in VIETNAM

AMERICAN CRIMES

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AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS WAR CRIMES IN VIETNAM

DEMONCATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

COMMISSION FOR INVESTIGATION ON THE

AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS WAR CRIMES IN VIETNAM

October 1966

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DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM
COMMISSION FOR INVESTIGATION ON THE AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS’ WAR CRIMES IN VIETNAM
October 1966
For more than twenty years now the United States has been continuously pursuing a policy first of brazen intervention then of brutal aggression in Vietnam, negating the Vietnamese people’s right to self-determination, and other fundamental rights, cynically trampling underfoot all international law, and very seriously threatening the peace and security of the world peoples.

The horrible crimes so far perpetrated daily by the American imperialists on the Vietnam soil, especially since the stepping-up of their aggressive war against Vietnam, must be brought to light in their full aspects and sequences, with a view to a sterner condemnation of the American imperialists’ aggressive scheme, and denunciation of their true nature—an extremely stubborn, reactionary, barbarous and brutal one—to the world and the American peoples.
With this aim in view, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam Commission for Investigation on the American imperialists’ war crimes in Vietnam will successively make known to the public at home and abroad documents relating to the American imperialists’ crimes in Vietnam.

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After more than eighty years of persistent struggle against the French colonialists’ domination, by their successful August 1945 General Insurrection, the Vietnamese people had smashed up all shackles of slavery, wrested back their right to be masters of their own destiny and founded the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, an independent and sovereign country enjoying territorial integrity from Langson to Camau.

From that very time, nevertheless, the American imperialists began to interfere in Vietnam and Indo-China, carrying out an ever-cruder policy of intervention and aggression, taking this part of the world for an important link in the chain of their global strategy.

In the process of their struggle to safeguard independence and freedom, the Vietnamese people have many a time frustrated the perfidious manoeuvres of the American imperialists: they ousted the American-controlled Chiang Kai-shek militarists from North Vietnam, defeated the French colonialists’ war of aggression of which the United States defrayed
80 per cent of the expenditures, foiled the American imperialists' plot to prolong and extend war at the moment when the Dienbienphu campaign was going on and when the Geneva Conference was in session.

With the signing of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, peace was restored in Indochina on the basis of recognition of the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Lao peoples' fundamental national rights — sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity — which the representative of the United States Government at the Conference had to pledge to respect.

Since then, the United States has been unremittingly applying an ever more brazen policy of intervention and aggression in an attempt to perpetuate the partition of Vietnam, turn South Vietnam into an American new-type colony and military base, systematically sabotage the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam, and prepare to rekindle war. The American imperialists' perfidious manoeuvres and neo-colonialist methods have met with strong and resolute opposition from the South Vietnamese people. But they still persist in their scheme of aggression and enslavement, trying to stay in South Vietnam and waging there a real war of aggression which now threatens to extend to the whole of Indochina: from carrying out a "special war" using puppet troops as the main forces at the beginning they have now committed to South Vietnam a 300,000-odd strong American expeditionary force; from the South Vietnam battlefield, they have extended the war to North Vietnam, mustering their air and naval forces against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, an
independent and sovereign country, and now preparing for new, extremely dangerous steps in their escalation.

The United States Government itself has laid bare before the American people and the peoples all over the world its stubborn aggressive and extremely bellicose nature which no professions of "peace" or "humanitarianism" nor deceitful and perfidious manoeuvres can cover up.

The war waged by the United States in Vietnam is the most barbarous and brutal war in history because the whole modern war machine at the disposal of a country possessing the mightiest economic and military potential in the imperialist camp has been put into action to deny the rights to self-determination, independence and freedom to a people resolved to fight to the end for the defence of their sacred national rights. It is the most barbarous and brutal war in history because, challenging human conscience and international law, the American imperialists have shrunken from no savage and base means, including the use of poison gases that the Hitlerite fascists dared not resort to, in an attempt to bend the will for independence and sovereignty of a heroic people who had rather make every sacrifice than to surrender.

In waging an aggressive war in Vietnam and negating the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people, that is, independence, sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity, in repudiating the Geneva Agreements it undertook to respect, in infringing upon international law, the United States
Government has committed a crime of aggression, an international crime sternly condemned by mankind.

In waging an aggressive war in Vietnam, the United States Government has at the same time committed a crime against peace, because the American aggressive war has sabotaged peace in Indochina, and posed the gravest threat to peace in Southeast Asia and in the world. It has completely negated the most elementary principles of international law which rule the relations among nations.

While carrying out their aggression against Vietnam in an attempt to subdue the Vietnamese people and attain their goal of aggression and enslavement, the American imperialists, in defiance of human conscience and ethics and of international law, have recoiled from no inhuman means of war. Their artillery, air force and navy have undertaken wanton and massive bombardments. They have been using napalm, phosphorous, fragmentation bombs, various kinds of noxious chemicals and gases. They have herded into concentration camps, persecuted and massacred civilians, be they old people, women or children. They have manhandled and tortured Liberation army men and civilians arrested by them. They have destroyed villages, townships and cities and series of public utilities, crops, dykes and hydraulic works in an attempt to starve millions of people. They have gone to such length of barbarity and cruelty as to use the Vietnam battlefield as a testing ground for the experimentation of their war strategy and tactics and modern lethal weapons. In negating
the rights to live and all fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people the United States Government has committed the most heinous war crimes and crimes against humanity.

The above-mentioned crimes perpetrated by the warlike and inhuman American imperialists, have obviously surpassed those of the Hitlerite demons in gravity, barbarity and brutality. In committing a crime of aggression, crimes against peace and humanity, the United States Government has committed the supreme international crime.

The American imperialists are the biggest war criminals in our times, as the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation rightly put it. They are not only the sworn enemy of the Vietnamese people, but also the most dangerous enemy of the world peoples.

The Vietnamese nation is possessed of a millenary history, and a tradition of valiant and unbending struggle against foreign aggression to defend its independence, freedom and unity.

Today, faced with the American imperialists' brutal aggression which threatens the very existence of the nation, and confronted with the United States extremely dangerous and much advertized "peace negotiations" trick on one hand, and feverish preparations for war intensification and expansion in Vietnam on the other, the whole people of Vietnam from South to North are determined to fight to the end to frustrate the United States aggression and its enslavement scheme, safeguard the right to live in independence and freedom, and to foil the Americans' forthcoming dry season strategic counter-offensive.
The Vietnamese people, all to a man, will devote all their mental and physical energy to translate into deeds President Ho Chi Minh's appeal: "For the defence of the independence of the Fatherland and for the fulfilment of our obligations to the peoples struggling against American imperialism, our people and army, united as one man, will resolutely fight till complete victory whatever the sacrifices and hardships may be".

For the sake of peace and justice in the world, for the sake of independence, freedom of all nations, and for the sake of a genuine independence and real peace in Vietnam, the Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam make an earnest appeal to the peoples and governments of the fraternal socialist countries, the peace-and-justice-loving countries, all men of conscience the world over, and to the American people who have a democratic tradition, to denounce and condemn with greater force and persistence the American imperialists' aggressive war and intolerable crimes in Vietnam, to resolutely and unreservedly support the just stand of the Vietnamese people. The American imperialists must respect the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people, put an end to their aggressive war in Vietnam, stop the bombing of, and other war acts against, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, dismantle all American military bases, withdraw all American and satellite troops and weapons from South Vietnam, and leave the Vietnamese people to decide their own destiny.

Hanoi, October 31, 1966
AMERICAN CRIMES
IN VIETNAM

In South Vietnam, 8,000 miles away from the United States, a 330,000-strong expeditionary force assisted by some 50,000 South Korean, Australian, New-Zealand, Filipino and Thai troops, is operating with the support of 3,400 planes and helicopters, 2,000 pieces of heavy artillery and thousands of armoured cars. Flown from the 7th Fleet and bases in South Vietnam and Thailand, U.S. aircraft day and night pound both North and South Vietnam. Never before has there been such brutal and cynical aggression by a great power against a small country.

No war has ever been conducted with more ferocity. All observers are unanimous to admit that it is reminiscent of Hitlerite crimes.
I. MASSACRE OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION

In April 1966, U.S. Defence Secretary McNamara, testifying in U.S. Congress and answering the Senators who wondered whether the production of American bombs met war needs, affirmed that the production of aircraft bombs for 1966 would reach one million tons of which 698,000 would be poured on Vietnam during the whole year. The figures for 1965 were 250,000 tons. 61,000 tons of bombs were showered over Vietnam in June, and 91,000 in July. According to A.P., McNamara further said that the monthly average in the second half of 1966 surpassed the quantity of bombs released each month all over Europe and Africa during World War II.

Apart from these bombings, we have to mention wanton poundings of villages by heavy and ultra-rapid artillery and units of the Seventh Fleet. Reuter reported on February 11, 1966 that in one month the U.S. troops fired in South Vietnam:

- 88 million aircraft machinegun bullets;
- 4.6 million mortar shells;
- 10.6 million rockets;
napalm. I've seen the bodies of children and women dismembered by bombs. I've seen all our villages levelled to the ground."

Particularly atrocious is the use of napalm which makes a real ocean of fire where children, women and old people are literally roasted. Those who survive get horrible burns. Never before has napalm been used on such a large scale. After air and artillery bombardments U.S. troops begin to mop-up villages, destroy what remains, blow up underground shelters in which the population have taken refuge, set fire on paddy stocks, rape women, arrest, put to torture and kill the inhabitants. A.P. gives the following picture of operation “Marauder” carried out by the U.S. paratroopers some thirty kilometres from Saigon:

“The rich, intensely cultivated, flat lands south of Vanco oriental river are prime scorched-earth targets... Within two miles of the paratroopers’ camp not a house was left standing. Constant pounding by artillery and planes had reduced every building to rubble. Every house they encountered they burned to the ground... Every cooking utensil was smashed, every banana-tree severed, every mattress slashed.”

That is the “burn all, kill all, destroy all” policy. In many areas out of American control aeroplanes bomb and strafe everything that is moving. The peasants can no longer work in their fields, do the cooking (because smoke attracts bombs) and go about on roads or rivers. From time to time, the U.S. command has to admit such crimes. On September 14, 1967, the Mekheli twin villages I and II were destroyed by U.S. troops. The next day the South-
American command denied the fact, but the pictures shown by NBC TV agency and the detailed account made by a U.P.I. correspondent compelled the U.S. command’s spokesman to admit that it was actually the 1st battalion of the 5th regiment of the U.S. First Airmobile Cavalry Division which had destroyed the two villages on the ground that

"These two villages constitute a danger for the First Airmobile Cavalry Division. Our armymen had burned them so that the enemy might not make use of them."

It is evident that according to such logic any village in South Vietnam constitutes a danger for the American invader, because the “enemy” is the people in their entirety. The U.S. rulers speak about their doles to the Vietnamese people. The G.I.'s distribute sweets to children, American physicians even take care of those burned by napalm; all the above hypocrisy only points to the horrors of a war waged in complete disregard of all international conventions, all international ethics which strictly prohibit any harm to the civilian population in the course of military operations.

In South Vietnam, day and night, under U.S. aircraft and artillery fire, entire villages are burned, razed to the ground. The inhabitants deprived of their provisions, and having lost all their property, are compelled to live in underground shelters and till their lands in night-time. But in the night, U.S. planes try to detect with flares any signs of life on immense areas. It is a fierce, merciless war waged
against an entire people with all the more ferociousness as the defeats suffered by the U.S. expeditionary force increase in bitterness. At present, it is difficult to give the full number of victims, villages or dwellings destroyed and burnt down, but to realize the size of the crimes suffice it to look at the fabulous figures published by the U.S. authorities themselves: 638,000 tons of bombs per year, the bulk of which poured in South Vietnam, a territory no bigger than Switzerland, millions of rockets per month and how many napalm and phosphorous bombs.

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Can the civilian population who live in U.S.-controlled areas escape such atrocities? The most ferocious repressions prevail there, while the herding of the people into concentration camps dubbed "strategic hamlets" in Diem's time, and now labelled "new life hamlets", is continuing!

The American advisers had set up through the Ngo Dinh Diem regime from 1954 to 1963 a typically fascist regime which tried to eliminate physically all opponents. Were accused of being "Viet Cong" (communists) and therefore liable to the most horrible tortures, to immediate execution, deportation, all those who had taken part in the liberation war waged from 1945 to 1954 against French colonialism, those who advocated the holding of general elections to reunify the country, the peasants who protested
against the grabbing of their land by the land-owners, the workers who demanded a wage-lift, the intellectuals who deplored the depravation of national culture by American films, the capitalists who complained of the glutting of national market with American goods.

Since the collapse of Diem, a new decree has outlawed not only the "communists", but also the "neutralists". Tortures, summary executions continue and the whole world still remembers the execution on October 15, 1964 of young electrician NGUYEN VAN TROI followed by so many others. In jails, penitentiaries, detainees continue to be imprisoned for years without any trial. Treatment meted out to prisoners-of-war — most often simple civilians arrested at random during terrorist raids — reaches the peak of barbarity.

Where the G.I.'s succeed in maintaining their control, the effort to herd the population into "new life hamlets" continues. Everybody knows what this appellation means: the peasants massed behind barbed-wire fences, forbidden to go out, to gather in groups of more than three persons; the administration which seizes all food reserves to distribute them day by day to the families, the strict and daily check of goings and comings, visits, daily chores. The Saigon sbirri and torturers daily sow terror in these hamlets. Today, the great majority of strategic hamlets have been demolished by a tenacious and heroic struggle of millions of people. The Americans savagely bomb the hamlets which have liberated themselves.
From 1954 to 1965, the number of victims amounted to:

- 170,000 killed
- 800,000 wounded or tortured to disability
- 400,000 detained in jails and penitentiaries
- 5 million people herded into concentration camps.

At present, only one fifth of the territory remains under U.S. control, but the same methods continue. American policy, military or political, is essentially directed against the whole civilian population.
II. CHEMICAL WARFARE

Since 1961, in South Vietnam, the U.S. command has been resorting to methods that Hitler himself didn’t dare to use; chemical warfare has been waged daily on an increasing scale. Officially, it is claimed that only “defoliants” aimed at destroying leaves are employed. But since 1961, many American newspapers have revealed that the chemicals used “turn the rice fields yellow and destroy all the crops,” (Newsweek, November 27, 1961) and “must play an important role in the plans to cut off the communists from all sources of supplies,” (New York Times, January 22, 1962). The purpose is clear: when the American and puppet troops cannot control a region, all its crops must be destroyed to starve the people into surrender. Whole regions like Bentre province for example have been sprayed with various noxious chemicals which not only have destroyed the crops but also caused many cases of poisoning among the population. Everywhere, after the passage of U.S. planes, the same scene of desolation is seen: rice turning yellow, banana-trees, coco-trees and other fruit-trees withered, poultry, fish dying, women, children, old and sick people affected by colic,
diarrhoea, vomiting and often frightful burns. The weakest victims often die because of this poisoning. Since April 1963, analyses made by the Liberation Red Cross showed that the chemicals used are as follows:

1. 2,4D or dichlorophenoxyacetic acid
2. 2,4, 5T or trichlorophenoxyacetic acid
3. arsenious anhydride or arsenic trioxide
4. arsenites of alcalin and terreous alcalin metals: Na, Ca
5. arsenates of sodium, calcium, lead, manganese
6. 2,4 dinitrophenol DNP
7. dinitro-orthocresol DNC
8. calcic cyanamide.

The areas sprayed increased sharply from year to year:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Area</th>
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<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>11,000 hectares</td>
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<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>300,000 hectares</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>500,000 hectares</td>
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<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>700,000 hectares</td>
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In 1965, 150,000 persons suffered in various degrees from poisoning symptoms after these sprayings. The New York Times on September 9, 1966 disclosed that new C.123 planes had been sent to step up chemical warfare in South Vietnam. The U.S ruling circles again materialize the old dream of Attila who boasted that wherever he passed, even grass could not grow.

Another particularly odious aspect of this chemical warfare is the use of toxic gas. Nguyen Khanh, former South Vietnam puppet prime minister, revealed that since the beginning of 1964, Saigon had
already had it at its disposal (Reuter, March 22, 1965). The first important operation where gas was used took place on January 25, 1965, against Phulac village, Phuyen province. The village received showers of explosive and napalm bombs, and then gas bombs to force the people out of their underground shelters. In that manner, no inhabitant could escape the bombs and shells. With this combined action of toxic gas and of air bombings and artillery shellings nobody enjoys immunity in a village under attack. We are at the height of barbarity.

World opinion was alerted when on September 5, 1965, the G.I.'s emptied 48 containers of gas into underground shelters, killing 35 persons, most of them are women and children. In face of the reaction of world opinion the Pentagon placed the responsibility for the offences on Leon Utter who commanded the operation. But since the end of September, Washington has given full powers to the U.S. command in Saigon to use toxic gases which are now part of the G.I.'s routine equipment in South Vietnam.

The U.S. officials by no means try to deny the use of the gases. They only claim that these gases are not at all toxic, and are even "humane" weapons. But on January 12, 1966, Australian Corporal Robert Bowtell fainted — and died — when he tried to enter with a mask on a shelter that he had just sprayed with gas. Six other Australians, also with masks, who came to his rescue were seriously poisoned. The seven Australians wore masks; we can thus easily
imagine the condition of women and children without masks, literally sprinkled with toxic gas in their shelters where they were hiding.

The analyses and revelations of the press showed that the gases in use bear conventional denominations CN, CS, DM, VX, LSD25. Such gases as CN (chloroacetophenone), DM (diphenyl aminoarsine or adamantine), and CS (thiophosgene) are extremely corrosive for the respiratory and digestive mucous membranes and are lethal in doses of a few milligrammes.

In order to justify this barbarity, Washington officials invoke the fact that the U.S. Senate didn’t ratify the 1925 Geneva protocol which prohibited the use of gases as means of warfare. Will a murderer who does not recognize a law accepted by all honest people, be less criminal?

The U.S. command has also resorted to poisons to render unusable food reserves, salt, water in the regions that it cannot control. The French paper *Express*, January 10, 1966, described how the U.S. Air Force dealt with numerous regions of the High Plateaux in South Vietnam:

"The water wells will be poisoned, the cattle slaughtered, the maize fields napalmed."

Never has such a variety of means of extermination been used against an entire people in an attempt to bring them to their knees.
III. AN EXPERIMENTAL WAR

All the weapons and toxins abundantly supplied by modern technology are also used on an experimental basis by the Americans in Vietnam. When "special warfare" was launched in 1961, after Lyndon Johnson's visit to Saigon, the experimental character of the war was immediately emphasized, for it is in Vietnam that weapons and tactics to be employed in other countries against national-liberation movements must be tested. Constant research is done to increase the efficiency of the heaviest bombers, and to achieve the best type of amphibious tanks; test is made on the effectiveness of a series of jets, helicopters, flying boats, ultra-rapid machine-guns, and phosphorous bombs.

Chemical weapons, defoliants and combat gases are paid special attention. A Mobile Research Team belonging to the Bacteriological and Chemical Warfare Institute No. 406 was transferred from Japan to South Vietnam, and the U.S. command plans to introduce some West German army special units to perfect the production and the utilization of chemicals in South Vietnam. Harvard University's American scientist Dr. Siddle wrote that to
bring the war to a quick end, the U.S. authorities would lay increasing emphasis on chemical weapons. Psychic-effect gases are thus tested in South Vietnam.

Each weapon of destruction or extermination is carefully studied after use and given the desired improvements by technicians. The big bombs released by B.52's destroy dwellings but don't hit underground sheltered inhabitants. Napalm can't reach provisions cached in the earth. That's no problem! American factories immediately turn out explosive and napalm bombs that only explode after having gone deep into the ground.

Particularly significant is the example of fragmentation bombs. In 1965, they were small containers provided with small wings, weighing 800 grammes each; inside were packed several hundred small steel balls which the explosion would project within a radius of 25 metres, thus riddling the victims with a multitude of steel grains, which made all surgical rescue impossible. In 1966, these bombs have been improved in such a way as to contain the same quantity of fragments within a smaller space (400 gr), and a dispenser-bomb consists of as many as 300 of them, and can project tens of thousands of small fragments over an area of 6,000 square metres. Those small bombs are perfectly harmless to military works, but when dropped on a village, a market place, or a school, they cause a lot of casualties. Thus they are especially meant to kill civilians. Children most frequently fall victims to these fragmentation bombs.
Every passing day therefore witnesses the atrociousness of the U.S. war grow for every day the U.S. command tests a new weapon in Vietnam. *Le Figaro* wrote on April 25, 1965:

"Vietnam has become the testing ground of all inventions made by military engineers. The aim is to test on a living target those inventions which may be utilized later in other operation theatres."

The Japanese paper *Asahi* and the Indian journal *Patriot* emphasized that the Americans were using an Asian nation as a "Guinea-pig" for their war experiments. The Nürnberg Tribunal most sternly condemned experimentation of weapons on human beings.
IV. CRIMES AGAINST NORTH VIETNAM

On August 5, 1964, aircraft from the Seventh Fleet bombed a series of coastal localities of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; since February 7, 1965, air raids have become just daily occurrences, on a daily widening scale. The U.S. rulers keep on saying: Accept our peace offer and we’ll stop bombing you. What would mean peace in such conditions for the Vietnamese people if not a mere capitulation?

To soothe down world opinion President Johnson in his April 7, 1965 Baltimore speech affirmed that the United States had no desire at all to devastate what the North Vietnam people had built with toil and at the cost of many sacrifices.

What is the truth in it?

U.S. aircraft have attacked the following cities and provincial capitals: Vinhlinh, Donghoi, Hatinh, Vinh, Thanhhoa, Namdinh, Phuly, Sonla, Yenbai, Thai-nguyen, the coal-producing towns of Hatu, Hongai, Uongbi; Hanoi and Haiphong not having been spared; this, not to count innumerable villages burnt or razed to the ground. Take for example Nguthuy village of Quangbình province. On July 15, 1966 it was showered with napalm, while those inhabitants
who were rushing out of the village were the targets of a 20 mm gunfire from the raiding aircraft. Thousands of fragmentation bombs were released upon the village.

U.S. aircraft fiercely attack hospitals and schools of which the red-tiled and new-walled buildings are easily discernable in the midst of the vegetation and thatched houses. All the provincial and district hospitals of Vinhlinh, Quangbinh, Hatinh, Nghean and Thanhhoa provinces have been destroyed. In particular, the Quynhlap leper sanatorium where 2,600 lepers were being treated was bombed for ten days running in June 1965. Its 160 buildings were destroyed, 139 lepers and medical staff members were killed, many others wounded.

In North Vietnam, the U.S. Air Force has so far destroyed:

- 296 schools,
- 80 hospitals, health stations and maternity houses,
- 80 churches and 30 pagodas.

A particularly barbarous practice is to strafe fishing boats along the sea-shore to prevent the inhabitants of North Vietnam coast earning their living.

The U.S. leaders' will of destruction was most obvious when they ordered the bombing of dams and dikes in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. As is known to everyone, the disastrous floods of the Red river and other waterways, have made necessary the building and maintenance of a network of over two thousand kilometres of dikes. The break of these
dikes in flood time would entail the inundation of whole provinces, destruction of all crops, and famine. Besides, in the dry season, a prolonged drought would also bring about crop failure, hence the necessity of dams and water reservoirs. All these water-conservancy works are achieved at the cost of enormous efforts by the people. U.S. aircraft have launched hundreds of attacks against dams and dikes, particularly
— the Langa, Camly, Baithuong, Doluong and Thacba dams;
— many points on the dikes of the La, Ma, Lam, Day and Red rivers. The Nhattan dike protecting the Northern outskirt of Hanoi was attacked on August 13, 1966.

It was due to the solidity of the dikes which the Government and people of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam had been maintaining with particular care for the last twelve years, and it was due to the means put into operation that no catastrophes occurred despite the above-mentioned attacks during the 1966 rainy season.

By attacking factories, dikes, dams, schools, and hospitals of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the U.S. command intends both to intimidate the Vietnamese people and to destroy their quick works, checking their progress to a better future. And day by day, the same threat is reiterated by Washington: we shall cease the bombings only if you accept to make “peace”.

* * *
The 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam formally recognize the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam, prohibit all foreign interference in Vietnam’s internal affairs, all introduction of foreign troops and military personnel, all construction of foreign military bases in Vietnam... At the 1954 Geneva Conference, the U.S. Government undertook to respect the said agreements. But it has been violating them ceaselessly and brutally.

International accords, from the 1868 Saint-Petersburg Declaration, the 1899 and 1907 Hague Conventions and the 1949 Geneva Convention and numerous resolutions of the League of Nations prohibit attacks, in case of war, against civilians, cultural works, hospitals, schools, churches, undefended cities, villages and works; they prohibit the use of means of mass destruction and mass extermination. The 1922 Washington Treaty and the 1925 Geneva Protocol prohibit the use of toxic chemicals and means of bacteriological warfare, combat gases, and a resolution of the League of Nations in 1932 prohibits the use of all gases and poisons, even tear gas. In 1943, President Roosevelt solemnly declared that the United States would not be the first to use gases.

After World War II, the Hitlerite crimes stirred up such a feeling of horror that world opinion urged the trial of the culprits, and the Nürnberg International Tribunal gave a clear definition of war crimes and crimes against humanity. The Nürnberg Tribunal particularly insisted upon the responsibility of the State leaders who had till then escaped from all jurisdiction.
All these international conventions have been flagrantly and cynically violated by the U.S. Government in its war of aggression in Vietnam. It has been waging a ruthless war on a small country, resorting to most varied and ferocious means, which it seeks to improve day by day, with the ulterior motive to use them later elsewhere. World opinion has begun to be aware of these crimes and to be concerned about them, and a fraction of American opinion has begun to be anxious.

For the Vietnam conflict is one between U.S. imperialism and a nation fighting for its independence and freedom, it is part of the big movement of national liberation now sweeping all the continents. Washington makes no bones that the weapons and methods tested in Vietnam will be used in other countries. There is no one who does not feel concerned. It is no exaggeration to say that the fate of Asian, African and Latin American peoples is at stake in Vietnam. A stern and universal condemnation of American crimes becomes as imperative as the Nürnberg trial of the Nazi leaders.

The main responsible must be mentioned by name: U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson, Defence Secretary McNamara, Dean Rusk, responsible for U.S. foreign policy, and Westmoreland, Commander-in-Chief of U.S. forces in Vietnam.

They must be tried and condemned, together with their close collaborators.

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