REFERENCE

COMMUNIST VIOLATIONS
OF
THE PARIS AGREEMENT OF JANUARY 27, 1973

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VIOLATIONS

of

THE PARIS AGREEMENT OF JANUARY 27, 1973

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JUNE 1973
PART ONE

- HOW HAS THE PEACE AGREEMENT BEEN OBSERVED?...... 8

PART TWO

- COMMUNIST VIOLATIONS OF THE PEACE AGREEMENT....14

A.- Communist Offensives against RVN military bases ........................................ 15

   1. The case of TÔNG LÊ CHÂN .................. 17
   2. The case of SA-HUỲNH ......................... 18
   3. The case of RẠCH-BÂP ......................... 20
   4. The case of TRI-TÔN .......................... 20

B.- Hostile acts perpetrated against the RVN civilian population: .............................. 21

   1. Indiscriminate shellings and attacks.... 22
   2. Terrorism ....................................... 31
   3. Sabotage ........................................ 33
   4. Kidnappings .................................... 37
   5. Assassinations .................................. 38

C.- Illegal Introduction from North Viet-Nam of military personnel and war material into South Viet-Nam .................................................. 41
D.- Communist violations relating to the return of captured and detained military and civilian personnel.......................... 53

E.- Hindrance to the activities of the ICCS, FPJMC and TPJMC.................................................. 56

F.- Encroachment upon the sovereignty and security of Cambodia and Laos................................. 63

PART THREE

- INTERNATIONAL OPINION ON COMMUNIST VIOLATIONS

OF THE PEACE AGREEMENT............................... 66
APPENDICES

1. Leaflet dated November 17, 1967 issued by the NLF Praesidium declaring a 7-day truce during the Tet Festival from January 27, 1968 to February 3, 1968...

2. Statistics:
   I. Communist violations ........................................ 122
   II. Release of Military and Civilian personnel
       (from February 12 to March 29, 1973) ............... 123
   III. Release of Civilian personnel
        (from April 26 to May 24, 1973) ...................... 124

3. Chronology of Significant events from January 28 to June 18, 1973............................................... 125

4. Communiqué by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on infiltration of armaments, war material and troops by North Vietnamese Communists into South Viet-Nam. 129

5. Letter No 141/BNG/NCST of April 4, 1973 from the Republic of Viet-Nam on the TONG LE CHAN case to the Parties to the Paris Conference on Viet Nam........ 131

6. Note No 288/BNG/NCST of May 9, 1973 from the Republic of Viet-Nam to the Parties to the Paris Conference on Viet-Nam, condemning Communist violation of the Peace Agreement.............................. 135

7. Statement by the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Viet-Nam at the Press Conference on April 25, 1973 proposing the Preliminary Accord on principles between the two South Vietnamese Parties to the Conference at La Celle Saint Cloud (France). ....... 142
8. Communique № 097-BNG/TTBC/TT of April 28, 1973 of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Viet-Nam assessing the implementation of the Peace Agreement.

9. Statement by the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the RVN on May 30, 1973 concerning the withdrawal of Canada from the ICCS.


11. Communique of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs dated June 18, 1973, denouncing to the World and domestic opinion the Communists' ill will in implementing the provisions of the Paris Agreement and the Joint communiqué on the cease-fire.

12. Map of South Viet-Nam indicating the Deployment of the ICCS, the TPJMC and places of major communist offensives against the Armed Forces of the Republic of Viet-Nam.
Everybody has heard about the Vietnamese Communists' Tet Offensive launched on the eve of Tet (1) January 30, 1968. On that day, the Communists started their General Offensive by attacking five South Vietnamese cities: Kontum, Pleiku, Qui-Nhon, Darlac and Nha Trang. The following day, the Tet or Festival itself, they came into Saigon, Hue and seven other towns. 28 of the 48 cities and towns across the territory of the Republic of Viet-Nam had been attacked during the Communists' Tet Offensive. The remaining 20 cities were also heavily shelled or harassed. Hue fell into the hands of the Communists for four weeks, a period of time long enough for the communists to slaughter more than 5,000 civilians.

But few people remember that on the 17th of November, 1967, the Praesidium of the NLF had unilaterally declared a 7-day truce on the occasion of the New Year Festival, starting from January 27 to February 3, 1968. The Communists had announced their Tet truce both in leaflets (see appendix I) and on their broadcast system.

On the same occasion, the Republic of Viet-Nam announced a Tet truce from January 29 to January 31, 1968.

The South Vietnamese population had, therefore, placed all their faith in the effectiveness of the Truce. They confidently prepared for the celebration of the greatest Festival of the year and took no necessary measures of security. All of a sudden, the

(1) Tet : Lunar New Year.
Communists broke the truce by launching their General Offensive at the utmost stupefaction of everybody. Many perished right in the midst of the most sacred traditional religious ceremonies, and the merriest day of the year was turned into a day of mourning for the whole nation.

Once again, everybody has now seen that the practice of the Communists does not conform with their preaching. The Communist signed the Paris Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring peace in Viet-Nam, on January 27, 1973, and recently, also signed the Joint Communiqué of June 13, 1973.

At the time when the Paris Agreement was signed, the South Vietnamese people as well as the people all over the World sincerely believed that peace would be restored soon. But the Communists have once more resorted to their 'Tet Offensive' strategy.

The only difference lies in the reality that this time the Communists tried a larger scale of hoodwinking: in their Tet Offensive, only the Vietnamese people were deceived; now by their disregard of the Paris Agreement, the people all over the world are deluded and disappointed.

PART ONE

HOW HAS THE PARIS AGREEMENT BEEN OBSERVED?
HOW HAS THE PARIS AGREEMENT BEEN OBSERVED?

The Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam signed in Paris on January 27, 1973 brought a great feeling of relief to peace-loving people all over the world. For the Vietnamese in particular, it meant naturally something much more important and was eagerly welcomed in Vietnam as a long-awaited salvation, a solemn decision that could terminate the disaster of war and open the way to happiness.

The hope of peace and prosperity flourished immensely in every Vietnamese heart when the Paris Agreement was signed. But unfortunately, that sacred hope has been more and more corroded by the Communists' lack of goodwill and mostly by the Communists' disregard of the Agreement itself.

The purpose of this White Book is to present what happened in Vietnam after the Paris Agreement took effect (from January 28 to June 15, 1973), the status of the implementation of that Agreement, and the different policies that resulted in the present situation.

On her own part, the Republic of Vietnam put confidence in the Agreement as a solid foundation on which peace could be built and the right of self-determination of the South Vietnamese people be preserved. In this conviction, the Republic of Viet-Nam has been determined to implement the Agreement seriously and fully. The following excerpts from the statement made in Paris by The Foreign Minister of the Republic of Vietnam just before signing the Agreement declared the stand of his Government:

'The Agreement that I am going to sign on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Vietnam is
the official confirmation of the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination, a sacred principle for which we have fought during so many years. The event, therefore, fills our heart with joy and hope.'

'We are glad that we will see very soon the end of the killings and sufferings in our beloved country. We remember with emotion the immeasurable sacrifices endured by our combatants and population for the safeguard of South Vietnam's right to remain free to choose its own destiny without being forced to embrace a foreign ideology...'

'The Government of the Republic of Vietnam has always advocated a policy of peace, national union and reconciliation. The Agreement that we will sign is well in line with that policy. Therefore, we are determined to implement it scrupulously and expect the other parties to do the same'.

On the part of the communists, even though they signed the Peace Agreement, the big paradox between Peace and their own scheme remains. The Paris Agreement emphasizes the right of self-determination of the South Vietnamese people which is the basis for lasting peace; but the Communist are still holding to their scheme to impose a communist or pro-communist regime on South Vietnam, paving the way for the eventual unification of the country under communist rule. They have always been trying to realize this dark scheme, even after signing the Peace Agreement.

To prepare a new phase of that scheme, COSVN, the Central Office for South Vietnam of the Vietnam Workers Party (Communist North Vietnam), issued its Directive № 02/CT/73 as an indoctrination document which was sent to the Communist Provincial Party Committees on 19th January 1973 and called 'The Fundamental Directive on
policies and urgent tasks'. This document advocates a continuous war and violence. Some excerpts from the Directive read:

'The following strategic principles must be fully grasped:

One: We must, fully grasp the objective of the national democratic revolution and closely, combine the national mission with the democratic mission in the new situation.

Therefore, the slogans calling for 'peace, independence, democracy, rice and clothing, national concord' are not only principal slogans to be used in the immediate future but also strategic slogans to be used during the whole new phase.

Two: We must fully grasp the offensive strategy of pushing back the enemy step by step and winning victory bit by bit before achieving complete victory. On the basis of persisting in the thought of unceasing and continuous revolution, we must create opportunities in order to accelerate the development of the revolution in the new phase.

Three: We must fully grasp the concept of violence in the context of the new situation, in the political struggle phase. We must absolutely bring into play the masses' political violence, and stand ready to surmount fierceness and bloodshed in the course of promoting the political movement into a high tide. At the same time, we must not neglect military violence. On the contrary, we must stand constantly ready, especially we must unceasingly build up our three-troop-category armed forces as a firm support for our political struggle.

Four: We must closely associate the mission of
achieving the national democratic revolution in the
South with the mission of protecting and building socialism in the North as a step toward the unification of
our country.

Five: We must coordinate the revolutionary move-
ment in South Viet-Nam with the revolutionary movements
in Kampuchea and Laos and the Indochinese revolution in
general, coordinate the struggle movement for peace,
independence, democracy, improvement of living standards
with the movement for peace, national liberation and
socialism all over the world.'

These two opposite guidelines lead naturally to
the contradictory acts and attitudes of the two parties
toward the Paris Agreement.

Being positive toward the cause of peace, imme-
diately after the Agreement took effect, the Republic
of Viet-Nam ordered all her regular and irregular
Armed Forces to strictly observe the Cease-fire by
remaining in place and stopping all kinds of hostile
activities. But at that very moment, the Communists
began their new wave of attacks and shellings throughout
the country.

From January 28 to June 15, 1973, they perpetrated
16,839 violations, attacking and shelling the Republic
of Viet-Nam Armed Forces units and civilian population.
These violations inflicted upon both sides heavy ca-
sualties; thousands of people were killed, wounded and
captured.

Another major threat to the Peace Agreement was
the continuous infiltration of North Vietnamese troops
and war material into the Republic of Viet-Nam. Since the Agreement was signed, more than 50,000 communist troops, 400 tanks, 300 artillery pieces and thousands of tons of ammunition have been illegally sent into South Viet-Nam.

The most deplorable were the communist violations against the International Commission of Control and Supervision itself. This International Peace-keeping organization had no freedom to move and no security guarantee in the Communist areas. Its helicopters, vehicles and offices were attacked by the communists. Four members of the ICCS have been killed in these attacks.

The harsh behaviour of the Communists really weakened all the mechanisms of control of the cease-fire, and the positive cooperation that the Republic of Viet-Nam extended to the ICCS could not unilaterally enable it to fulfill its noble duty.

The Four-Party Joint Military Commission (FPJMC) and the Two-Party Joint Military (TPJMC) that the Paris Agreement charges with the task of ensuring joint action by the Parties in implementing the provisions of the Agreement on the cease-fire and military problems constantly met the same conditions. The systematic obstruction of the Communist have almost reduced the Joint Military Commissions to stagnancy.

The real facts of what took place during the past four months are detailed in the following pages and will show how the implementation of the Paris Agreement was hampered, the ICCS and the Joint Military Commissions were paralysed and why peace in Viet-Nam still remains elusive.
PART TWO

COMMUNIST VIOLATIONS OF THE PEACE AGREEMENT
A. COMMUNIST OFFENSIVE AGAINST RVN MILITARY BASES.
ARTICLE 2

A cease-fire shall be observed throughout South Viet-Nam as of 2400 hours G.M.T., on January 27, 1973.

ARTICLE 3

The parties undertake to maintain the cease-fire and to ensure a lasting and stable peace.

As soon as the cease-fire goes into effect:

(a) ........................................

(b) ........................................

(c) The regular forces of all services and arms and the irregular forces of the parties in South Viet-Nam shall stop all offensive activities against each other and shall strictly abide by the following stipulation:

- All acts of force on the ground, in the air, and on the sea shall be prohibited;

- All hostile acts, terrorism and reprisals by both sides will be banned.

Immediately after the Cease-fire Agreement came into effect, all the regular and irregular armed forces of the Republic of Viet-Nam were given strict orders to observe the Cease-fire on all fronts by remaining in place, and ending and hostile activities.
In the meantime, the Communists have repeatedly violated articles 2 and 3 of the Agreement. Their forces have continuously shelled and attacked on a large scale throughout South Vietnam.

From January 28, 1973 to June 15, 1973, they perpetrated 16,839 violations, including shellings and land-grabbing attacks with battalion to division-size units.

These violations have caused heavy casualties on both sides. Thousands of men were killed, wounded or captured.

Typical were the Communist attacks on Rạch-Bắp (Bình-Dương), Sa-Huỳnh (Quảng-Ngãi), Tống-Lê-Chân (Tây-Ninh), Núi Gió (Thừa-Thiên), Tri-Tôn (Châu Đốc).

1/- THE CASE OF TÔNG LE CHÂN BASE.

On February 26, 1973 not even a month after the Agreement on the cease-fire came into effect one Communist regiment encircled and assaulted Tống Lê Chân, located at 15 kms South West of An Lộc, Bình Long province, and defended by one ARVN Ranger battalion.

Up to April 2, 1973, the Communists launched 21 attacks against Tống-Lê-Chân and poured into the base about 6,000 shells of all categories, killing 14 and injuring 109 soldiers.

At present Tống Lê Chân base is still under Communist siege.

The Republic of Viet-Nam Delegation to the Four-Party Joint Military Commission has lodged with the International Commission of Control and Supervision several official notes protesting against this flagrant
Communist violation of the Agreement. No action has been taken yet by the Commission because of the obstruction and lack of cooperation of the Communist delegations.

By launching and maintaining the siege of Tông-Lê-Chân base, the Communists have grossly and flagrantly violated the Agreement they signed on January 27, 1973.

2/- THE CASE OF SA HUỲNH

The Communists attacked Sa-Huỳnh (in Quảng Ngãi province) at noon on January 28, 1973, 6 hours after the Ceasefire agreement came into force.

This attack caused among the civilians 159 killed, 41 wounded and 26 others abducted.

Some hours earlier, the Communists had buried alive 16 people in a mass grave at the foot of Trường- Sơn mountains.

In order to prepare their assault, the Communists had intensively used heavy artillery barrage. Material damages were considerable: 1622 dwellings were destroyed and 634 others damaged.

However the enemy could not occupy the objective for very long. Our troops rapidly drove them out of Sa Huỳnh after having inflicted heavy losses upon them.
SA-HUYNH after the communist attack on January 28, 1973, a flagrant violation of the Cease-fire Agreement.
From 11 to 16 March 1973, the NLF's armed forces fired 432 varied rounds of mortar into Rach Báp base located at 8 kms South-West of Bến Cát (in Bình Dương) inflicting heavy losses on the garrison which was made of one company of Regional Forces.

The ARVN High Command had to order a rescuing operation when it proved impossible to get an agreement from the Communists for the ICCS to make an investigation.

The Rach Báp base was finally cleared by our troops on March 21 after having been encircled for some days by the communists.

After the cease-fire took effect, the district of Tri-Tôn, Châu-Dộc province was continuously shelled by the Communists forces.

Republic of Viet-Nam military outposts, populated areas and the ICCS headquarters which are located in the district received many rounds of 122mm rockets, and 61mm, 75mm, and 82mm fire.

From February to March 22, 1973, there were 127 shellings directed mainly against populated areas.

Of significance were the shellings and mortarings which took place during three consecutive days from March 19 to March 22, 1973, and resulted in 27 dead and wounded persons including 2 representatives of the Republic of Viet-Nam Delegation to the Tri-Tôn Joint Military Team.
B. - HOSTILE ACTS PERPETRATED AGAINST THE RVN CIVILIAN POPULATION.
After the cease-fire, the civilian population of the Republic of Viet-Nam continues to be the target of Communists' hostile acts.

Shelling indiscriminately cities and hamlets, throwing grenades into markets and temples, setting mines and explosive charges on rice fields, bridges, roads and railways, firing on bases and cars, kidnapping and assassinating anyone resisting them, the Communists have used any means which seems necessary for them to bring the population under their control.

The stories and photos which follow are chosen from among thousands of others.

1/- INDISCRIMINATE SHELLINGS AND ATTACKS.

- On January 28, 1973, the communists launched an attack against Vĩnh-Phưc hamlet, Vĩnh-Lộc village, An-Phú district (Châu-Dộc). During this attack, communists confiscated from local inhabitants a great number of homebred animals and set fire to 104 houses.

- At Long-Khanh, at 08:00 of January 29, 1973, communist gunners slammed 400 rounds of 82m/m mortar and rockets of 122 and 107 m/m and then made an intrusion into Dầu Giây hamlet. The attackers were repelled and left on the battlefield 32 killed, one 75 m/m recoiless gun and 12 assorted other weapons.

- On March 5, 1973, at 10:30, the Communists lobbed about 20 mortar rounds into Vĩnh Chau market (in Bạc Liêu province), killing 2 pregnant women, wounding 47 other inhabitants and damaging 3 houses.

- On March 22, 1973, at 07:40, the Communists fired a 122 m/m rocket into the Cambodian refugees'
center located 4 km West of Tần-Châu (in Châu-Dốc province), killing 33 refugees and wounding 65 others.

- In the night of April 9, 1973, Communist gunners slammed forty 82 m/m mortar rounds into a populated quarter in Củ-Chi sector (in Hậu-Nghĩa province) killing 2 militarymen, injuring 7 soldiers, 6 policemen and 5 civilians. These firings also destroyed completely 3 houses and damages 2 military vehicles.

A family, victim of communist indiscriminate shellings. On the night of Feb. 19, 1973, Mrs LE-THI-MAN's home at My-Thanh hamlet, Phung-Hiep district (Phong-Dinh province) was hit by several rounds of mortar which killed her 4 children and wounded 3 others.

The 4 coffins of Mrs. MAN's dead children.
On 29-1-73, at 8h, the Communists slammed 50 rounds of 82, 107 and 122 m/m mortar into a populated quarter at Dầu-Giây (Long-Kánh) destroying 64 houses.
Suối Cát Hamlet (Long-Khánh province) after a communist attack on the night of January 29, 1973.
Just 24 hours after the cease fire took effect, communist troops penetrated the prosperous and densely populated district of Dinh-Quan (Long-Khanh province) on January 29, 1973 and fired at the population with machine-guns: 24 civilians were killed, 45 wounded and 849 houses destroyed.
Communist shellings into Đồng Tâm Hamlet, Long Khánh Province on January 29, 1973
2/ TERRORISM

- On February 12, 1973, the communists set off an explosive charge in front of the Củ-Chi police station (Hậu-Nghĩa). The explosion killed 2 people and wounded 8 others.

- On February 14, 1973, at 17:20, the communists detonated a mine in the path of a passenger-bus at a point 10 km East of Tra-Cu district (Vinh Bình) wounding 2 passengers and damaging the bus.

- On February 24, 1973, a communist mine exploded in the Tri-Tôn elementary school (Châu Đốc province) killing six school-children, two teachers and one civilian.

- On March 2, 1973, at 08:00, the communists blew up a passenger-car on the local road of An-Dươc hamlet, An-Tinh village, Trang-Bảng district. The explosion killed 2 militarymen and wounded 6 female civilians.

- On March 8, 1973, communist terrorists detonated an explosive charge in the Châu-Hòa hamlet administrative office, at 6 km North-East of Sầm-Châu (in Kiên-Hòa), killing the hamlet-chief and injuring a Popular Selfdefence Force member.

- On March 10, 1973, some woodcutters triggered mines planted by the Communists at 10 km North-East of Phú Khuông district chief-town (in Tây-Ninh); 3 of them were wounded.

- On March 15, 1973, from 01:00 to 02:00, the communist hurled grenades into Xoài-Siêm pagoda 500m North of Trà-Cú district (Vinh Bỉnh province), killing 20 and wounding 88 Buddhist believers attending a religious ceremony.
- On March 20, 1973, at 20:40, communist terrorists hurled 2 grenades into a cafeteria located 8 km East of Quảng-Ngãi Province-town. The explosion killed 6 people and wounded 6 others.

- On March 29, 1973, at 21:00, the communists laid an explosive charge in a civilian house located 1 km South of Hiệu-Thuận (in Tây-Ninh) killing 3 residents and wounding 7 others.

- On April 3, 1973, at 22:00, communist terrorists tossed a grenade into an administrative office in Vĩnh Trạch Village, located 3 km South-East of Vĩnh Lợi (in Bạc Liêu). The grenade explosion killed the village deputy-chief and a hamlet chief and wounded 13 others.

- On April 10, 1973, a tri-lambretta exploded communist mine planted on the road between Tam-Long hamlet and Long-Thành Village, Vĩnh-Lợi district (in Bạc-Liệu). The explosion killed the driver, wounded 1 child and caused 50% damaged to the vehicle.

- On April 18, 1973, at 07:00, a group of workers repairing railways stepped on a mine planted by communists 7 km North-East of Hòa-Da district town (Bình-Thuận). The explosion killed 2 workers and wounded 5 others.

- On April 19, 1973, communist terrorists laid an explosive charge in a tavern located 3 km South of Cai-Lậy district town (Đình-Tường province). The explosion killed 1 civilian and wounded 3 others.

- On April 22, 1973, at 21:10, communist terrorists tossed an explosive charge into a crowd attending an artistic show at Phước-Thiên hamlet, located 6 km North-West of Bửu-Sơn (Ninh-Thuận province). The explosion killed 12 civilians and wounded 81 others.
3/- SABOTAGE

- On March 4, 1973, the communists blew up the Cái-Sán bridge on inter-provincial road 31, 5 km South West of Vi-Thành (in Chuồng-Thiên).

- On March 8, 1973, the Communists blasted a culvert set up on the Saigon - Long Khánh railway, 10 km West of Xuân Lộc.

- On March 27, 1973, the Communists mined a culvert 4 km South-South-West of Cà Mau province town (in An-Xuyên). The explosion destroyed the culvert.
An ICCS investigation team on the way to the site of the train derailed by communist explosive at Phu-Yên on March 21, 1973

An ICCS officer looked on as a rescue team was around the train derailed by communist explosive at Phu-Yên on March 21, 1973.
A civilian car was badly hit by the explosion of a mine set off by the communists at Thao-Lang hamlet on March 4, 1973.

The owner of the car and its driver were found dead on the road.
An ICCS team making investigation on this murderous incident.
4/- KIDNAPPINGS

- On February 14, 1973, at 17:00, the communists infiltrated a hamlet in Thử-Đức (Gia-Đình province) and kidnapped the deputy chief of the Long-Trương Popular self-defence forces.

- On February 19, 1973, at 02:00, 12 teenagers were abducted by the communists at Trảng Bàng (Hậu-Nghĩa province).

- In the night of February 21, 1973, 7 monks of the Quan-Âm pagoda at Đức Hòa (Hậu-Nghĩa province), were kidnapped by the communists.

- In the night of February 26, 1973, the communists infiltrated 2 villages in Long Khánh province and abducted 36 farmers.

- In the night of March 31, 1973, the communists burst into Quang Son hamlet near Ban-Mê-Thuột (Darlac province) and abducted 36 inhabitants.

- In the night of April 9, 1973, the communists kidnapped 10 young school children from Tấn-An-Thi hamlet, Tấn-Thạch village, Trực-Giang district (in Kiến-Hòa).
5/- ASSASSINATIONS

- Mr. CAO VAN NANG, representative of the Viet-Nam Labor Confederation at Vĩnh-Bình and Vice-President of Viet-Nam Farmers' Federation, was murdered on February 22, 1973 while he was in the street.

- On February 23, 1973, at 15:30, communist terrorists sneaked into Hòa-Yên hamlet, at 4 km South-West of Đại-Lộc (in Quảng Nam) and murdered the deputy-hamlet chief.

- On February 28, 1973, at 20:45, the communists burst into Tân-Thuận hamlet, Hòa-Tân village, Đức-Tôn district (in SaDEC province) and murdered the hamlet-chief, Nguyễn văn Ba.

- In the afternoon of March 8, 1973, the communists sneaked into Lộc-Khê hamlet (in Hậu-Nghiên province) and murdered 3 inhabitants of the hamlet.

- On March 24, 1973, at 14:00, communist terrorists infiltrated into Lộc-Khê hamlet, Gia-Lộc village, Trảng Bàng district (Hậu-Nghiên province) and murdered the hamlet-chief, Nguyễn văn Riêm.