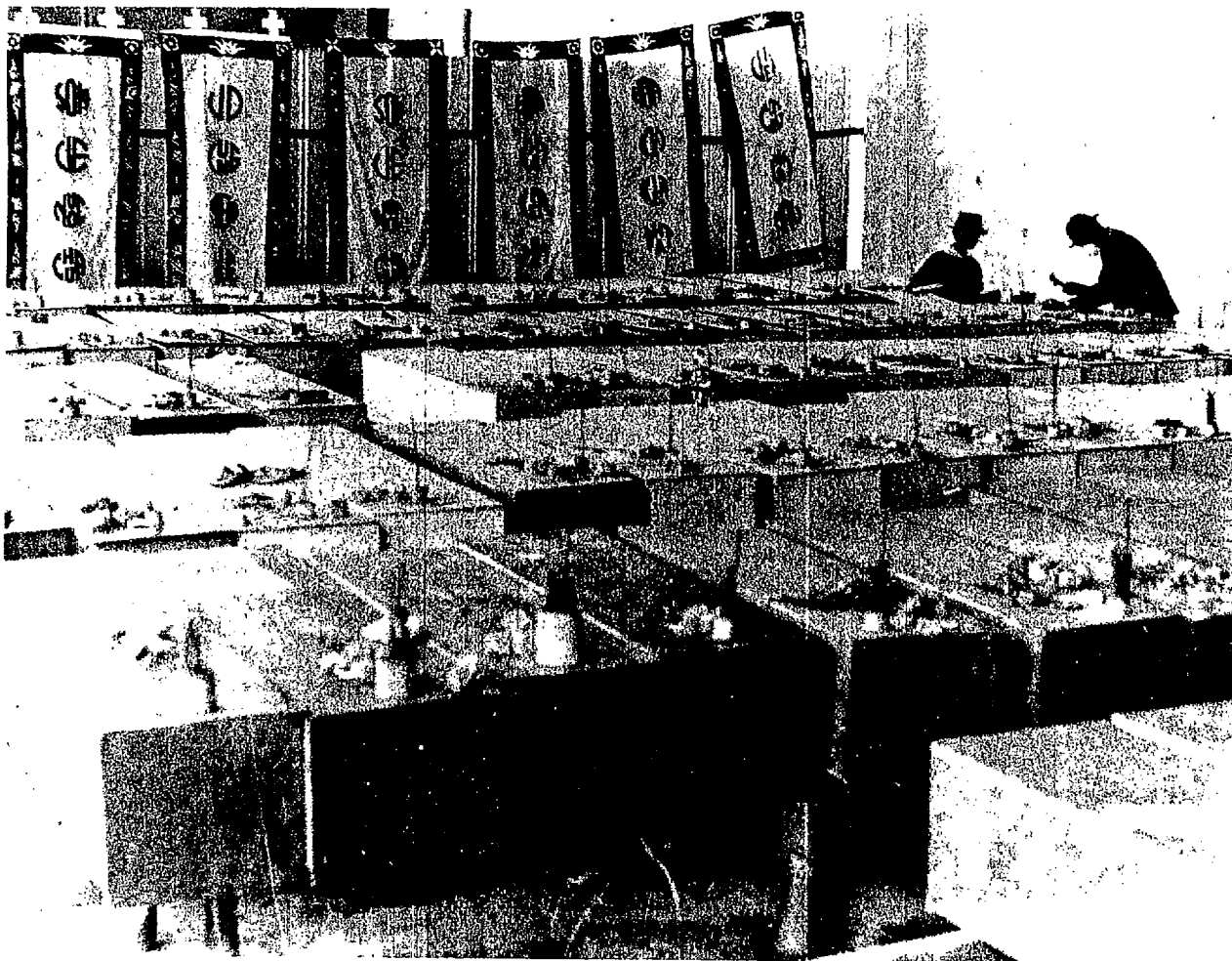
Thank you.



Grieving over the loss of their loved ones



Mass funeral organized by local authorities for proper re-burial of unidentified bodies: Thousands of people participated in the ritual procession to the cemetery



The "liberation" of graves by the NLF

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