Thieu's Democracy Party has been winning most of the village council elections. The elections, which are being held only in Saigon-controlled areas of South Vietnam, will not be completed until December. Opposition political leaders have complained of voter intimidation by Democracy Party supporters. According to the Post article,

"The consistency with which the Democracy Party has won and its amazing success in defeating long-time, well-known office holders lend credence to some of the opposition's complaints."

An American civilian advisor reported: "There were two competitors for 50 percent of the contested council positions, and but one candidate for the other half."

Elections have been delayed "because of the reluctance of able people in some areas to serve as candidates," wrote Samuel B. Thomsen, acting principal officer in Military Region I.

Another advisor wrote that "Voter turnout is out of proportion to the observed general low level of popular support in the elections. Turnout is influenced by the necessity of possessing a completed ballot stub in order to travel and do business." (All of the above quotes are from the Post article.) (W. Post, 8/3/73)

Only four slates will be competing in the Senate election on August 26, when two slates of candidates will be chosen to take seats in the National Assembly in Saigon.

According to the Times report,

"The campaigns for election to South Vietnam's Senate officially opened today without any senatorial candidate in the running who opposes President Nguyen Van Thieu."

(NYT, 8/7/73)

A record 92% of the seven million registered voters of South Vietnam turned out to elect two pro-Thieu slates to office, thus assuring Thieu firm control of the Senate. The Senate has been the only institution to oppose Thieu on important issues. According to the Times:

"A tour of polling places in Saigon and in villages south of the capital found citizens voting without much enthusiasm. When asked, people often volunteered that they had come to the polls to get their election cards stamped; an unstamped
election card can mean trouble with the police.” (NYT, 8/27/73)

45☆The two pro-Thieu slates elected to Saigon’s Senate, representing Thieu’s Democracy party and the pro-Thieu “White Elephant” group, cut the opposition to 15 seats in the 61-seat body. The two slates won 9.5 million out of the 11.5 million votes cast. (NYT, 8/28/73)

46☆Three dissident labor leaders were sentenced to 18 months in prison by a military court in Saigon. The three are accused of supporting a short-lived railroad strike. According to the Times, “The Vietnamese Confederation of Labor, the equivalent of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations, has been rapidly losing influence, particularly under pressure from Mr. Thieu’s newly organized Democracy party. Several prominent labor leaders have switched to the party.” (NYT, 9/4/73)

47☆President Thieu’s non-Communist critics in South Vietnam—the so-called “third force”—contend that “The Government manipulates and censors the press, making it virtually impossible for opposition views to be heard by the public.”

Many neutrals are pinning their hopes on the Paris peace accords, which guarantee both third-force and communist elements a place in elections. At the same time, the anti-communist third force elements fear that Thieu’s uncompromising policies will leave people no other choice but the Communists, in the absence of an organized third element.

Anti-Thieu politicians despair of participating in the “election frauds” run by the Saigon government. According to the Times, “Many politicians complain that the election machinery—in which a candidate can be excluded from the ballot on the basis of an unconfirmed police report on his activities—effectively bars powerful opposition. ‘We have not been willing to be accomplices to Mr. Thieu in his election frauds,’ Mr. Tuyen [an opposition legislator] said. He charged that ballot boxes were stuffed. In recent
village elections, he added, an army battalion was moved from village to village to cast votes. 'We lost many, many village committee elections that way.'" (NYT, 9/15/73)

48 ★ Rumors have been flying that Bao Dai, the former Emperor of Vietnam, may return from Paris to play a conciliatory role between Thieu and the PRG. Speculation is that Thieu is behind the rumors, in an attempt to divide the followers of neutralist leader Gen. Minh. (NYT, 9/30/73)

49 ★ PRG State Minister Nguyen Van Hieu walked out of the Paris peace talks, protesting Saigon's "continuous and flagrant violation" of the cease-fire agreement. (NYT, 10/5/73)

50 ★ Mrs. Ngo Ba Thanh, an anit-Thieu lawyer imprisoned for two years, has been freed. Mrs. Thanh has since been trying to stir up and consolidate neutralist elements. Mrs. Thanh recently denounced President Thieu as "illiterate, disrespectful, and irresponsible." Thieu reacted; the Sun reports:

   One week later, Mrs. Thanh says she refused to appear in court, despite an official summons, because she does not 'recognize the Thieu administration as the legitimate government of South Vietnam.'"

While Mrs. Thanh and other neutralists are interested in opposing Thieu by supporting the Paris accords, other opposition groups are attempting to oppose Thieu within the rules established last December, governing political parties. The rules are very stringent, requiring that each party enroll 5% or more of the registered voters in at least half the provinces, and that each party control at least 20% of all seats in the National Assembly. Since the Senate elections in August, several opposition groups have formed, but they accuse each other of being controlled by the government. None of the new groups include the Buddhists. (Balt. Sun, 11/2/73)

51 ★ Responding to reporters' questions on Mrs. Ngo Ba Thanh's request to be classified among third elements, Saigon spokesman Bui Bao Truc declared that there is no third element in South Vietnamese politics. His rationale: if they
were "neutral," the third force elements would have criticized Communist violations of the Paris agreement. (Foreign Broadcast Info. Service, 11/9/73)

52 Saigon spokesman Bui Bao Truc said that Vietnamese neutralists in Paris have no right to be concerned about democracy in South Vietnam because these neutralists had contributed nothing to the struggle for democracy in South Vietnam. (F.B.I.S., 11/9/73)

53 Mrs. Ngo Ba Thanh, advocate of third force politics in South Vietnam, says that "By themselves, the government and the Communists cannot escape the vicious circle of war. The Third Force is needed to open new directions." According to the news article, "The government's reply is that a Third Force, in an open political market, would eventually succumb to the wily Communists." (Chicago Tribune, 11/18/73)

54 The Post reports,

"As if on cue, the inhabitants of Thanthuy's moldering shanties come out to plead with their unexpected visitors: We are hungry. This land is poor. We want to go back to our villages. Please ask the government to let us go home."

Home for the villagers is two-thirds of a mile away, towards the sea coast. Their village was burned down by Americans four years ago, and the Saigon government moved the 2,267 villagers to a treeless sandspit closer to the road, to keep them under control. They live in a barbed wire compound, with no school, pagoda, or market.

According to the Post report,

"On the pacification charts, this is listed as a village that the government controls, but it is the kind of control that jailers have over prisoners, as local officials admit, and not altogether effective."

The Post quotes the Chief of the district of Thanthuy to say:

"These people all have relatives in the Vietcong, so the government have no confidence in them. That is one of four villages where we have to have special security measures. We have to arrest people from time to time because we suspect they are providing food to the enemy." (W. Post, 11/23/73)
Nearly 80,000 refugees have been resettled from the Danang refugee camps to the front lines of northernmost Quangtri Province, which is largely controlled by the PRG and North Vietnam. The Sun reports:

"Critics of the plan say the refugees are being sent back into this dangerous border province for military and economic, rather than humanitarian, purposes.

According to these critics, the refugees, who are armed and trained as 'local defense forces', are sent home at great risk, to strengthen the government's control of otherwise 'insecure' areas." (Baltimore Sun, 12/12/73)

CSM reports "There are signs of disillusionment among American aid officials here over the way the U.S. and Saigon governments are handling the Vietnam refugee problem . . . "The Saigon government, with U.S. support, is moving refugees to insecure areas in an effort to consolidate and expand its territorial control."

The refugee program was criticized by two former Agency for International Development (AID) officials who resigned because of their misgivings over the program.

The news article reports,

"In a recent letter to a staff member of the U.S. senate subcommittee investigating refugee problems, Mr. [Edward L.] Block [one of the former AID officials] described the U.S. aid-funded relief and rehabilitation program here as a 'massive bonanza for the government of Vietnam, a disaster for the refugees, and an insult' to the American people . . . 

"If an area has poor soil, few water resources, and the government would like to make it a buffer zone, then the land is available for refugee resettlement', he said."

The Monitor article cites further examples of Mr. Block's criticisms:

"He said he was convinced that very high-level Vietnamese officials were profiting from the aid supposedly going to 'ghost refugees'."

In addition, Mr. Block charged:

"Higher-level U.S. officials routinely suppressed critical reports coming from Americans working in the field, he said." (Christian Science Monitor, 12/24/73)

The Post reports the following statement by Nguyen
Van Thieu:

“There will be no general election in South Vietnam as called for by the Paris cease-fire agreement, President Nguyen Van Thieu said last night.” The Post quotes Thieu as saying:

“I assert that there will be no general election, and I am sure peace is not coming because the Communists want only to weaken South Vietnam day by day and then try to conquer it in a general offensive.”

The Post also reports that “Last night’s speech . . . also contained a broad attack against the so-called ‘third force’—apparently indicating wariness of possible moves for some form of coalition government.” (W. Post, 12/30/73)

Part II B: US-GVN Violations of Paris Agreement Provisions for a Military Ceasefire

Jan. 28-Dec. 31, 1973

NOTES: 1. Numbered violations include those western journalists have observed or had officially reported to them.

2. Violations in italics are those claimed by the PRG or DRV taken seriously enough by the western press to be reported.

3. Violations on freedom of press have also been noted in this section, since most pertain to reporting of US-GVN military violations.

4. Each violation is followed by the source of the charge and references, which are followed by the number(s) of the specific cease-fire agreement articles violated.

1☆South Vietnamese Mekong Delta officials instructed to shoot NLF suspects on sight and bury body. (Unidentified U.S. officials, W. Post, 1/27/73—Lawrence Sterne • 11,3)

2☆South Vietnames air strike against Trang Bang. (Robert Shaplen, New Yorker 2/24/73; and Charles Mohr, NYT, 1/29/73 • 2,3)

3☆ARVN military ground operational at Phong An. (Peter Osnos, W. Post 1/29/73; and G. Whitney, NYT, 1/29/73 • 2,3)

4☆ARVN artillery and air strikes at Cua Viet. (R. Blystone, Dallas Morning News 1/29/73; AP • 2,3)
5 ARVN attack and capture of Tay Ninh aided by air strikes. (A. Isaacs, Baltimore Sun 1/31/73, Reuters, W. Post 1/28/73 • 2,3)
6 ARVN ground attack against An Hoa. (P. Kann, Wall Street Journal 1/29/73 • 2,3)
7 ARVN attacks against NLF posts on Highway 1. (A. Isaacs, Baltimore Sun, 1/31/73 • 2,3)
8 Thuathien Province Chief and Police harass U.S. correspondents at Quang Tri. (Peter Osnos, W. Post 1/29/73 and C. Whitney, NYT 1/29/73 • 11)
9 Six U.S. Newpersons arrested at Tansonhut by South Vietnamese police. (Washington Post, 1/29/73 • 11)

U.S. jets rocket village on central coast. PRG [L.A. Times, 2/4/73] • 2

10 “If the flags go up, we go in and tear them down, and if they resist, we kill them.” (Unidentified South Vietnamese Official, P. Kann, Wall Street Journal 1/29/73 • 11,3)
11 “If a stranger enters your village, shoot him in the head.” (President Thieu, Time, 2/5/73 • 11,3)
12 “anyone who comes into government held areas to visit relatives or ‘take a bowl of soup’ will be fired upon.” (President Thieu, W. Post, 1/28/73, T.W. Lippman • 11,3)
13 Residents of government areas are not allowed out of government (Saigon) zones. (President Thieu, W. Post, 1/28/73, T.W. Lippman • 11)
14 ARVN ground operation at Hoa Long. (D. Webster, CBS News 1/29/73; J. Foisie, L.A. Times, 1/30/73 • 2,3)
15 CBS News prevented by ARVN M.P.'s from filming an ARVN assault. (D. Webster, CBS News 1/29/73 • 2,3)
16 ARVN military operation to open road controlled by PRG, to Tayninh. (J. Foisie, L.A. Times, 1/30/73 • 2,3)
17 ARVN attacks on Buichi and Zomsuoi, aided by air strikes (Thomas Lippman, W. Post 1/30/73 • 2,3)
18 ARVN attacks on roads and hamlets, Route 1 and 22 miles N.W. of Saigon. (C. Mohr, NYT 1/30/73; P. Kann, Wall Street Journal 1/31/73 • 2,3)
19 ARVN artillery shelling of PRG hamlet. (J. Leslie, L.A. Times 1/30/73 • 2,3)
20 Twenty foreign correspondents arrested by South Vietnamese at Tansonnhut since January 28, 1973. (J. Leslie,
21☆Foreign correspondent instructed that he would be shot unless he stopped photographing ARVN troops. (J. Treaster, NYT 2/1/73 • 11)

“Saigon administration continues to mobilize large armed forces, coordinated with aircraft, tanks and artillery to launch nibbling operations.” [North Vietnam [W. Post, 1/30/73] • 2,3]

22☆Saigon Government claims to have captured 177 PRG hamlets after the cease-fire. (Unidentified Saigon Official, W. Post 2/2/73 • 2,3)
23☆ARVN military operation to capture Sahuyn. (W. Post 2/8/73 • 2,3)
24☆South Vietnamese militia move on Phuocanhh. (Peter Osnos, W. Post 2/6/73; P. Kann, Wall Street Journal 2/6/73 • 2,3)
25☆South Vietnamese release 10,000 “new life cadre” members not to PRG but into Saigon streets. (T. Lippman, W. Post, 2/8/73; NYT 2/6/73 • 8—Protocol on Prisoners, Articles 1,7)
26☆South Vietnamese Air strikes against Binh Phu followed by ARVN military operations. (F. Davis, CBS News 2/7/73 • 2,3)
27☆CBS News prevented from filming Binh Phu battle. (CBS News 2/7/73 • 11)
28☆American newsmen detained at Tan Son Nhut, never officially released. (J. Galloway, UPI Editor and Publisher, 2/10/73 • 11)
29☆South Vietnamese helicopter attack against PRG village. (NYT 2/11/73 • 11)
30☆ARVN attack against PRG village (P. Hazelehurst, London Times and Philadelphia Bulletin 2/11/73 • 2,3)

ARVN making military preparations to attack PRG held areas. [PRG, W. Post, 2/10/73 • 2,3]

31☆Government-inspired crowd throws rocks at JMC truce team at Banmethuot. (W. Post, 2/10/73 • 16—Protocol on JMC, Article 16)
32☆ARVN military operations at Pleiku and Kontum (C.
North Vietnamese and PRG delegates to JMC isolated and mistreated by Saigon Government [North Vietnam, W. Post 2/11/73 • 16 and Protocol on JMC, Article 16]

South Vietnamese air, ground, and naval operations averaging 100 per day. [PRG, Vietnamese Women’s Union 2/10/73 • Article 16]

33☆ U.S. Huey helicopters signed over to South Vietnamese. (P. Kann, Wall Street Journal 2/12/73 • 6)

North Vietnamese and PRG delegates to JMC mistreated and under house arrest by South Vietnamese forces. [PRG, L.A. Times 2/12/73, J. Leslie • 16 and Protocol on JMC, Article 16]

34☆ ARVN troops attacking in 5 north provinces to capture PRG areas. (W. Post 2/14/73 • 2,3)
35☆ NBC correspondents “pummelled, pushed, shoved and threatened with a weapon” by South Vietnamese militia. (NBC, W. Post 2/17/73 • 11)
36☆ Western correspondents refused entry to Tan Son Nhut by South Vietnamese militia. (T. Lippman, W. Post 2/16/73 • 11)

U.S. refuses to dismantle bases. [Nhan Dan - North Vietnamese newspaper 2/16/73, W. Post 2/16/73 • 3]

37☆ Fifty civilians attack North Vietnamese delegates to JMC at Hue. (W. Post 2/16/73 • 16,17)
38☆ Government-inspired civilians surrounded North Vietnamese aircraft at Phucat and shouted insults. (W. Post 2/16/73 • 16,17)
39☆ Three thousand refugees allowed to raid North Vietnamese JMC headquarters at Chulai. (W. Post 2/16/73 • 16, 17)
40☆ ARVN attack Cua Viet base. (Sylvan Fox, NYT 2/17/73 • 2,3)
41☆ Government-inspired anti-PRG demonstration by 7,500 persons in Phucuung. (W. Post 2/17/73 • 11)
42 ☆ Western correspondent refused entry to JMC camp at My Tho. (H. Kann, NYT 2/17/73 • 16,17,11)

43 ☆ South Vietnamese troops shell My Tho. (H. Kann, NYT 2/17/73 • 2,3)

44 ☆ South Vietnamese bombers seen by ICCS at Phan Thieh. (J. Woodruff, Baltimore Sun 2/16/73 • 2,3)

Newsblackouts, rumors, beatings, movements and reclassifications of Con Son Island prisoners. [8,000 Con Son Prisoners Liberation News Service 2/17/73 • 8 and Protocol on Prisoners, Articles 1,7]

45 ☆ 100 to 200 air strikes per day by South Vietnamese Air Force. (South Vietnamese spokesperson, NYT 2/18/73; Sylvan Fox • 2,3)

South Vietnamese nibbling operations through terrorist raids consisting “serious systematic deliberate violations.” [PRG, NYT 2/18/73 • 2,3]

46 ☆ Under Thieu South Vietnam is a “garrison state” more restrictive than before the ceasefire. (T.W. Lippman, W. Post 2/18/73 • 11)

47 ☆ “Vietnamese Air Force pilots in Mekong Delta have orders to strafe and bomb any village flying Viet Cong flags.” (Unidentified U.S. official, Newsweek 2/19/73 • 2,3)

48 ☆ Saigon Government prepared to move refugees into South Vietnamese territory, and 25,000 refugees from Binh Dinh “will not be allowed to return.” (“Informed” U.S. Sources, NYT 2/19/73; H. Kann • 11)

49 ☆ 100 to 200 tactical air sorties per day by South Vietnamese Air Force. (Unidentified Saigon official, NYT 2/19/73, Sylvan Fox • 2,3)

50 ☆ 60,000 refugees generated by Saigon Government since January 27, 1973 and 200,000 persons harmed by South Vietnamese military action. (Unidentified U.S. AID official, L.A. Times 2/21/73, J. Leslie • 11)

51 ☆ ARVN destroys hamlet of An Loi Tan; “An Loi Tan doesn’t exist anymore.” (B. Kramer, Wall Street Journal 2/21/73, B. Kramer • 2,3)

2,000 Saigon Government violations between 1/27/73-
2/20/73 with 500 "police operations" and "thousands of arrests." [North Vietnam, NYT 2/21/73 • 2,3,11]

52☆ French journalist advised by Saigon Government that he cannot return to South Vietnam. (Associated Press, W. Post 2/28/73 • 11)

53☆ South Vietnamese officials in central provinces not given orders to stop fighting. (U.S. and Saigon officers, NYT 2/22/73, Jr. Treaster • 2,3)

54☆ "Saigon's army has begun to level such designated areas with artillery and air strikes." (Newsweek 2/26/73 • 2,3)

55☆ "South Vietnamese government troops, unwilling to accept Communist advances just before the ceasefire by suicide missions, went on the peacetime offensive to get more land." (Evans and Novak, W. Post 2/22/73 • 2,3)

56☆ ARVN military operation against Sahuynh. (H.D.W. Greenway, W. Post 2/22/73 • 2,3)

57☆ ARVN military operations on Route 14, Pleiku to Kantum "which the Government (Saigon) freely conceded had been closed at the time of the ceasefire but now says it has just reopened." (NYT 2/24/73 • 2,3)

58☆ Kien Hoa province chief (South Vietnamese) building outposts in a PRG controlled area. (C. Mohr, NYT 2/25/73 • 2,3)

59☆ Ron Nessen of NBC told by Saigon Government that his visa would not be renewed. (Associated Press, W. Post 2/28/73 • 11)

60☆ Saigon Government requiring villagers at Binh Tranh to fill out declarations of loyalty. (C. Mohr, NYT 2/28/73 • 11)

61☆ Saigon police detained and confiscated film and credentials of Canadian photographer taking pictures of Canadian truce observers attending church. (Associated Press, W. Post 2/28/73 • 11)

62☆ Government-inspired mobs allowed to force their way into JMC compounds in Danang.

63☆ "The Vietnamese Government is determined to return to the status quo ante and they're doing it." (Sylvan Fox, NYT 2/28/73 • 2,3)

Four members of PRG delegation to JMC ambushed and killed by ARVN forces. [PRG, NYT 3/1/73 • Protocol on JMC, Articles 16,17]
64☆ "The North Vietnamese complaints about their living conditions and restricted movements are verified by everything newsmen in South Vietnam have been able to see about their lives here." (J. Woodruff, Baltimore Sun 2/28/73 • Protocol on JMC, Articles 16,17)

65☆ "Repeated and open violations of the ceasefire have taken place for a month. Some can be attributed to all Vietnamese parties, but the major causes have included the fact that the South Vietnamese government has continued to fight to regain all positions it had just before the ceasefire and that it has continued to seek and attack Communist units wherever it could find them." (C. Mohr, NYT 2/28/73 • 2,3)

66☆ "If anything, the South Vietnamese government has become more restrictive since the agreement took effect, rather than less." (Peter Osnos, W. Post 3/1/73 • 3,11)

67☆ "Commercial suppliers of fuel to the South Vietnamese Air Force say that consumption by government war planes is as great as before the ceasefire, even though all bombing missions are supposed to have ended." and "U.S. officials in one important province northwest of Saigon said last weekend that South Vietnamese air strikes there were still routine." (Peter Osnos, W. Post 3/1/73 • 3)

68☆ "According to U.S. officials in at least one province, government commanders are still ordering their troops to shoot communists on sight" and "in the northern military region alone, government troops have been firing an average of 35,000 rounds a day." (Peter Osnos, W. Post 3/1/73 • 2,3,11)

U.S. bases, like Tansonnhut Air base, not dismantled. Americans seen still manning base. [PRG and DRV delegates to JMC, W. Post 3/4/73, Thomas Lippman • 5,6 and Protocol on Ceasefire, Article 9]

69☆ Expulsion of U.S. correspondents, Don Davis of UPI and Ron Nesson of NBC, by Saigon government (U.S. Embassy, W. Post 3/10/73 • 11)

70☆ South Vietnam airforce police detain, deprive of press accreditation cards, and deny access to PRG to 4 U.S. correspondents. (4 correspondents involved, NYT 3/10/73 • 11)
not represented at local truce sites because of "refusal of the Government to permit Vietcong officers in combat areas close to the team sites to come in under a flag of truce." In one Mekong delta province, an informed source said, "the Vietcong gave a pickup site for their delegates—and right away the province chief moved in troops to occupy the area. Nothing has happened since." (Charles Mohr, NYT 3/21/73 • 2,3 and Protocol on JMC, Article 16)

46,188 violations of the ceasefire as of March 10, 1973, by ARVN forces; 19,410 ground attacks, 2,642 air attacks, remaining mortar attacks in which total of 974,630 shells were fired. [Lt. Gen. Tran Van Tra, chief PRG delegate to JMC, W. Post 3/18/73, Thomas Lippman • numerous]

Saigon forces are implementing a plan to take territory controlled by the PRG on or just before the ceasefire took effect. (Undisclosed U.S. intelligence officials, NYT 3/18/73, J.B. Treaster • numerous)

"A South Vietnamese spokesman in Pleiku ... acknowledged the use of air power in the battle to retake the village, even though the top command stopped reporting combat air strikes several weeks ago." (GVN spokesman, Baltimore Sun 3/20/73, Arnold Isaacs • 2,3)

A major ARVN attack at Rach Gap with more than a regiment of troops supported by tanks, aircraft, and artillery. (Saigon government spokesman, NYT 3/22/73, Sylvan Fox • 2,3)

Relations between Saigon authorities and reporters have never been good," and the latest Saigon affront was "body searches" and "interrogations" of reporters. "President Thieu's regime wants to make the covering of this conflict as difficult as possible." (Peter Osnos, W. Post 3/25/73 • 11)

The U.S. is guilty of: failure to dismantle military bases; infiltrating 10,000 military men disguised as civilians, continuing reconnaissance flights over North Vietnam and PRG territories; aiding Saigon's imprisonment into concentration camps of thousands of Vietnamese living in Saigon controlled zones; and of giving out incomplete lists of Vietcong military prisoners. In addition, the Saigon
government has been releasing none of the civilian prisoners covered by the Paris Accords. [Nhan Dan - DRV newspaper, W. Post 3/30/73, Lee Lescaze • 2,4,5,6,7]

76 * “He (Thieu) has put pressure on Communist enclaves, and even Communist cease-fire officials, in ways bound to provoke military retaliation—if only in self-defense.” (Joseph Kraft, W. Post 4/1/73 • 2,3)

77 * “South Vietnamese troops have pushed across the Cambodian border for the first time since a Vietnamese cease-fire went into effect two and a half months ago.” (NYT 4/16/73, AP • 20)

78 * U.S. suspension of all mine-clearing operations along the coast of North Vietnam and the recall of the chief American official in the Paris negotiations on possible reconstruction aid to the North. (U.S. Government, NYT 4/20/73 • 2,21)

79 * U.S. “selective” breaches of the Vietnam cease-fire accord. (Unidentified U.S. official, W. Post 4/21/73 • 2,3,4)

80 * U.S. military reconnaissance of North Vietnam. (U.S. official Bray • 2,3,4)

U.S. military reconnaissance flights over North Vietnam. (U.S. State and Defense Dept. Officials (NYT 4/21/73 • 2,3,4)

81 * “The Administration (U.S.) has not denied that South Vietnam has committed violations of the cease-fire accord.” (NYT 4/21/73 • 2,3)

The U.S. “has left behind over 10,000 military personnel disguised as civilian advisers.” U.S. officials acknowledge “less than 9,000 civilian personnel most of whom are filling logistics and maintenance functions for the South Vietnamese Army.” [North Vietnam, NYT 4/25/73 • 5]

82 * The U.S. promised to stop sending military supplies except to replace existing stocks. But it built up such huge arsenals in the crash delivery program late last year that “replacement” has turned out to mean full provision of everything that the Saigon force can use and then some.” (NYT 4/27/73 • 7)

83 * U.S. acknowledgement of suspension of mine-sweeping operations in North Vietnamese waters and resumption of military reconnaissance flights over North Vietnam.
The South Vietnamese are trying to chew away at the Communist positions.” (Chicago Tribune 4/29/73 • 2,3)

“Instead, the Saigon government has pressed hard on the Communist forces in South Vietnam, recapturing many of the areas which it seized just before the cease-fire went into effect, and circumscribing and obstructing the Communist side in its operations throughout South Vietnam in the last 3 months. Privately, some very authoritative South Vietnamese sources concede just that. Moreover, they have said, also in private, that they are determined to “provoke and harass” the Communist side to the maximum extent possible politically, by pressing on the Vietcong various “elections offers” which the Communist side dares not accept. (Entire Peace Agreement)

U.S. halt of minesweeping in Haiphong Harbor. (Newsweek 5/7/73 • 2)

Two F-4 phantom jets rocketed and strafed Loc Ninh, “killing and injuring: 34 persons, all civilians.” [PRG spokesman Truong Nam, AP 5/14/73 in NYT; 5/14/73, W. Post • 2,3,4]

Postponement of a planned ICCS investigation because Saigon government refused to provide a PRG liaison team with transportation and a guarantee of safety. (Saigon officials, NYT 5/20, AP dispatch • Protocol on ICCS, Articles 2,10,13)

U.S. officials do not deny that U.S. carrying out illegal reconnaissance flights over DRV. (Unidentified Pentagon officials, Christian Science Monitor, May 22, 1973 • 2,3,4)

ARVN soldiers continue to resettle villages by force, as well as extorting money and good from civilians, demanding payment for passage on rural roads, and engaging in trade. (U.S. classified documents, W. Post 5/28/73, J. Leslie • 11)

Selection of Cambodian bombing targets from South Vietnam. (Wall Street Journal 6/1/73, P. 1, 20 • 4,20)

U.S. operatives “pressing South Vietnamese for preferential bombing targets; encouraging South Vietnamese commanders to engage in cross-border intelligence collection, and working closely with South Vietnamese Army intelligence officers to try to plot potential cross-border
targets." (Wall Street Journal 6/1/73, P. 1, 20 - U.S. Ambassador, Charles C. Whitehouse, exposed visits to South Vietnamese commanders by U.S. military officers • 4,20)

Three flights of U.S. F-4 Phantom fighter-bombers attacked a PRG entry point at Xom Mat. [PRG, NYT, 6/1/73, P. 7 • 2,3]

91 • “the fault for the failures of the cease-fire rests far more with our ally in Saigon than with our adversary.” (U.S. Senator George McGovern, NYT 6/2/73, P. 6 • Entire Peace Agreement)

92 • “... South Vietnamese army was firing sometimes twenty times as much ammunition as its Communist opponents.” ARVN also “expending vast quantities of artillery fire for harassment and interdiction” (which is firing without any specific target, therefore ARVN initiated.) (Unidentified U.S. experts, W. Post 6/4/73, P. A-1, 20, T.W. Lippman • 2,3)

93 • Half dozen scattered attacks in Binh Dinh Province killing 22 PRG soldiers. (Lt. Col. Le Trung Hien, ARVN spokesperson, PI 6/5/73, P. 5-B • 2,3)

ARVN attacks and “land-grabbing” along Route 4 in the Mekong Delta. [PRG, NYT 6/6/73, P. 11 • 2,3]

94 • ARVN attacks between Cai Lay and Cac Be in the Delta area, killing 25 PRG soldiers. (ARVN field reports, NYT 6/7/73, P. 3 • 2,3)

South Vietnamese pilot’s admission of 27 bombing raids since the cease-fire. [PRG delegation to JMC, NYT 6/8/73, P. 3 • 2,3]

“regiment-sized land-grabbing operations” by ARVN along Route 13, 30 miles north of Saigon. [PRG delegation to JMC, W. Post 6/9/73, P. A-22 • 2,3]

95 • ARVN’s 56th Division attacked Lai-Khe in an attempt to open Route 13 leading to An Loc. (Unidentified “informed American officials,” NYT 6/10/73, P. 3 • 2,3)

96 • Hundreds of PRG-controlled villages recaptured by
ARVN after the Paris peace-accords. (Unidentified “informed American officials,” NYT 6/10/73, P. 3 • 2,3)

97☆South Vietnamese artillery fire in northern Binh-duong Province on road from Saigon to Anloc. (W. Post 6/16/73, P. A-7 • 2,3,20)

98☆ARVN prevented newsmen from covering Binh-Duong battle. (W. Post 6/16/73, P. A-7 • 11)

99☆Newsmen found ARVN officers in the field who had not received cease fire orders; and Lt. Col. Le Trung Hien stated that “Saigon will not honor a provision” regarding supply and medical care for the armed forces. (W. Post 6/16/73, P. A-7 • Protocol on Cease-Fire, Article 1)

100☆ARVN field commanders not instructed to meet with PRGfield commanders. (Lt. Col. Le Trung Hien, Saigon spokesperson, NYT 6/16/73, P. 1, 4 • 2,3)

101☆ARVN military operations in Dinh Tuong Province in the Delta and along Route 13 near An Loc. (Unidentified American officials, NYT 6/16/73, P. 1, 4 • 2,3)

102☆On Route 13 toward Lai Khe, American newsmen reported seeing South Vietnamese air strikes and artillery fire but were stopped by ARVN MPs from getting to the actual battle area. (NYT 6/16/73, P. 1, 4 • 2,3,11)

103☆Saigon “uncooperative” in realizing local agreements between opposing field commanders. (Flora Lewis, NYT 6/17/73, P. 3 - Flora Lewis • Protocol on Cease-Fire, Article 4)

ARVN conducted a 1,500-shell barrage of 2 PRG villages just north of Saigon followed by an infantry attack in the first hour of the cease-fire. [Radio Hanoi, Boston Globe 6/17/73, P. 36 • 2,3]

104☆U.S. newsmen blocked by South Vietnamese police from traveling up route 13 to PRG villages under attack by ARVN. (W. Post 6/17/73 • 11)

“Saigon’s forces had repeatedly attacked Communist-controlled territory with artillery and fighter-bombers.” [Capt. Phung Nam, PRG spokesperson, NYT 6/18/73, P. 9 • 2,3]
Fighting near Kontum “appeared to have been the result of a South Vietnamese probing operation.”
(Unidentified U.S. sources, NYT 6/18/73, P. 9 • 2,3)

**ARVN Military operations in the Central Highlands and South of Danang.** Saigon command had not notified its troops of the June 13 communique strengthening the cease-fire. [Co. Vo Dang Giang, PRG spokesperson, W. Post 6/24/73, P. A-19 • 2,3]

**Much of the fighting in the delta has been touched off by Saigon Government troops sweeping through areas long held by the PRG.** (Unidentified “authoritative” Western sources, NYT 6/27/73, P. 9 - Joseph B. Treaster • 2,3)

**U.S. military reconnaissance flight over Dong Ho.** [North Vietnamese Foreign Ministry, NYT 7/27/73, P. 2; W. Post 7/27/73, P. A-10 • 2,3,4]

Saigon is “continuing its efforts in raiding operations, maintaining the unstable, half-war, half-peace state, producing a situation of constant tension in almost every region.” [General Tuan, chief PRG delegate, W. Post 7/27/73, T.W. Lippman • 2,3]

**ARVN military operations over Route 14 which runs past Phu Giao.** (NYT 7/29/73, P. 20 and W. Post 7/29/73, P. A-15 • 2,3)

**U.S. continuance of aerial reconnaissance over North Vietnam and failure to implement minesweeping obligations.** [North Vietnamese Foreign Ministry, NYT 8/26/73, P. 51 • 2,3,4]

**ARVN artillery shelled a company of about 100 PRG soldiers assembling 12 miles west of Saigon.** (ARVN spokesperson, NYT 9/8/73, P. 3 • 2,3)

**ARVN plane attack against PRG tanks stationed at Le Minh camp.** (Saigon official, NYT 9/27/73, P. 6 • 2,3)

**Saigon officials and military commanders admitted using air strikes, naval gunfire, artillery, and elite troops to wage a sustained campaign to capture PRG territories in the**
northern districts of Binhdinh Province. Asked if the military campaign was a violation of the Paris peace agreement, ARVN Co. Tho replied, “Sure it is . . .” (ARVN Colonel Tho and undisclosed Saigon officials and military commanders, W. Post 9/30/73, P. A-13, Thomas W. Lippman) • 2,3)

111☆Three battalions of ARVN Regional Forces and 2 divisions of ARVN’s 25th Division attacked a PRG battalion near Thanh Duc. (ARVN field soldiers, NYT 10/3/73, P. 5, James M. Markham • 2,3)

112☆In the last 6 months after the January 27 cease-fire agreement, the U.S. provided 142,000 bombs, rockets, and flares and 13.8 million rounds of small arms ammunition to the South Vietnamese Air Force at a cost of $2 million dollars. The South Vietnamese Navy in the same time period (January to July) received 8,200 rounds of ammunition worth about $700,000 dollars. ARVN received the greatest quantity of ammunition but refused to divulge the overall dollar amount. Most of the Air Force’s ammunition “has been used in combat” indicating it “has been more active than has been reported.” “American officials concede that they are unable to verify in every case that equipment and ammunition for which replacement are sought have actually been destroyed or expended” as is required by the January 27 Paris cease fire agreement. (David K. Shipler, NYT 10/3/73, P. 4, D. K. Shipler • 4,7)

113☆A direct artillery hit of a “North Vietnamese” battalion near the Cambodian border by ARVN. (Saigon officials, W. Post 10/5/73, P. A-12 • 2,3)

114☆ARVN troops backed by planes attacked the PRG base at Le Minh. (W. Post 10/6/73, P. 2-10 • 2,3)

115☆U.S. use of its “aircraft to make an intrusion into the Democratic Republic of (North) Vietnam to reconnoiter a number of areas of Thanh Hoa Province.” (Phil. Inq. 10/18/73, P. 6-A • 2,3,4)

116☆“Much of the fighting in the military Region III, which envelopes Saigon, has been initiated by South Vietnamese commandeers . . . .” (James Markham, NYT 10/21/73, P. 3, J. Markham • 2,3)

117☆South Vietnamese planes and heavy artillery pounded PRG gunner positions at Lai Khe, 25 miles north of Saigon. The PRG accused ARVN of large-scale “land-grabbing operations” in the Central Highlands and Mekong Delta.
U.S. placement of 20,000 men; 500 aircraft; 600 tanks, 200 gunboats, 600 artillery pieces, and other heavy weapons in South Vietnam. [PRG, PI 10/31/73 • 4,7]

President Thieu has instructed his commanders to stage "preemptive strikes" against the PRG forces. The South Vietnamese Air Force meanwhile has initiated attacks in Binh Dinh Province, regions north and northwest of Saigon, and Chau Doc Province. (President Thieu, NYT 11/1/73, P. 3, James M. Markham • 2,3)

"Thieu has ordered his forces to make preemptive strikes to forestall attacks, and field reports indicate the Saigon army is engaged in what the Vietcong call 'land-grabbing operations' in some areas." (Dennis Neeld, Chicago Tribune 11/4/73, P. 15, D. Neeld - AP • 2,3)

South Vietnamese forces have committed 271,125 truce violations since the January 28, 1973 cease-fire, including 32,852 "land-grabbing operations." [Co. Vo Dong Giang, Deputy Chief of PRG delegation to JMC, Boston Globe 11/4/73, UPI • 2,3]

"... Thieu has ordered his forces to conduct preemptive strikes, often of an overzealous nature. He has refused a partial demobilization of his million-strong army." (Jon Swain, The Sunday Times 11/4/73 • 2,3)

Saigon's "encroaching on many areas under Vietcong control in the provinces of Quang Nam, Quang Ngai, Binh Dinh, Kontum, Pleiku, and Quang Duc." [PRG delegation to JMC, NYT 11/5/73, P. 1 • 2,3]

South Vietnamese planes strafed and bombed North Vietnamese forces around two outposts near the Cambodian border. (James M. Markham, NYT 11/6/73, P. 3, J.M. Markham • 2,3)

"More than 50 South Vietnamese fighter-bombers blasted military targets around the Vietcong administrative capital of Loc Ninh." (Washington Star-News 11/8/73 - UPI • 2,3)
123☆"For every Communist violation of the cease-fire we shall punish them tenfold." (Saigon military spokesperson, Lt. Col. Le Trung Hien, W. Post 11/8/73, P. A-27 • 2,3)

South Vietnamese bombing of PRG town of Loc Ninh, killing 32 civilians and wounding 70; and destroying 167 houses. Three hundred South Vietnamese air strikes against PRG areas in Quang Duc Province. Journalists are banned by Saigon from Military Region 2 in South Vietnam. [Capt. Phuong Nam, PRG spokesperson, The Times 11/9/73, Victoria Brittain • 2,3,11]

124☆Fifty plane raid by South Vietnamese on PRG town of Loc Ninh. (Phil. Inq. Wire Services, PI 11/9/73; Also admitted by Saigon military spokesperson Lt. Col. Le Trung Hien • 2,3)

125☆"The South Vietnamese have officially admitted that they have broken the January ceasefire," including the air raid against the PRG town of Loc Ninh. (Stewart Dalby, London Observer 11/11/73 • Entire Peace Agreement)

126☆"Some of the evidence leads some usually pro-government sources to suspect that the South Vietnamese government, rather than the communists, might have started the fighting here (at Bu Prang and Bu Dong) last Sunday . . . the government might have been looking for a fight . . . suspicion was heightened when the government took the unusual measure of denying newsmen the standard letters of introduction required for trips to the front." (Interviews with ARVN soldiers, Baltimore Sun 11/11/73, Mathew Seiden • 2,3)

127☆Pentagon officials in Washington and Saigon reported denying information to Newsweek reporters about amount of arms U.S. has provided Saigon since the ceasefire. (Lloyd Norman, Ron Moreau, Newsweek 11/12/73 • 11)

128☆South Vietnamese strafing and bombing, with high explosive and gasoline bombs, of Lo Go, a PRG town, killing or wounding dozens of persons and blasting a half-mile-square complex containing a hospital. Saigon officials also admitted bombing within a mile of the PRG's "de facto" capital of Loc Ninh. (Philadelphia Inquirer 11/12/73, P. 3-A • 2,3)

129☆"Government bombers made more than 50 attacks on
the airstrip and other targets at Thien Ngon, a town in Communist territory 75 miles northwest of Saigon, military sources said today.” (Undisclosed Saigon Military Officials, St. Louis Post Dispatch 11/13/73; AP and London Times 11/14/73, P. 9 • 2,3)

130☆ “During our two weeks with the Viet Cong, we saw planes on bombing runs or heard the shelling every day and on several occasions had to scramble into bunkers in the middle of the night . . . Hoai Son is in an area that is firmly controlled by the PRG . . . Many times during our two weeks, we saw government airplanes on bombing missions . . . We saw, or heard, shelling every day . . .” (Ed Bradley, CBS News, November 14 and 16 • 2,3)

131☆ “South Vietnamese government planes carried out Friday their heaviest bombing raids since the January 28 ceasefire on the air strip at the former U.S. Green Beret camp at Katum, military sources said. Pilots report 127 sorties by F-5 jet fighters and propeller-driven A-1 Skyraiders in and around the now Communist-controlled Katum base 70 miles northwest of here near the Cambodian border.” (Washington Post 11/25/73 and St. Louis Post Dispatch 11/24/73, P. 2-A and Chicago Tribune 11/25/73 • 2,3)

132☆ “At the same time, the Saigon Government has launched continual attacks against Vietcong-controlled areas within what it regards as its territories.” (Newsweek 11/26/73, P. 56 • 2,3)

133☆ “. . . The South Vietnamese Air Force has been almost continuously active in the last two months . . . Today . . . the Vietcong spokesman displayed photographs that he said showed extensive damage to the Loc Ninh market, a hospital, a pagoda and a church, and numerous civilian casualties. . .” (James Markhan, NYT 11/25/73 • 2,3)

134☆ The Los Angeles Times reveals that U.S. photo reconnaissance planes from Thailand have been flying missions to check the accuracy of Saigon’s pilots. (A U.S. military officer in Thailand ‘with access to intelligence reports on South Vietnamese bombing raids’, LA Times 11/28/73 • 4)

135☆ ARVN military operation against PRG-controlled town of Kien Duc including artillery, 100 air strikes utilizing 500 pound bombs. (Associated Press, LA Times 12/10/73 • 2,3)

136☆ South Vietnamese warplanes bombarded a convoy of
trucks (58) moving along a jungle road near the Cambodian border 260 miles northeast of Saigon. (Post-Dispatch News Services, St. Louis Post-Dispatch 12/14/73 • 2,3)

137☆“For the second straight day, South Vietnamese bombers attacked large North Vietnamese truck convoys, . . .” (Post-Dispatch New Services, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 12/15/73 • 2,3)

138☆ARVN forces including artillery, infantry and air strikes destroyed the PRG controlled town of Kien Duc. (Philip A. McCombs, W. Post, special to Boston Globe 12/16/73 • 2,3)

139☆“South Vietnamese forces killed 97 Communist troops in heavy fighting for rice harvests in the Mekong Delta . . .” ARVN forces backed by artillery and planes fiercely attacked Cai Lay, 46 miles SW of Saigon and Cai Be 60 miles SW of Saigon. (LA Times 12/18/73 • 2,3)

140:“A South Vietnamese military spokesman said today that 97 Communist soldiers had been killed by Government soldiers, backed by artillery and planes, in heavy fighting in the Mekong Delta southwest of Saigon.” (UPI, NYT 12/18/73 • 2,3)

“Tens of thousands of military personnel disguised as civilians” in the South and U.S. “giving more money, weapons and war means to the Saigon administration to help the latter wreck the ceasefire.” [Nhan Dan, Washington Star-News 12/18/73, Henry S. Bradsher • numerous]

U.S. reconnaissance flights over North Vietnam on December 17 and 18. [North Vietnam, Washington Star-News 12/19/73, AP • 4]

141☆ARVN attacks on PRG positions including air strikes, artillery bombardments, and mortar barrages. (Homer L. Elm released PRG prisoner, NYT 12/21/73, special, David K. Shipler • 2,3)

142☆A South Vietnamese battalion advanced on PRG troops near Vi Thanh including 1,500 South Vietnamese reinforcements. (LA Times 12/27/73 • 2,3)

143☆“Thousands of South Vietnamese troops swept across the lower Mekong Delta . . .” (Associated Press, St. Louis Post-Dispatch 12/27/73, AP • 2,3)

144☆ARVN military operation six miles northwest of Vi
Thanh, the capital of Chuong Thien province, 100 miles southwest of Saigon. (News Dispatch, W. Post 12/27/73, P. A-22 • 2,3) 145,42,612 North Vietnamese and Viet Cong killed by ARVN forces since January 28, cease-fire agreement. (South Vietnamese Military Command, Baltimore Sun 12/31/73, P. A-3, AP • 2,3)

PART III: PRG/DRV VIOLATIONS OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT

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FACT SHEET No. 02/73

Communist Violations of the Paris Agreement

Between 8 o’clock in the morning of January 28, 1973—at which time the Paris Agreement on the Restoration of Peace in Viet-Nam went into effect in the country—and the morning of November 1, 1973, the Communist violations of the ceasefire agreement amounted to 26,402 incidents resulting in the death of 9,308 innocent civilians, the wounding of 4,541 and the kidnapping of another 1,615 persons.

Terrorist Acts. In direct violations of Article 3C of the Paris Agreement which reads, “All hostile acts, terrorism and reprisals by both sides will be banned,” the so-called “PRG” has continued its program of terrorism against the civilians in South Viet-Nam. Assassinations and kidnappings continue. The shelling of villages, the mortaring of towns, and the mining of roads go on.

Communist terrorist actions against the people amount to 8,758 incidents as of November 1, 1973, averaging out to 973 cases per month or 32 cases a day. Their attacks are totally indiscriminate.

Lately, the Communists have stepped up their program of violence. “Viet Cong units have almost regularly been dropping mortars on several district capitals, occasionally opening fire on farmers and other civilians in government-held areas and, lately attacking village and hamlet offices.” [James M. Markham, New York Times, November 21, 1973].

For example, the Chief of Phu Tu hamlet and six of his men were killed one night when a band of guerrillas hurled grenades into their building. One other man was wounded
and five were apparently abducted. [New York Times, November 21, 1973].

*Military Violations.* Since the day the ceasefire went into effect, the following major Communist attacks have taken place:

—January 29, 1973: The attack on the Cua Viet Base in Quang Tri Province.
—February 16, 1973: The attack on Sa Huynh in Quang Ngai Province.
—September 22, 1973: The attack on Le Minh in Pleiku Province.
—September 29, 1973: The attack on an outpost at Khiem Hanh, Tay Ninh Province.
—October 12, 1973: The attack on the Bach Mai outpost, Thua Thien Province.
—October 20, 1973: The attack on a ranger’s outpost at Nui Giai, Chau Doc Province.
—December 2, 1973: The shelling of the Shell farm tank in Nha Be.

*Infiltration of Mean and Weapons.* Article 7 of the Paris Agreement forbids the “introduction of troops, military advisors and military personnel, including technical military personnel . . . into South Viet-Nam.”

Since the day the ceasefire went into effect the Communists have brought 100,000 more North Vietnamese troops into the South, in addition to the 300,000 they already have there. The recent infiltrators include, for example, three transport divisions transferred from Southern Laos and 30,000 Communist cadres and youth volunteers from North Viet-Nam. Moreover, the Communist POWs released by the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam have been regrouped into three infantry divisions, which are presently operating in the Loc Ninh, Quang Nam, Quang Ngai areas.

Besides the troops, the Communists have brought in 600 tanks and 600 artillery pieces of all types while they have doubled their anti-aircraft capabilities.

*Construction of Airfields and Oil Pipelines.* Since the ceasefire, the Communists have built and improved twelve
airfields inside the territory of the Republic of Viet-Nam. Their oil pipelines have been extended to run all the way from Communist China through North Viet-Nam into the northern sector of the Demilitarized Zone. Then they go through Khe Sanh, Ba Long, A Shau into Quang Nam.

They have openly developed a network of strategic roads coming from Cambodia and Laos.

*Harassment of the International Commission for Control and Supervision.* Article 18(c) of the Paris Agreement provides that the two South Vietnamese parties will facilitate the operation of ICCS teams. This the Communists have not done. Between February 28 and March 9, a total of ten helicopters making runs for the ICCS, on liaison, supply or evacuation missions were indiscriminately shot at by Communist gunners. The most dramatic incident involving the Communist shooting of ICCS helicopters occurred at Lao Bao in the northern part of South Viet-Nam, resulting in the death of nine passengers and crew members including four ICCS delegation members (two Hungarians, one Canadian and one Indonesian), three people working for the ICCS and by a cruel irony, even two NLF members. Indiscriminate shellings by the Communists have also caused the forced evacuation of an ICCS headquarters in Tri Ton, Chau Doc Province.

The ICCS Protocol to the Paris Agreement also provides for five ICCS teams to be located in Communist controlled areas: Gio Linh, Lao Bao, Ben Het, Duc Co, and Xa Mat. So far the Communists have prevented the ICCS from locating teams in all but one of these locations (Ben Het).
ABBREVIATIONS

ARVN—Army of the Republic of Vietnam (Saigon/Thieu Forces)

COSVN—U.S. designation for headquarters of guerrilla forces in South Vietnam

DVN—Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam)

GVN—Government of Vietnam (South Vietnamese/Thieu Administration)

VC—U.S. designation for Viet Cong

ICCS—International Commission for Control and Supervision

JMC—Joint Military Commission

NCRC—National Council of Reconciliation and Concord

MIA—Missing-in-Action

POW—Prisoner-of-War

AP—Associated Press
Balt. Sun—Baltimore Sun
CSM—Christian Science Monitor
FBIS—Foreign Broadcast Information Service
NYT—New York Times
Phil. Inq. (or PI)—Philadelphia Inquirer
SLPD—St. Louis Post Dispatch
W. Post—Washington Post
Wash. Star-News—Washington Star News