APPENDICES

APPENDIX I. CHAIRMAN’S LETTER TO SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
MELVIN R. LAIRD, AUGUST 19, 1972

(Subsequent to the hearing, and in light of the Defense Department’s aerial photographs presented to the subcommittee by Senator Fong, Senator Kennedy addressed a letter to the Secretary of Defense, requesting additional photographs and information on U.S. bombing policy and the rules of engagement governing U.S. military practices in North Vietnam. Senator Kennedy’s letter and enclosures follow):

AUGUST 19, 1972.

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD,
Secretary of Defense, Department of Defense,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Secretary: As you probably know, the Subcommittee on Refugees resumed last week its public inquiry into war-related civilian problems in Indochina, focusing its attention on conditions within North Vietnam.

In connection with the record of these hearings, and as a follow-up to my letters of May 3, June 26, and August 9, I would like to request the current rules of engagement governing air activities and naval gunfire in North Vietnam, and a series of aerial photographs of civilian populated areas allegedly subject to American air strikes. It would be helpful if these photographs could include shots of specific locations in or near these areas, both before and after the date they have been reportedly hit. It would also be helpful for the Department to identify what military targets were in, or near, these civilian populated areas. Hopefully, materials forwarded to the Subcommittee will include photographs of the sites listed in the testimony submitted to the Subcommittee by the Honorable Ramsey Clark, a copy of which I have attached to this letter, and of the following:

1. Haiphong City—photos taken prior and subsequent to the April 15-16, 1972, bombing raids on Haiphong, particularly the Ngo Quyen district, the central market place (hit on July 31st), and the so-called Vietnamese-Czechoslovak Friendship Hospital. Western observers also report that a housing and school complex consisting of three four-story apartment buildings and one two-story senior high school, located 2 1/2 kilometers east of the harbor area, was struck three times on April 16, 1972; at 2:15 a.m., 9:00 a.m., and 4:00 p.m. Is this information, submitted to the Subcommittee, correct; and what military targets were in the area?

2. Nam Dinh—photos prior to May 23rd and subsequent to June 23rd showing the central city area, specifically the hospital, and the Chung Dang LIng secondary school.

3. Han Gai—photos before and after June 7th-9th, showing the Ha Long quarter.

4. Hanoi—reports to the Subcommittee report heavy bomb damage since April 16th to such civilian installations as the Bach Mai hospital (hit on June 27th); the Truong Dinh workers housing apartments (hit on June 27th); and civilian housing on Ming Khal Street (hit on July 4th).

Your assistance in this matter is greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

[Signed] EDWARD M. KENNEDY,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Refugees.

(Attachments follow:)
Hon. Edward M. Kennedy,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Kennedy: As I testified before your Subcommittee on August 15, I visited North Vietnam between July 29 and August 11, 1972. During this period, I traveled over 1200 kilometers between cities and provinces and many more miles within those places. I visited six provinces, five major cities, and numerous villages, towns and dike sites.

Bomb damage to what appeared to be purely civilian targets was extensive. I personally observed schools, hospitals, churches, residential quarters of cities and whole villages, dike sections and water control facilities which had been damaged or destroyed by bombing. I also visited children and old people in hospitals who stated they had been wounded by bombing, and talked with other civilians who described losing members of their families because of bombing raids.

The bombing of civilian targets in North Vietnam must be a subject of great concern to every American. It is intolerable that a rich, powerful, technologically advanced nation should bomb villages, hospitals and dikes killing women and children in a poor, undeveloped country simply because it has the power. It is incredible that we should do so when we are withdrawing ground troops and say we are “winding down” the war. The implications for the future are ominous.

It is imperative that this controversy over whether we deliberately bomb civilians be resolved in a way which will give the American people the facts and let them judge for themselves. For this reason, I am attaching a partial list of structures and areas which I personally observed to have been bombed. I include here but a few of the more striking examples of what I saw. Of course, the Department of Defense knows what targets it intends to hit and what targets it does hit. If the Department of Defense will disclose the facts as to these places I list, I can send a full list of what I observed in North Vietnam at a later date. Extensive aerial photo reconnaissance is made of North Vietnam and often planes on bombing missions photograph as they bomb. I hope you will be able to obtain aerial reconnaissance photographs from the Department of Defense of the bombed places listed here. Ideally, every existing photo of each target would be obtained. The most important are those taken on the day of the bombing, then the days before and finally the days after.

The disclosure of such aerial reconnaissance photographs to the American people is clearly an essential step to open, informed consideration of our bombing policy in Vietnam and its effects on the civilian population. Citizens of a free democratic society are entitled to such data. Indeed, our system cannot work without an informed public.

Of this list, the most critical set of targets are the dikes because they sustain the agriculture of the people and retain waters that could drown hundreds of thousands. I am therefore appending a list of dike sections which have reportedly been bombed, some of which I saw and some which I did not see.

In view of the world-wide controversy over the bombing of the dikes, Administration officials should produce aerial reconnaissance photographs of these specific dike sections, taken both before and after they were reportedly struck. Their failure to do so will imply to many a fear of the truth on their part. I include here a United States Army map to aid in identifying these dike sections more precisely.

You will recall I showed two small bombs to your Committee. The bomb I called a penetrating bomb was given to me by the Mayor of Haiphong. He said it was found after an attack on his city on June 26 in Lach Tray Street where much damage was done. The round bomb I described as an anti-personnel bomb was given to me by the Mayor of Hanoi. He said only that it was dropped on the southern part of his city on June 8, 1972. I would be interested in the legal justification by the Department of Defense for dropping such bombs outside of combat zones and military encampments if it conceives these bombs were dropped as described.

I hope you can secure an early response from the Department of Defense. If the American people and the Congress are to have a say in determining this country’s policies, they must have the facts.

Thank you for your efforts on behalf of peace and humanity.

Sincerely,

(Enclosures: 8)

Samory Clark
Listed below are specific places which I saw after they were bombed as to which some admission, denial, or explanation is sought. I would be most anxious to see aerial photographs of these areas because no military targets were visible at the time of my visit.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date reportedly struck</th>
<th>Observations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. City areas:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ha Ly District</td>
<td>In Haiphong City</td>
<td>July 31, 1972</td>
<td>Acres of destruction to residences, business area; hundreds allegedly killed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truong Chinh workers'</td>
<td>In Hanoi City</td>
<td>May (?), 1972</td>
<td>Total destruction of large housing development and damage to nearby school.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quarters and secondary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>school.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Villages:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phuc Loc</td>
<td>Approximately 12 kilometers east-southeast of Haiphong City</td>
<td>Apr. 16, 1972 (03:00)</td>
<td>Many bomb craters, much destruction, in village.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thieu Hoa</td>
<td>Approximately 25 kilometers from Thanh Hoa City</td>
<td>Apr. 13, 1972 (02:45)</td>
<td>Total destruction of Xan Ai; damage to remainder of village; allegedly 23 killed, 39 wounded.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vu Van</td>
<td>Approximately 20 kilometers southwest from Thai Binh</td>
<td>July 31, 1972</td>
<td>Homes, school, dike, hit. 3 churches nearby badly damaged.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Hospitals:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thanh Hoa Hospital</td>
<td>Approximately 6 kilometers from Thanh Hoa City</td>
<td>Apr. 27, 1972 (06:50)</td>
<td>6 buildings demolished; others extensively damaged. Facility out of operation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vinh Phong Leprosarium</td>
<td>Near Vu Van Village</td>
<td>July 31, 1972</td>
<td>Administration building and medical treatment facility destroyed; barrackslike housing for patients damaged.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bach Mai</td>
<td>On highway to Ninh Binh, 6 kilometers south of center of Hanoi City</td>
<td>June 27, 1972 (09:00)</td>
<td>Large crater in a courtyard; destruction of 1 wing of hospital; damage to other wings and adjacent building.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Dikes:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lan sluice and gates</td>
<td>Approximately 25 kilometers east-southeast of Thai Binh City within several kilometers of sea</td>
<td>May 19, 24, June 15, July 2, 8, 11, 12, and Aug. 4.</td>
<td>Extensive damage to adjacent dike; concrete base, destruction of lifts, housing, gates, superstructure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vu Dong dike</td>
<td>Approximately 10 kilometers south of Thai Binh City</td>
<td>July 20, 1972</td>
<td>Extensive damage to dike, bomb craters on and near dike, adjacent housing destroyed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nam Sach dike</td>
<td>40 kilometers east of Hanoi</td>
<td>June (?), 1972</td>
<td>Extensive damage visible though largely repaired by Aug. 6. This is the dike location which the French newspaper reporter Jean Thoraval says he saw attacked.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Schools:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haiphong (3)</td>
<td>In Haiphong City</td>
<td>July 12, 1972</td>
<td>Destroyed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanoi (1)</td>
<td>In Hanoi City</td>
<td>May (?), 1972</td>
<td>2-story building, extensively damaged, unusable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vu Van Secondary School (1)</td>
<td>In Vu Van Village</td>
<td>July 31, 1972</td>
<td>6 classrooms destroyed; other classrooms damaged.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. Churches: 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>churches near</td>
<td>Within 2 kilometers of Vu Van Village in Thai Binh Province</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>All badly damaged from bombing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vu Ven</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### LIST OF DIKE SECTIONS REPORTEDLY BOMBED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dike section number (see map—Attachment 3)</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date reportedly struck</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.5 miles northeast of Hanoi</td>
<td>May 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3 miles northeast of Hanoi</td>
<td>Do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>8.5 miles north of Haiduong</td>
<td>July 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>7.8 miles north of Haiduong</td>
<td>Do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>6.4 miles north-northwest of Haiduong</td>
<td>Do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.2 miles west of Haiduong</td>
<td>July 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.7 miles northwest of Haiduong</td>
<td>July 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>8.2 miles south-southeast of Haiduong</td>
<td>July 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>6.2 miles northeast of Haiduong</td>
<td>July 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>5.7 miles northeast of Haiduong</td>
<td>July 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>14.4 miles east-northeast of Hadiuong</td>
<td>July 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>15.5 miles east-southeast of Haiphong</td>
<td>July 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>6.7 miles south of Haiphong</td>
<td>July 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>14.4 miles northwest of Phu Ly</td>
<td>July 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>At Phu Ly</td>
<td>June 2, 12, 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>4.2 miles north-northwest of Hungyen</td>
<td>June 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>2.7 miles east-southeast of Hungyen</td>
<td>July 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>7.3 miles east of Hungyen</td>
<td>July 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>11.5 miles east-northeast of Hungyen</td>
<td>July 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>18.6 miles east-northeast of Hungyen</td>
<td>July 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>20.6 miles northeast of Hungyen</td>
<td>July 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>13.8 miles northeast of Thanh Binh</td>
<td>July 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>14.9 miles east-northeast of Thanh Binh</td>
<td>May 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>15.8 miles east of Thanh Binh</td>
<td>May 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>16.1 miles east-southeast of Thanh Binh</td>
<td>May 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>16.6 miles east of Thanh Binh</td>
<td>June 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>2.5 miles north of Thanh Binh</td>
<td>July 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>9.2 miles south-south of Thanh Binh</td>
<td>Do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>6.7 miles northeast of Thanh Binh</td>
<td>July 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>9 miles south of Thanh Binh</td>
<td>July 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>9 miles south of Thanh Binh</td>
<td>July 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>1 miles southeast of Thanh Binh</td>
<td>July 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>5.7 miles south-southwest of Thanh Binh</td>
<td>July 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>5.7 miles west-southwest of Thanh Binh</td>
<td>July 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>9.4 miles south-southwest of Thanh Binh</td>
<td>July 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>11.9 miles south of Thanh Binh</td>
<td>June 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>12.9 miles south of Thanh Binh</td>
<td>Apr 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>9.8 miles south-south of Thanh Binh</td>
<td>May 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>14.9 miles south of Thanh Binh</td>
<td>June 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>16.4 miles west-southwest of Thanh Binh</td>
<td>July 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>11.9 miles southwest of Thanh Binh</td>
<td>July 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>17.4 miles southwest of Thanh Binh</td>
<td>July 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>6.7 miles east-southeast of Ninh Binh</td>
<td>May 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>4 miles east of Ninh Binh</td>
<td>June 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.2 miles southeast of Ninh Binh</td>
<td>May 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>7.5 miles east-northeast of Ninh Binh</td>
<td>July 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>1.2 miles southeast of Ninh Binh</td>
<td>June 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>5.4 miles south-south of Ninh Binh</td>
<td>June 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>9.7 miles south-southwest of Ninh Binh</td>
<td>June 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>9.7 miles south-southwest of Ninh Binh</td>
<td>June 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>13.6 miles south-southwest of Ninh Binh</td>
<td>June 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>13.6 miles south-southwest of Ninh Binh</td>
<td>June 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>1.49 miles southeast of Ninh Binh</td>
<td>July 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>1.04 miles southeast of Ninh Binh</td>
<td>July 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>2.11 miles southeast of Ninh Binh</td>
<td>July 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>1.08 miles south-southwest of Ninh Binh</td>
<td>July 24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1. Attachment 3—a map not printed here.
APPENDIX II. CHAIRMAN'S LETTERS TO SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
MELVIN R. LAIRD, MAY 3, JUNE 26, AND AUGUST 9, 1972

(The letters that follow request Secretary Laird's comment on a number of items raised during the course of subcommittee hearings and inquiry, including items on North Vietnam. As of mid-September, no responses have been received. The subcommittee can only conclude that there is official reluctance within the Department of Defense to comment on the issues raised in the chairman's letters.)

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
WASHINGTON, D.C., MAY 3, 1972.

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD,
SECRETARY OF DEFENSE,
WASHINGTON, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I appreciated receiving the Department of Defense's response of November 8, 1971, to my letter of May 10, 1971. However, the Department's response, by Mr. J. Fred Buzhardt, General Counsel, neglects several items raised in my letter. I suggested in this letter, that, as responses are prepared to individual items, they be forwarded to my office. Because nothing has been received since early November, and in the light of the growing congressional and public concern over the kinds of items raised in my letter, I am writing to you again, and would appreciate the Department's comments on the items below.

1. The Judiciary Subcommittee on Refugees again requests a complete glossary of terms which have been used, officially and unofficially, to describe various American or American-supported military activities in Indochina. Although it was helpful to receive a copy of MACV Directive 525-13, "Rules of Engagement for the Employment of Firepower in the Republic of Vietnam", the glossary of terms contained therein was minimal. Moreover, Mr. Buzhardt's letter failed to comment on the projected impact upon civilians of the military activities associated with the terms.

2. I would also like to request again, for use by the Subcommittee, a copy of the full text of the, "Report of the Department of Army Review of the Preliminary Investigation into the My Lai Incident", commonly referred to as the Peers report.

3. The intensity and the impact on the civilian population of the American-sponsored air war over all of Indochina has evoked much public controversy and concern. The recently increased bombing, especially, raises again the kinds of questions I included in my letter of May 10. What is the history of the air war over Indochina, as measured by annual bomb tonnages and the annual number of aircraft sorties over each of the countries in the area, including North Vietnam? In separate calculations for northern and southern Laos, and for North Vietnam, what is the monthly rate of sorties, identified by the kinds of aircraft employed, since January 1968? What is the monthly tonnage of ordnance for each area, and over the same period of time? How would the Department characterize the kinds of ordnance used? And what are the Department's estimates of civilian casualties, resulting from aerial bombardments, for each country in Indochina? The Subcommittee is particularly interested in available estimates on war damage to the civilian population in North Vietnam.

4. At a hearing on May 7, 1970, the exchange below took place. In the absence of a satisfactory response at that time, or since then, it would be helpful to receive the Department's full comment now, but in the context of all of Indochina and of developments throughout the area subsequent to May 7, 1970. In this connection, my reference to "confidential materials" obviously applies only to open sessions of the Subcommittee, such as those in which Mr. Doolin has participated.

"Mr. Doolin. In terms of our air attacks, Senator, I believe my statement is as far as I can go in open session; it accurately reflects the operating authorities.

(69)
As I indicated, all air strikes, except some, are validated by the Ambassador to Laos and to my knowledge maximum care is taken to avoid the causing of civilian casualties.

"Senator Kennedy. Well, are these limitations really any different from Vietnam.

"Mr. Doolin. I can only say on the basis of the information available, the maximum care is taken to avoid civilian casualties wherever possible.

"Senator Kennedy. I'm sure maximum care is taken. I want to know what the results are.

"Now, you must know from aerial photography how many villages have actually been destroyed—what the size was of villages where you take pictures one day and then again the next day; you can tell where buildings were, whether they are up or down; and you can make some estimation as to whether there had been people in the village or not. Have you done any kind of work like this?

"Mr. Doolin. Mr. Chairman, there is some information available and I will be pleased to prepare a report on the subject and submit it to you and correlate it with the rules of engagement which I will go into in much more detail either in executive session or private correspondence.

"Senator Kennedy. I don't think any of us are looking for confidential materials here. I think we are trying to find out whether there are procedures used in bombings, and whether you follow those procedures to the best of your ability. We want to know whether the results of these procedures are in terms of civilian casualties and the creation of refugees.

"Mr. Doolin. Well, as I indicated in my statement, Mr. Chairman, the air activities are with the approval of the Forward Air Guide. These men are Laotian, English-speaking; they avoid towns and these strikes are validated by the U.S. Embassy in Vientiane.

"Senator Kennedy. That, of course—

"Mr. Doolin. They might put them as close to the scene as possible.

"Senator Kennedy. Well, now I'm interested in the performance chart as well as what the procedure chart shows. I'm sure we have outlined carefully prescribed procedures to avoid the creation of civilian casualties and refugees. But I'd be interested in what the results of those procedures have been as seen from aerial photography and from other kinds of intelligence activities you have access to and whether you are sufficiently concerned about these problems that you are taking these precautions.

"Mr. Doolin. I'll see if I can provide that to you, Senator.

5. There are currently in existence manuals on rules of land warfare and on rules of naval warfare. What is the status of proposals on a similar manual relating to the rules of air warfare? Also, what program of instruction pertaining to the protection of civilians in air warfare is currently in use at the Air Force Academy? Does the Department accept the statement of the Institute of International Law regarding the nature of military targets (resolutions at Edinburgh, 1969) as an accurate restatement of international law? Does the Department accept the "Rules for the Limitation of the Dangers Incurred by the Civilian Population in Time of War"—prepared by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)—as acceptable standards for the protection of such populations, and, if not, are there specific changes the Department would suggest? Are the classified rules of engagement governing American military activities in Indochina fully compatible with the general rules established by the ICRC and the general standards set by the Institute of International Law? And what is the Department's attitude toward the draft protocol on aerial bombardment and other matters which was submitted on May 3, by the International Committee of the Red Cross, to the Geneva Conference of Government Experts on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts?

6. Finally, on the basis of the Subcommittee's hearings and study over recent years, on April 29, 1971, I recommended that the President create a permanent Military Practices Review Board to advise the Joint Chiefs of Staff on standards and procedures designed to keep American military policies and practices within the bounds of simple humanitarian and international legal obligations, and to monitor the implementation of the rules of engagement governing American armed forces in active combat. I further recommended that the Review Board be appointed by the President at an early date in consultation with the appropriate committees of the Congress; that it be composed of high level officials in government as well as recognized non-governmental experts on humanitarian problems and international law; and that it be attached to the National Security Council.
The recommendation has generated much positive response among persons in government and elsewhere, and, again, I would appreciate very much learning the Department's views on this matter.

In conclusion, let me say once again that I fully appreciate the lengthy nature of these inquiries. But, in view of the widespread Congressional and public interest in the issues raised by these inquiries, I strongly feel that meaningful responses will contribute to greater understanding and will be beneficial to all concerned. I am extremely hopeful that it will be possible to include a good deal of the responses in the public record. I would also like to suggest that, as responses are prepared to individual items, they be forwarded to my office.

Many thanks for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Hon. MELVIN R. LAIRD,
Secretary of Defense,
Department of Defense, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: On May 3, a week prior to hearings on war-related civilian problems in Indochina before the Judiciary Subcommittee on Refugees, I addressed a letter to you regarding several issues of concern to members of the Subcommittee and others in the Congress. The letter was an effort to continue the exchange of views in previous correspondence between the Department and the Subcommittee.

As of today, I have not received a response to my letter of May 3, and just wanted to inquire as to the status of the comments and information requested at that time. As I suggested in the letter, the Subcommittee is particularly interested in available estimates on war damage to the civilian population in North Vietnam. In view of continuing press reports regarding this matter, including current reports on war damage to the dikes in North Vietnam, I am extremely hopeful of hearing from you soon.

Sincerely,

Edward M. Kennedy,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Refugees.


Hon. Melvin R. Laird,
Secretary of Defense,
Department of Defense, Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Secretary: On May 3, I addressed a letter to you regarding several issues on Indochina, of concern to members of the Subcommittee on Refugees and others in the Congress. The letter was an effort to continue the exchange of views in my previous correspondence with officials in the Department of Defense.

On June 26, I inquired about the status of the comments and information requested in my letter of May 3. On July 7, my letters were acknowledged by Mr. Rady A. Johnson, your assistant for Legislative Affairs. Because no additional communications have been received from the Department, I am writing again to inquire as to the status of the comments and information which I requested in my letter. As my letter of May 3 suggested, the Subcommittee is particularly interested in estimates on war damage to the civilian population in North Vietnam. In addition to information in this area of concern and the others raised in my letter, I would also like to request a copy of the recently completed study on the conduct of the war, prepared under the auspices of the Chief of Staff, United States Army.

It distresses me that the Department is failing to respond to legitimate inquiries regarding our country's participation in the Indochina war and the humanitarian issues at stake. However, in light of the very active congressional and public concern over this significant area of public policy, I am extremely hopeful of hearing from you soon.

Sincerely,

Edward M. Kennedy,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Refugees.
APPENDIX III. CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENTS ON WAR VICTIMS IN
INDOCHINA, SENATE FLOOR, JUNE 29, AUGUST 3, 1972

[From the Congressional Record]

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, Congress and the American people see the fruits and glamor of summitry—and we hear the rhetoric of peace. But none of this can hide the escalating and senseless war in Southeast Asia—a war the President promised to end—but a war whose end is not in sight. And so today, as on previous Thursdays, the media will report our Government’s routine press release on the latest number of military casualties. We will learn of new deaths and new injuries. We will probably learn of new prisoners of war or new missing in action. And we will certainly learn of added numbers of enemy killed. But our Government’s press release will tell us nothing of civilian war victims—of the fate of noncombatants who bear the brunt of battle. We will learn nothing of new refugees. We will learn nothing of new civilian casualties. For the flight of civilians is not very important to our Government—except to blame all their suffering on the other side. And this fact reminds us again, that the appalling human tragedy of An Loc and all of Indochina is on the back burner in the councils of government—apparently until we win a smashing military victory, or until great powers sort things out.

But as the violence continues and spreads—from both sides—from enemy mortars and American bombs—thousands of civilians are being injured or maimed or killed; and thousands more are fleeing their homes as refugees from battle.

Over the years nothing has more accurately documented the intensity and spread of the conflict—and the level and nature of military operations—than the number of civilians killed or wounded or made refugees. By this measure, the situation in Vietnam—let alone North Vietnam and the rest of Indochina—is worse today than at any time since the war began—including the Tet offensive in 1968.

The flow of refugees in South Vietnam continues at an alarming rate. The Agency for International Development—AID—told me yesterday, that since their testimony before the Refugee Subcommittee on May 8—the official figure for new refugees in government-held territory increased by at least 125,000—a daily average approaching 3,000. The cumulative official figure since early April now stands at more than 814,000, with the bulk of these people in military region 1. Based on unreported data including displaced persons in enemy controlled territory, the subcommittee estimated more than 1,200,000 new refugees since April 1. The subcommittee now estimates that the cumulative total of refugees since 1965, approaches nearly 8 million men, women, and children—nearly one-half of South Vietnam’s population.

As if this were not enough cause for concern, civilian casualties also continue at an alarming rate. Based on known hospital admissions, AID’s official estimate for civilian casualties in April is 8,600—for May it is 5,897. A June 10 cable from Ambassador Bunker to the Department of State notes that these figures are incomplete. The April figure, for example, does not include hospital admissions in Quang Tri and Kontum provinces—where heavy fighting was underway—and it only includes 600 verified casualties in An Loc. In a similar way the May figure is also incomplete.

Needless to say, the full extent of civilian casualties in South Vietnam cannot be measured by hospital admissions alone—even if all the hospitals report their admissions. For the record is clear that the bulk of civilian casualties never see a hospital. They are treated elsewhere, not treated at all, or they die.

And so the Subcommittee on Refugees, as it has done periodically since 1966, has made estimates of civilian casualties since April 1. On May 25, I reported the subcommittee’s findings for the month of April and the first week of May. Our estimates put the number of civilian casualties during this period at some 40,000 to 50,000—including some 15,000 deaths. I said at the time that all indicators pointed to a continued high level of civilian casualties—and that if the pace of
battle continued, by early June the civilian casualty figure since April 1, would exceed the total during Tet, 1968. I must report today the accuracy of this projection. During May, another 30,000 to 40,000 civilian casualties probably occurred in South Vietnam—putting the total for April and May at nearly 80,000—including as many as 25,000 deaths. The subcommittee's comparable figure for February and March of 1968, was some 62,000 civilian casualties—including about 20,000 deaths.

Mr. President, civilian casualties in South Vietnam today, confront us with a very grim human tragedy—a tragedy for which our country bears a heavy responsibility. And if the violence continues, so will the tragedy. The Bunker cable of June 10 tells us to expect more of the same. In fact, the cable says that civilian casualties will be a "formidable challenge" in South Vietnam for the rest of the year. And although the cable does not verify the subcommittee's current estimates on civilian casualties—it does confirm the subcommittee's projections about the severity of the current situation, as compared with Tet. The cable tells us that the "only comparable episode" to the current situation is the 1968 Tet experience. The cable goes on to say that during Tet and its aftermath, hospital admission rates on a monthly average, increased by 37.3 percent—from 4,840 per month to 6,925. The cable has this to say about the current situation:

April and May civilian war casualty admissions appear proportionately greater than initial increases following Tet 1968 offensive. It appears reasonable to assume next 6-month period will show monthly average substantially in excess of 37.3 percent, and may reach numerical increases following Tet 1968. Believe 100 percent increases or estimate 5,400 per month civilian war casualty admissions to Ministry of Health hospitals through end of calendar year.

Mr. President, nowhere has the picture of human suffering in South Vietnam been more graphically drawn than in the faces of those civilians who survived the siege of An Loc.

The fate of An Loc was the story of a massacre—from a rain of bullets and mortars and bombs. No one answered the pitiful cries for help from the people holed up in that nightmare of destruction and death. No one seemed to care. And international diplomatic appeals to open a mercy corridor into the area were all but ignored by the combatant leaders on both sides. Several days ago the press reported an official figure of some 2,000 to 8,000 civilian deaths in An Loc. The unofficial figure reported to the Subcommittee on Refugees is up to 10,000.

The subcommittee now estimates that the cumulative total of civilian war casualties in South Vietnam since 1965 is nearly 1,250,000 men, women, and children—including some 380,000 deaths.

The human suffering in South Vietnam staggers the imagination. It is difficult to comprehend the aggregate statistics of war victims in South Vietnam—and all of Indochina. It is even more difficult to comprehend the implication of these statistics—and the continuing war—on the social fabric of nations confronted with massive upheaval and total war. But few will disagree that a human swarm of rootless people and orphans and widows and war victims of all kinds, exists in Indochina.

Mr. President, a question of growing concern, which I share with many Americans, is the impact of our bombing and shelling on the civilian population of North Vietnam. Except for occasional press comment, and public claims by the Hanoi government about civilian casualties and damage, little is really known. However, based in part on the pattern of death and destruction which our military practices have brought to other areas of Indochina, there can be little doubt that civilians have been caught in the crunch of the air war. Thousands of North Vietnamese civilians have suffered immeasurably, as civilians do in all wars.

I am not just referring to the inconveniences of no water or electricity, because our bombs hit utility installations. I am not just referring to the closing of schools and hospitals, because they have already been hit by our bombs. I am not just referring to the growing potential for a shortage of consumer goods, because we have mined the harbors. Nor am I just referring to the fear and anxiety associated with men, women, and children running to bomb shelters: I am not even referring to the hardships imposed on tens of thousands of people who have been evacuated from urban areas to the countryside by the Hanoi government, to escape the threat of bombs. All of this, is bad enough. But I am also referring to the assumption which all of us must make—that thousands of civilians in North Vietnam are becoming casualties of the air war and the
shelling from gunboats off the coast—thousands are being injured, or are losing their lives.

In the earlier stages of the current bombing and shelling of North Vietnam, the administration tried to ignore—or at least to minimize the issue of civilian casualties and damage—apparently on the assumption that whatever civilian suffering our bombing and shelling brought to North Vietnam was inevitable, and justified in the national interest, as defined by the President. Informal inquiries I made to the executive branch in April produced nothing. Finally, on May 3, I wrote to the Secretary of Defense regarding the air war’s impact on civilians in North Vietnam, and related issues—but this letter remains unanswered. On June 26, I wrote another letter to the Secretary inquiring about the status of the comments and information which I requested on May 3. I indicated again, in the latest letter, that the Subcommittee on Refugees was particularly interested in available estimates on civilian casualties and damage in North Vietnam. In light of growing press reports and public concern on this issue, I expressed the hope that the Department of Defense would respond very soon. But if the pattern of responses to earlier subcommittee inquiries at the Department is any measure, my recent letter to the Secretary will not be answered for many months, if at all. And this not only says something about the low priority our national leadership seems to attach to the care and protection of civilians—but, as in some many other cases, it also says something about our leadership’s casual attitude toward the Congress and the legitimate concerns of the American people, and about the closed character of the present administration.

On May 9—in a public hearing before the Subcommittee on Refugees—administration witnesses were asked about estimates of civilian casualties as a result of the new air war over North Vietnam. Representatives from the Department of Defense had no comment. Representatives from the Department of State were extremely evasive—but they did say there was internal debate over the number of civilian casualties publicly announced by North Vietnam, but that there is “no solid basis to make an estimate.”

The implication, however, was that some casualties do occur.

More recently, spokesmen for the administration suggest that if casualties do occur, they are minimal. The spokesmen say that only military targets are bombed. They cite the careful preparation of the rules of engagement—whose contents are denied Members of the Senate. They cite the accuracy of guided bombs and “smart bombs”—whose use amounts to a small percentage of the total bombs actually dropped. They insist that every precaution is taken to minimize injury and death to civilians.

That these assurances by the administration’s spokesmen are viewed by many Americans with a great deal of skepticism, is easy to understand. For these are some of the same spokesmen who in earlier times, denied that the forced relocation of villagers was among our military practices. They denied that villages in Laos were bombed, that a refugee problem existed in Cambodia, that bombing was an important cause in creating refugees or civilian casualties—anywhere in Indochina.

But the record is clear, Mr. President, including the hearings and findings of the Subcommittee on Refugees, that over the years there has always been, and continues to be, a vast gap between what our leaders say about the war victims problem in Indochina—and the actual conditions in the field. On the occurrence of civilian casualties in North Vietnam, the Pentagon papers disclose that in January of 1967, the Central Intelligence Agency informed the previous administration in a secret report that American air strikes in North Vietnam had caused some 20,000 civilian casualties during 1966 and 1967. Elsewhere in these papers a high level Department of Defense memorandum in 1967 discusses the risks involved in mining Haiphong and in the air war over North Vietnam. At one point the memorandum states:

“The picture of the world’s greatest superpower killing or seriously injuring 1,000 noncombatants a week, while trying to pound a tiny backward nation into submission on an issue whose merits are hotly disputed is not a pretty one.”

Whether similar estimates and projections on civilian casualties in North Vietnam are being made today is unclear. The May 9 testimony before the Subcommittee on Refugees suggests that no estimates are made. Other sources within the administration, however, suggests they are. Given the broad congressional and public concern over the impact of our bombing, I feel it is important for the administration to clarify the issue.
This is particularly true in light of the growing number of reports in the press and elsewhere, which run contrary to the official view of the administration. The public comments of the Swedish Ambassador to Hanoi, as reported by Reuters in this morning’s Washington Post, are cause for alarm. In part, the story reads as follows:

“Sweden’s ambassador to Hanoi today accused the United States of currently pursuing a policy of ‘mass annihilation’ in its bombing of North Vietnam.

“The ambassador said it was not true that the Americans were bombing only military targets. They were dropping antipersonnel bombs on housing areas, schools and hospitals.

“The Americans are expending enormous resources on also destroying small workshops, small bridges, small railway stations, everything.

“The biggest worry at the moment is the dams. The Red River has already begun to rise and it reaches its highest point in July and August. The Americans are aiming at the dams and dikes. If the river swells to the same level as last year there will be an immense catastrophe.”

“In Hanoi, from which more than 80 percent of the population had been evacuated, energy was supplied by one steam power plant still standing and only one hospital remained in use.”

Moreover, Mr. President, one official report which is typical of others available to the Subcommittee on Refugees, summarized the situation in May as follows:

“Attacks on Hanoi have been mainly limited to targets around the city. Attacks on Haiphong have been more general and there is evidence of carpet bombing hitting civilian and other targets indiscriminately. This appears to apply to many other urban centers. Targets appear to include all forms of industry, transport and stockpiles.

“Many civilian areas have been hit. Casualties may not be so heavy because of massive evacuation and effective precautions. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam has, however, mentioned figures of nearly 1,000 casualties for one day in Haiphong alone.”

Mr. President, the people of both Vietnams—let alone the people of Laos and Cambodia—are taking a ferocious beating—the worst since the war began. It is easy for our national leadership to express public concern for the plight of civilians. It is easy for them to say that every precaution is taken to protect civilians. It is easy for them to blame civilian suffering on the other side—as the President did in his May 8 address, when he talked about keeping “the weapons of war out of the hands of the international outlaws of North Vietnam.” and when he referred to “over 20,000 civilian casualties, including women and children, in the cities which the North Vietnamese have sheltered in wanton disregard of human life.”

But commonsense alone tells us that we are also part of the bloodbath. So does the record of our involvement in Indochina. And whatever our military planners are saying today about the precision of the new strategies and weaponry—and whatever they are doing to drum up a public euphoria for winning the war, instead of negotiating the peace—the fact remains that the human cost of the war to the people of Indochina is appalling, and our rising contribution to this cost should outrage the conscience of all Americans. For more than our Government cares to admit, American military practices—especially the no-holds-barred airwar—is contributing heavily to the escalating regional crisis of people throughout Indochina.

As of May 31, our country has dropped over Indochina nearly 3,300,000 tons of bombs. This is over 10 times the tonnage dropped during the Korean war, and over 3 times the tonnage dropped during all of World War II. In 1972, the tonnage has risen sharply from nearly 56,900 tons in January to nearly 268,800 tons in May—the bulk of it, presumably, over North Vietnam. For anyone to suggest these bombs have little impact on civilians—on the creation of war victims—defies understanding and commonsense.

Mr. President, the people of this country are tired of the war. They are tired of hearing the stale arguments for the war and against it. They are tired of being blamed for anti-war sentiment, and are sick of being called cowards. They are tired of being accused of being unpatriotic, and being told that war is a necessary evil. They are tired of being asked how many more days, weeks, or months it will take to win the war.

But most of all, they are tired of seeing pictures of napalmed children flash across their television screens and the pages of our papers. And they ask today, more than ever before—how much longer will we be part of the bloodbath in Indochina.

In the end, the answer to this question lies in the hands of the President.
WAR VICTIMS IN VIETNAM

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, little more than a month ago, I reported to the Senate on the rising number of war victims in South Vietnam, and discussed the growing concern in many quarters over the impact of our shelling and bombing on the civilian population of North Vietnam. I wish to comment briefly on these issues again, today, especially in reporting to Senators the latest compilation of statistics on war victims in South Vietnam.

On June 29, as chairman of the Judiciary Subcommittee on Refugees, I reported that the flow of new refugees and civilian casualties was continuing at an alarming rate in South Vietnam. By official count, the numbers of new refugees, in government-held territory since April 1, stood at some 814,000—and the number was increasing at a rate of nearly 3,000 per day. Unofficial estimates put the number of new refugees at well over 1,000,000.

Based on known hospital admissions, official estimates for civilian casualties put the number at nearly 8,700 for April and nearly 5,900 for May—for a total of some 14,600. A June 10 cable from Ambassador Bunker to the Department of State emphasized, however, that these figures were incomplete; for they did not include hospital admissions in areas such as Quang Tri and Kontum where heavy fighting was underway. The Bunker cable also said, that civilian casualties would be a "formidable challenge" for many months to come, and that the developing human tragedy in South Vietnam would probably exceed what occurred during and after the Tet experience in 1968.

I pointed out on June 29, that the full extent of civilian casualties could not be measured by hospital admissions alone—even if all the hospitals were reporting their admissions. For the record is clear that the bulk of civilian casualties never see a hospital. They are treated elsewhere, not treated at all, or they die.

And so, on June 29, I released the subcommittee's estimates on civilian casualties during April and May, which put the number at nearly 80,000—including as many as 25,000 deaths. The subcommittee's comparable figure for the Tet experience in February and March of 1968 was some 62,000 civilian casualties—including about 20,000 deaths.

The television and radio and press remind us every hour of the day that the intensity of the war continues. The bombing goes on. The shelling goes on. The violence spreads—from both sides. There are more military casualties. There are more prisoners of war—more missing in action. More civilians are injured or die. More children are maimed or orphaned. More refugees flee devastated villages and towns.

And despite what our military planners are claiming about victories on the battlefield—despite what they are claiming about having the other side on the run—and despite the President's new promises for peace—the fact remains that a war continues in Southeast Asia. The fact remains that the human cost of continuing this war to the people of Indochina is appalling, and our rising contribution to this cost should outrage the conscience of all Americans.

Since my report of June 28, the number of new refugees—by official count—has increased by more than 60,000—from some 814,000 to more than 876,000. Again, by official count, this is a daily average for the last few weeks of nearly 2,000. The Subcommittee on Refugees now estimates that the cumulative total of refugees since 1965, approaches nearly 8,000,000 men, women, and children—nearly one-half of South Vietnam's population.

Inevitably, the number of civilian casualties has also increased. In fact, Mr. President, the high numbers previously reported for April and May have continued. Based on known hospital admissions, the preliminary official estimate for June is 5,874. As a recent cable from Ambassador Bunker notes, however, this figure does not include civilian casualties treated in Quang Tri, Binh Long, Long An, and Phuoc Long Provinces—where the heaviest fighting has occurred. How many bodies lie in the rubble of Quang Tri City, An Loc and other devastated areas, is unknown. But accounts from all sources, including those within our Government, tell a very grim story of death—and more death.

Based on known hospital admissions, and estimates in all other categories, the Subcommittee on Refugees estimates that another 30,000 or more civilian casualties probably occurred in June, including as many as 10,000 deaths.

Since April 1, the subcommittee now estimates that more than 100,000 civilians have become casualties—including as many as 35,000 deaths. The cumulative total of civilian war casualties in South Vietnam since 1965 now stands at nearly 1,300,000 men, women, and children—including up to 400,000 deaths.
Mr. President, the comments I am making today sound a familiar theme. For they are only the latest chapter in the seemingly endless story of human suffering in South Vietnam. This latest chapter dramatically underscores again, that the war continues—not only in the Northern Provinces of South Vietnam just below the demilitarized zone—but all over the country. In fact nearly half of the reported civilian casualties are occurring in the delta below Saigon—an area the administration claims to have pacified long ago. And so the administration's peace slogans of the past have become the policy failures of the present. Vietnamization was not a plan for bringing peace, but a plan for continuing war.

Although the focus of human suffering in Indochina is currently in South Vietnam, the number of war victims is also rising in neighboring Laos and Cambodia. And for anyone to suggest that our bombing and shelling of North Vietnam is having little impact on civilians—on the creation of war victims—defies understanding and commonsense. Based in part on the pattern of death and destruction which our military practices have brought to other areas of Indochina, there can be little doubt that civilians have been caught in the crunch of the air war. It is naive of the administration to suggest they can cover up the suffering and death of civilians in North Vietnam. Sooner or later the full truth will come out—as it did after the spokesmen for the administration denied that the forced relocation of villagers was among our military practices, that villages in Laos were being bombed, that a serious refugee problem existed in Cambodia, that bombing was an important cause in creating war victims throughout Indochina.

It is easy for the President to blame all the civilian suffering in Indochina on the other side—as he did again in his press conference just a week ago. But commonsense alone tells us that we are also part of the bloodbath. So does the record of our involvement in Indochina.

Mr. President, the people of this country are tired of the war. They are tired of hearing the stale arguments for the war and against it. They are tired of seeing our men withdraw from Vietnam, only to have others show up in Thailand or on the decks of our gunboats at sea or in the cockpits of our bombers. They are tired of hearing again and again the promises of peace met with plans of more war.

But most of all they are tired of seeing the pictures of refugees and maimed children flash across the television screen and the pages of our papers. And they ask today more than ever before how much longer will our country be part of the bloodbath in Indochina?

In the end, the answer to this question lies in the hands of the President. The Senate's vote yesterday on ending the war is a mandate to our national leadership from the people of America.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record a chart summarizing civilian casualties in South Vietnam.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

### SOUTH VIETNAMESE CIVILIAN WAR-RELATED CASUALTIES, 1965–72

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<th>Year</th>
<th>Official USAID hospital admissions</th>
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1 Estimate.
APPENDIX IV. BACKGROUND MATERIALS ON THE QUESTION OF AMERICAN BOMBINGS OF DIKES AND DAMS IN NORTH VIETNAM

[Adapted from documentation prepared by the American Friends Service Committee and recent press reports and comments]

SYNOPSIS

The North Vietnamese reports about dike breaching started soon after a regular bombing campaign was resumed by President Nixon in early April, 1972. They are characterized by detailed information about the location of attacks. On June 24, the DRV delegation in Paris appealed to world opinion to prevent destruction of the dike system.

In late June, western observers—journalists and diplomats—began reporting dike damage caused by U.S. attacks in first person, eye-witness accounts. To date, Jean-Christophe Oeberg, the Swedish ambassador to Hanoi; Jean Thoraval, correspondent of Agence France Presse; Erik Erikkson, Swedish journalist; and the Americans, actress Jane Fonda, columnist Joseph Kraft, and American Friends Service Committee staffer, John Sullivan, have given reports, sometimes accompanied with pictures, of dike damage they saw. Their reports establish that the United States has bombed dikes and areas adjacent to dikes.

With every report of dike bombings, there was a reaction from Washington.

1) The Department of Defense’s initial response was a firm denial that the dikes had been bombed with the suggestion that North Vietnamese missiles may have fallen back on dikes, causing damage.

2) Following eyewitness reports from western observers, President Nixon held his first televised press conference in a year, in which he characterized reports of dike bombings as “inaccurate,” although the inaccuracy has not yet been specified.

3) Admitting that pilots could have hit the dikes inadvertently while striking anti-aircraft and road systems near or on the dikes, Secretary of Defense Laird on July 6 accused the North Vietnamese of seeking to shift the blame for failure to repair the dikes after last year’s floods.

4) Laird thus implicitly predicted flooding this year; State Department officials also flatly predicted flooding, and cited an article appearing in the North Vietnamese press exhorting the citizenry to greater efforts to repair the dikes. (Huge numbers of dike repair workers have been noted for months by western observers.)

5) President Nixon and administration spokesmen claimed they are the victims of a propaganda campaign. They contend there is no deliberate bombing campaign to hit the dikes.

Most criticism has been careful to avoid the question of intent. However, Eugene Blake, Secretary General of the World Council of Churches, has indicated he believes there is deliberate bombing of the dikes.

(70)
Kurt Waldheim, Secretary General of the United Nations, careful to avoid the question of intent, made a humanitarian appeal to the US on the issue of damage to the dikes. Secretary Rogers and, later, President Nixon, responded indignantly, denying deliberate bombings, and claiming that the statement was part of a "propaganda" campaign. On July 27, Nixon personally accused critics of hypocrisy and double standards. Claiming great restraint, Nixon said, "If it were the policy of the US to bomb dikes, we could take them out in a week." Nixon stressed that there were no reports of dike bombing to the six dams which are what Nixon described as the heart of the dike system.

The Administration brought in a group of pilots who denied bombing dikes in televised interviews, July 26. The bases in Thailand and the aircraft carriers from which aircraft attack North Vietnam are off limits to newsmen. Without greater freedom to ask questions of airmen participating in the attacks on North Vietnam, this testimony is inconclusive.

On July 28, the State Department released an intelligence report on the bombing of dikes in North Vietnam. The report admitted damage to 12 dikes, but minimized the claims of the North Vietnamese. The photographic evidence upon which the report rested has not yet been made public. North Vietnamese charges that attacks adjacent to the dikes would weaken their foundations were not discussed. Ten U.S. Senators, including Sens. Tunney, Harris, and Kennedy, sponsored a resolution forbidding deliberate dike bombing, August 4. Hanoi has invited foreign observers to view the extent of damage to the dikes, and the report of an international group now in North Vietnam will soon be made public.

The following material is in five groupings:

(I) Eye-witness Western Observers
(II) North Vietnamese Reports
(III) U.S. Government Responses
(IV) Descriptive and Analytical Commentary; Reaction
(V) Historical Information about Dike Breachings; U.S. Precedents

PART I: EYE-WITNESS WESTERN OBSERVERS

Dagens Nyheter, June 29, 1972:

"What frightened the Swedish Ambassador to Hanoi, Jean-Christophe Oeb erg, more than anything else, was the methodical bombing and rocket attacks against dams, dikes and locks. A whole series of attacks, in one region after another, show clearly that the United States is trying to cause a flood catastrophe with everything that it will mean in mass deaths, and famine with more mass death. He has seen dam constructions which have been bombed with precision, with smart bombs. This gives him the impression that American pilots who now have a much greater possibility of hitting targets, and direct destruction against them, do not make mistakes.

"Jean-Christophe Oeberg says he has no doubt whatsoever that these attacks are deliberate and precise. The attacks on the dams, the bombings which could cause a water catastrophe in a few weeks' time when the river rises, for him, are the climax—the ultimate atrocity."

The Swedish Ambassador Oeberg, quoted in Aftonbladet, June 28, 1972:

"Practically all industry in North Vietnam has been destroyed. But the greatest danger just now is the bombing of dams and locks. If there are further attacks, there may be an enormous catastrophe, with villages submerged, and famine. The intention seems to be to weaken North Vietnam economically for a long period to come and to transform it into a second or third class nation in Southeast Asia. It is a typical policy of annihilation. The bigger the defeats of the U.S. and Saigon troops in the South, the more the bombing in the North."
"Now, the dams and dikes are the greatest worry for the Vietnamese. The Red River has already started to rise; it reaches its highest level in July and August. If the river rises as high as last year, there may be an enormous catastrophe.

"Everyone, even diplomats, must react as human beings, particularly those of us who have the advantage of being on the spot. Diplomat or not, I have no intention of witnessing passively what is happening. I am free to do this because we have a government which calls things by their correct names."

Ambassador Oeberg addressing a conference of Young Socialists in Sweden:

"I am not the only one to have seen it. The Americans are now beginning to speak of the inability of the North Vietnamese to maintain their system of dikes. For someone who has seen the work carried out by the North Vietnamese continually to improve and reinforce the dikes, this looks like an attempt to provide an alibi for what may happen if the dikes break, and if the bombings continue at the same level. If a catastrophe occurs in a few months, at the time of the monsoon, we shall know who is responsible. But this must not be allowed to happen. The lives of millions of people are in jeopardy, and an unprecedented famine could occur in the North. This is perhaps just what the Americans want when they talk of bombing North Vietnam back into the stone age.

Erik Eriksson, Aftonbladet (Stockholm), June 30, 1972:

"I travel in the Red River delta in North Vietnam. The cameraman Bjorn Henriksson and I collect material for a TV reportage. Before noon that day, we are filming a dike that was destroyed by bombs a few days earlier. It is last Friday.

"On next Monday, we are back in Stockholm. We hear statements from the U.S. government saying North Vietnamese dikes are not being bombed. However, we saw the exact opposite.

"The dike we visit along the Dao river—one arm of the Red River in the delta province of Nam Ha. This is a strong wall—6.7 meters high (about 20 feet). The dike protects people and rice fields from flood when the river rises in July and August. 70,000 people live in the area that is protected by this dike. There are 6,000 hectares (about 12,000 acres) of ricefields.

"On two places, this dike has been bombed. On both places, the dike is cut through by bomb craters. Peasants from the area try to repair the damage when we are there. I can't see any other targets in the vicinity. Around the dike, there are only the rice fields, little hamlets and groups of trees.

"On the most severely damaged place, there are crater close to crater. Fifty bombs were dropped, the Vietnamese who show me the place tell. I can't count the number of craters, but the figure seems likely. It was on June 18th, the US Air Force attacked this dike. The bombs were 500 pounds and 2000 pounds, the Vietnamese tell me. Observing the craters, it seems to me if the attack was directed onto the dike itself. Eight planes performed the attack, I am told.

"The water in the Dao river is low for the moment. But the rain has started to fall in North Vietnam now. Soon the level rises fast. In August, it reaches far up on the side of the dike. If the flood is strong this year, as it was last year, pressure will become strong on the dikes in the Red River delta.

"This could happen:

"The people will not be able to repair bombed dikes. Water will flood the area that the dike is supposed to protect.

"People are able to repair the dikes. But the new soil filled into the craters is looser than the surrounding soil. The repaired place could give away.

"Bombings cause rifts in the dike. Some rifts are not visible, but go deep in the dike. When water rises, the wall might collapse. If it happens, the flood that follows will be sudden.

"If a flood occurs, a double disaster strikes the people. Many will be drowned by the water. Many will starve when the fall crop is destroyed by the water. In the Red River delta, perhaps 12 million people live. It is where most of the grain is produced. This is the economic base area of the country.

"President Nixon has stated that economic targets are being attacked. Now people in North Vietnam fear that the attacks on the dikes is part of the economic warfare. They know that the U.S. includes cities in the economic targets. We saw ourselves cities and parts of dikes recently bombed away.

"Such terror bombings are not admitted by the U.S. government, however. Nor is it admitted that dikes and dams are targets.

"But while water is rising in the rivers in North Vietnam, bombs are constantly being dropped in the Red River delta."

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AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE DISPATCH ON NAM SACH DIKE BOMBING

(By Jean Thoraval)

A group of foreign journalists inspecting bomb damage to North Vietnam's vital dike system, escaped unhurt as a dozen U.S. aircraft made a new and concerted attack on the irrigation system.

The journalists, including this correspondent, all agreed that the American pilots were specifically aiming for the dikes—as far as the eye could see, there was nothing but rice paddies.

The foreigners, accompanied by North Vietnamese journalists, had walked about two kilometers (over a mile) through the paddies to look over the damage caused by three previous attacks, the most recent on Sunday.

It was about 6:00 AM, an hour after dawn, we had just arrived at the edge of a crater made by an earlier attack when we heard the sound of approaching jet aircraft.

About two kilometers away, in the hamlets bordering Nam Sach (about 40 miles (60km) from Hanoi), warning bells announced the advance of U.S. aircraft. About two seconds later, about a dozen fighter-bombers could be seen flying fairly high above the hamlets.

Then the jets went into a dive and released several bombs and rockets against the dike on which we were standing. In several other attacks and evidently without bothering to aim precisely, the jets dropped more explosives to both sides of us.

Since there was no nearby shelter—not even a tree—the journalists had all the time they needed to study the action, in which the Americans were complete masters. The small nearby town of Nam Sach has no significant anti-aircraft defenses, and only two or three SAM missiles were fired at the attackers.

The Phantoms and A-7 (Intruders) dived toward us again, undisturbed by the missiles.

The journalists, direct witnesses to the attacks, were unanimous about two things: Firstly, the attack was clearly against the dike system. Secondly, during the 10-minute raid, the pilots dropped their bombs at random—and since the area was full of dikes and minor irrigation controls, each bomb had its chance of causing damage.

The Nam Sach region contains 54 kilometers of dikes which have been in existence for generations, and maintained carefully by the local people.

(From the Washington Post, June 29, 1972)

ENVY SAYS U.S. TRYING TO “ANNIHILATE” N. VIET

STOCKHOLM, June 28.—Sweden's ambassador to Hanoi today accused the United States of currently pursuing a policy of annihilation in its bombing of North Vietnam.

In an interview published today in the Stockholm newspaper Aftonbladet, ambassador Jean-Christophe Oeberg, who is home on a brief visit, said American bombing was designed to weaken North Vietnam's economy for a long time to come and make it a second- or third-rank nation in Southeast Asia.

The ambassador said it was not true that the Americans were bombing only military targets. They were dropping antipersonnel bombs on housing areas, schools and hospitals, he said.

He said all industry in the Hanoi area had been knocked out, everything but the harbor had been put out of action in the northeast industrial area of Haukang, the shipping industry and cement factory in Hailphong had been destroyed and the U.S. mining of ports had effectively blocked sea passages.

"The Americans are expending enormous resources on also destroying small workshops, small bridges, small railway stations, everything," he added.

"The biggest worry at the moment is the dams", Oeberg said. The Red River has already begun to rise and it reaches its highest point in July and August. The Americans are aiming at the dams and dikes. If the river swells to the same level as last year there will be an immense catastrophe."

In Hanoi, from which more than 80 per cent of the population had been evacuated, energy was supplied by one steam-power plant still standing and only one hospital remained in use, he added.

"Everyone, diplomats included, must react as human beings," the ambassador said. "Diplomat or not, I do not intend to watch what is happening in silence."
ANNON A VISIT TO TOWN NEAR HANOI SEE FACTORY RUINS

(BY JEAN THORVAL OF AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE)

HANOI, June 24.—This correspondent and a few other members of the foreign press visited the town of Namdinh, a textile center about 60 miles south of Hanoi, today.

The town's commercial district was in total ruin. Utility poles and wires, apparently blasted by American B-52 bombing, littered the streets. Twisted drainpipes and wrought-iron balustrades produced a serpentine effect on the few building facades that remained standing.

The town's main streets were blocked with piles of broken concrete, bricks and other debris.

Half-destroyed and semi-legible signs identified a few shops and factories, one of them the "Weaving Cooperative." It was here that workers in the town produced handkerchiefs and other cotton textile goods.

In the midst of the rubble, townspeople were trying to salvage what remained of their plant. Young women were at work carting cotton, still wringing wet, in wheelbarrows.

CAVE-INS FEARED

The salvage operation was risky because of the danger of cave-ins.

Another district of Namdinh that we visited was in similar condition.

Then, traveling cautiously for fear of further bombings, we made our way to the town's dikes, about 14 miles away. [The Hung, or Red River, North Vietnam's largest stream, flows past Namdinh a short distance to the north.]

One of the embankments was completely cut. Several were gutted, with gaps in the dike itself and hollows, evidently caused by bombs, alongside. Deep cracks were visible everywhere. The landscape was almost what one might have expected to find in the moon.

Village officials feared that the embankments would continue to disintegrate. One man explained that battered, cracked dikes were more difficult to repair than completely demolished ones.

HANOI, NORTH VIETNAM, June 80.—The dike at Phuly, a town about 40 miles from Hanoi, has been seriously damaged.

I was one of a group of foreign and North Vietnamese journalists who, in a convoy led by Phan My, Deputy Minister of Water Conservation, visited Phuly this morning and saw the damaged dike. According to the minister, the dike was attacked three times this month by American planes.

We approached the town before dawn, headlights out. When we were about 10 miles from our destination, exploding antiaircraft shells sent flashes into the dark sky at the nearby city of Namdinh. Seconds later there were bright bursts on the horizon. The attack lasted about 15 minutes shortly before daybreak.

Entering Phuly, which normally has a population of 20,000, we crossed a bridge that had been bombed and rebuilt twice. Bomb craters, some of them immense, were on both sides of the road. Telegraph poles were bent in two.

Then we came to the dike, with its system of sluice gates designed to hold back the muddy waters of the Songday, a tributary of the Red River, and prevent them from flooding the 10 districts of Namha Province.

Here and there we saw craters that women were painstakingly filling by hand. Houses near the dike had been blown up by the bombs, while others were without roofs. An old bunker dating from the French fighting in Indochina had been pierced.

SLUICE GATES INOPERATIVE

The system of sluice gates no longer worked, for the six doors could not move up or down. The reinforced-concrete pillars had been destroyed or cracked.

As for the dike itself, apart from craters in it, it was full of cracks, some of them about a foot wide.
Mr. My said that the Americans attacked the dike three times during June. On June 2, he said fighter-bombers paralyzed Sluice Gate No. 3 and 10 days later attacked No. 1. Then, on June 21, he added, the entire system was attacked. Trees all around had been felled or damaged. I saw one crater big enough to accommodate two trucks.

When we returned to Hanoi we were greeted by the sound of the second air-raid pre-alert in the capital since dawn.

[From the Baltimore Sun, Aug. 16, 1972]

U.S. DELIBERATELY HITTIN G DIKES, GEOGR Apher SAYS

(By Scott Sullivan)

PARIS—A left-wing French geography professor offered a new and highly technical argument yesterday in an effort to prove that American bombing of the North Vietnamese dike system is “deliberate.”

Yves LaCoste, a professor of geography at the University of Paris, published his contentsions yesterday in a front-page article in Le Monde.

“PERSONAL” INVESTIGATION

His findings are the result of a “personal” investigation made in North Vietnam under the auspices of the International Commission for Investigation of U.S. War Crimes in Indochina.

Others visiting North Vietnam at the same time included Ramsey Clark, attorney general in the Johnson administration, and Sean McBride, a former foreign minister of Ireland.

Mr. LaCoste backed up statements by Mr. Clark and Mr. McBride who said that the vital dike system had been severely damaged by American bombing.

Mr. LaCoste added that he was in a position to bring “new pieces of evidence” to the dike-bombing discussion after a “geographical analysis” of the points in the dike system that have been struck.

“PREMEDITATED” PLAN

Essentially, Mr. LaCoste argued that the pattern of American bombing betrays a “premeditated” plan to destroy the dikes, provoke severe floods during the forthcoming rainy season and, “at the least,” damage the food supplies of vast segments of the country’s population.

Mr. LaCoste’s study concentrates on the Red River Delta near Hanoi, where 15 million of the country’s 20 million people live and where there has been the heaviest concentration of bombing.

In that region, the geographer charges, the most significant bit of evidence is that all but four of the bombing attacks have occurred in the eastern part of the delta, from Nam Sach district in the north to the provinces of Thai Binh, Nam Dinh and Ninh Binh in the south.

MOST BOMBING IN EAST

American spokesmen agree that the bulk of the bombing has been in the east. And they have cited the fact in arguing that if the idea of the bombing were to provoke massive flooding, the raids should have been concentrated not in the east but in the west—or upstream—parts of the Red River delta.

Mr. LaCoste challenges this argument directly. Not only is the eastern, or lower delta, section by far the more populous, but it includes the largest areas of floodable ground, the French geographer argued.

In a second section of his analysis, Mr. LaCoste examined the southern part of Thai Binh province, which forms a sort of man-made island between a branch of the Red River and the Traly River, an important rice-growing area with a population of 600,000.

The key to the safety of this area is the huge sluice gate at Lan, through which excess rain water is released into the South China Sea.

The Lan sluice gate, Mr. LaCoste charged, has been bombed a dozen times since May 24, the last three raids coming in the first week of August.
As a result, according to the geographer, the water "which cannot flow out to sea, is beginning to accumulate in the rice paddies, where a good part of the harvest can be considered as lost."

Mr. Lacoste also confirmed earlier reports that bombs dropped on the dikes were equipped with delaying devices. Describing a July 14 raid on the Red River dike near the village of Tan Lap, he said, 13 of 14 bombs exploded between 6 hours and 21 days after they landed.

The French geographer concluded his charges with the statement that August 5 American bombers destroyed the Nha May Khoi factory, which manufactured material used in repairing sluice gates and other hydraulic installations.

REUTERS DISPATCH (PARTIALLY PRINTED IN WASHINGTON POST, AUG. 17, 1972)

PARIS... August 16, Reuter-A French engineer whose specialty includes dike-building said today that American bombing of dikes in North Vietnam was not only deliberate, but clearly designed to hit the system at its weakest points.

The comment was made by Daniel Mandelbaum, 32, one of two French experts who recently returned from two weeks in North Vietnam with the Swedish-based International Commission of Inquiry into U.S. War Crimes in Indochina.

"The points chosen are the key ones for the destruction of the system," Mandelbaum said.

He told a press conference that, with Paris University geographer Yves Lacoste, he had concentrated during a July 29-Aug. 12 visit in the Red River delta region, which includes Hanoi and Haiphong, speaking with specialists and examining hydraulic works.

"The dikes are built according to the rules of the art. The methods are rudimentary but ingenious and sufficient," Mandelbaum said, noting that he was taking exception to official American statements that the dikes were badly made. Mandelbaum, a specialist in soil mechanics currently doing research for the French Ministry of Public Works, also said it was not true that the dikes were easily repaired, especially since earth used for the repairs at this season was already almost too wet to use.

He said he had seen no roads or anti-aircraft batteries on the dikes that could serve as military targets, and even though he tried to drive on one dike in a jeep, it bogged down. The United States has said that some dikes had been hit by bombs aimed at nearby military targets.

Lacoste, who also attended the conference, explained with the aid of maps and photographs the basis of their conclusion that American air raids were clearly aimed at the weakest points of the dike system in North Vietnam.

He cited examples including the Nam Sach dike complex east of Hanoi and the Thai Binh system near the coast south of Haiphong, pointing out key sites where they had been breached.

"The dikes were attacked exactly at the point where it risks submerging the whole thing," he commented.

Lacoste, a professor at Paris University, wrote a front-page article for the influential newspaper *Le Monde* Tuesday in which he said that from April 16 to July 31 a total of 96 sites were seriously hit by 160-air attacks.

He said today he had been told in North Vietnam during their visit and he had checked its accuracy.

[From *Le Monde*, Aug. 16, 1972]

"THE BOMBING OF DIKES IS DELIBERATE"

(The Testimony of a Frenchman Returned From North Vietnam)

Returning to the United States after a visit to North Vietnam made with a delegation of the International Commission of Inquiry into American War Crimes in Vietnam, Ramsey Clark, former attorney general under President Johnson, has stated that an area where six hundred thousand people live from flooding "has been hit several times." Another member of the commission, Sean McBride, former Irish minister of foreign affairs, has affirmed that the North Vietnamese dikes were "systematically" attacked, adding: "For example, in one region which I visited, about 70 kilometers (42 miles)
south of Hanoi, a portion of the dike nearly one kilometer long had at least fifty bomb craters; none of the craters was more than 30 meters (30 yards) from the center of the dike."

Another member of that mission of inquiry to North Vietnam was Yves Lacoste, professor of geography at the University of Paris VIII, who has personally made an investigation into the dike bombing, mostly in the flat regions at the base of the Red River delta. Mr. Lacoste makes known his conclusions in the article we publish below:

"By Yves Lacoste

"(Professor of geography of the University of Paris VIII, Member of the International Commission of Inquiry Into War Crimes)

"In the controversy where, for the past several weeks, those who denounce the bombings of North Vietnamese dikes oppose the American administration, it is possible to assemble a dossier of a new nature, arising from a geographic analysis of the points where the dike network has been hit with bombs."

"From April 16 to July 31 (the bombings continue as well in August), the water works system of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was made the object of more than one hundred fifty attacks; it has been hit seriously in 96 different places."

"The International Commission of Inquiry into War Crimes, among others, has particularly studied the effects of these bombings of the dikes of the Red River delta. It is really in that region containing the major part of the population where the largest number of bombed location occurs: 68 out of 96. The Commission preferred to concentrate their investigations on that region, the one on which the menace of floods weighs most heavily because of the might of the rivers which cross it.

"The American administration, after first denying the dike bombings, has since admitted that the waterworks could have been hit because of the presence of military objectives in their immediate neighborhood. The American administration has energetically denied that these attacks could have been aimed at the waterworks in a deliberate fashion.

"WHY IN THE EAST?

"If one examines closely the map which has the bombed dikes marked, a first pattern emerges: with the exception of four cases (two close to Hanoi and two on the sluice at Phn Ly on the River Day), all the bombed locations (64 out of 68) lie in the eastern part of the delta, in the district of Nam Such in the north, the province of Thai Binh, and the provinces of Nam Dinh and Ninh Binh in the south. The American administration, moreover, recognizes this fact and pretends this puts the argument in their favor, declaring that bombings intended to cause severe floods would aim at the western part of the delta, near the upper reach of the rivers, which is precisely the safe region. The examination of geographic conditions permits one, on the contrary, to reach opposite conclusions (to the American administration).

"Indeed, schematically, the Red River delta can be divided into two parts: in the west, in the high delta, the rivers flowing directly from mountains undergoing a terrific erosion, have built up numerous alluvial deposits; not only those which form the banks of the river, but also those arising from numerous changes in the river course before the dikes were built.

"In the east, in the low delta, the rivers deposit the major part of the silt. The rivers flow in natural levies, which are lower than the alluvial walls in the high delta. The terrain there is made up of vast low stretches, more or less flat.

"The major flood danger area in the delta lies where the arms of the Red River diverge toward the sea. While in the high delta, most villages are located on the heights of the many old alluvial deposits which rise well above the low areas, in the low delta, on the contrary, most villages are lower than the river, right in the flood danger area if the dikes were to break. It is exactly the eastern part of the delta which has been bombed almost exclusively. If the bombings do not aim at dikes, but at "military objectives", they would have to be distributed within the whole delta. The high delta and the region of Hanoi has been bombed repeatedly. Curiously, the dikes have not been hit there.

"One could conclude that the concentration of the dike bombings in the eastern part of the delta, the region most densely populated and most important agriculturally, betrays the deliberate character of these attacks since they are localized exactly where their effects would be worst."
On another level of geographic analysis, examining different sectors of the eastern part of the delta in a more detailed manner, the premeditated character of the bombings emerges when one takes into account the organization of the waterworks. One of the most striking examples is furnished by the southern part of the province of Thai Binh, between the Red River to the south and one of its arms, the River Traly to the north. These two rivers, both flowing on alluvial deposits, form the borders of a long drainage system opening toward the east, toward the sea. The improvement of this area, where six hundred thousand people now live, has been made possible by the construction of river dikes and also coastal dikes keeping back sea water. But it is necessary to release excess rain water at the ocean end of that vast drainage system during low tide. This is done by the important sluice gate of Lan.

The bombings have aimed at the key points of this complex system of waterworks, and, above all, at the Lan sluice. Between May 24 and July 29, it has been attacked 9 times. Despite this damage, three new raids took place in the first week of August on the sluice gate, obviously to make repairs impossible. The sluice gate is far from all other objectives. Thus the waters, unable to flow into the sea, are beginning to accumulate in the rice paddies where a good part of the crop may be considered lost.

**DELAYED-ACTION BOMBS**

Moreover, four bombings have hit the dikes of the river Traly to the north and three on the dikes of the Red River to the south. These bombings were aimed against the concave part of the dike which is subject to the greatest pressure of the current at floodpeak. In two places, delayed-action bombs have been used: for example, of the fourteen bombs dropped on July 14 on the dike of the Red River near the village of Tan-Lap, thirteen have exploded at different intervals (some six hours later and others up to 21 days afterwards).

So the operation on the southern part of Thai Binh province can be summarized as follows: to cause, on the one hand, breaches in the dikes at the weakest points, vulnerable despite repairs to giving way at the time of highest water (it is, in fact, very difficult to properly pack down the earth which already absorbed too much water from the summer rains; hence the dike repairs are very fragile); on the other hand, to block the sluice in order to hamper the flow of water to the sea. Thus, at a minimum, part of the rice paddies are ruined and the subsistence of six hundred thousand people compromised. At the worst, if very strong floods result, there are numerous villages located lower than the alluvial banks which are in danger of being flash-flooded in the case of a sudden breach of the dikes: either those places where the dikes have been repaired imperfectly because of the season, or those where new bombings will take place.

"It is important to underline that, while the dike bombings of the 'Johnson era' halted for the most part before the season of high waters, those of the 'Nixon period' do not seem about to stop. River dikes continue to be attacked, as well as the coastal dikes which are constantly bombarded by the Seventh Fleet. The sluices are particularly valuable objectives since their destruction could produce either the accumulation of too much water in the settled or cultivated areas, or flooding by sea water which makes the soil impossible to cultivate for several years."

Finally, one will have an idea of the total and systematic nature of the operation taken against the waterworks system of North Vietnam when one learns that the factory Nha May Ghe Khi (near Hanoi) which furnishes the material necessary to repair the sluices and other water works was destroyed on August 5 by a bombardment particularly intense (2000-pound bombs) and precise.”

**PART II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REPORTS**

[From the New York Times, June 8, 1972]

HANOI SAYS DIKES ARE BOMBED; 2 TOP PENTAGON AIDES DENY IT

(By John L. Hess)

PARIS, June 8.—North Vietnam charged today that the United States had been intentionally and heavily bombing its dikes, an action that could provoke major floods in its most-populous rural areas.

The North Vietnamese mission to the suspended peace talks here listed eight sectors where it alleged that heavy bombs and naval artillery had damaged...
dikes, dams and locks in repeated attacks from April 10 to May 24. It also reported nine bombing raids asserted to have struck schools and killed scores of children.

Referring to President Nixon's visit to a cemetery in Leningrad where he met a war orphan named Tanya, a spokesman for Hanoi said, "North Vietnam has many Tanyas."

The spokesman, Nguyen Thanh Le, also indicated at a news conference that Senator George McGovern would be welcome to come to Hanoi, as he offered yesterday to do if elected President.

Asked about such a visit, Mr. Le said that, in the first place, Hanoi wanted President Nixon to reply positively to the Communist peace proposals, and, secondly, was happy at all times to receive Americans who seek peace.

If Mr. Nixon were ready to negotiate, the Paris peace conference could "register important progress in 24 hours," he said. But he told another questioner that there had been no contact with the Americans since they broke off the talks, four weeks ago.

A statement by the North Vietnamese delegation said that American planes had conducted 42 raids and dropped 580 bombs on the dikes and waterworks of the Red River and other streams up to May 24. It added that ships of the Seventh Fleet had fired 500 shells on coastal dikes of Haihau district, about 70 miles southeast of Hanoi.

Yves Lacoste, a geographer at the University of Vincennes, warned in an article in the newspaper, Le Monde, this week that the bombings might have so weakened the dikes that a major catastrophe could occur in the flood season, which begins in July.

Mr. Le, who appeared to agree, said that as a result of a major dike-building program, the country could "cope with any natural situation" and was now "doing all it can to bandage the wounds and strengthen the dams and dikes."

"But if Nixon continues," he said, "he must shoulder the responsibility. For our part, we'll continue our resistance, and it is to be foreseen that he'll meet worse defeats than before."

**STATEMENT BY THE SPOKESMAN OF THE DRVN MINISTRY OF WATER CONSERVANCY ON US AIR AND NAVAL BOMBARDMENTS AGAINST THE DYES AND WATER CONSERVANCY SYSTEM OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM**

In April and May, 1972, the Nixon administration ushered in a new, highly barbaric stage of its war escalation against North Viet Nam. Along with attacks on densely populated areas, including Hai Phong port city and Ha Noi capital, from April 10 to May 24, 1972, the US Imperialists on 42 occasions sent flights of planes to dump 580 demolition bombs of different calibres on the dyke networks of the Red River and Thai Binh, Day, Me, Lam and Le rivers belonging to Ha Tinh, Nghe An, Thanh Hoa, Ninh Binh, Nam Ha and Hai Hung provinces and Ha Noi city.

Besides the air dropping of high-calibre bombs on dykes of large rivers, day and night, US warships from the sea bomarded the sea-dyke system and violently pounded a number of water-conservancy works of the DRVN.

In Nghe An, from April 10 to 20, on many consecutive days, groups of US aircraft dropped 126 demolition bombs and containers of antipersonnel bombs on a dyke section on the left bank of Lam river belonging to Hung Nguyen district, seriously damaging it and causing many casualties among volunteers who were repairing the dyke there.

In Thanh Hoa, repeatedly on April 19, 20, 24, 26 and 27 and May 18, 17 and 18, 1972, flights of US aircraft, day and night, unloaded 158 high-calibre demolition bombs on the dykes of Ma and Len rivers, belonging to Hoang Hoa, Dong Son, Thieu Hoa, Vinh Loc and Ha Trung districts.

In Ninh Binh, on May 2, 6, 14, 17, 22 and 23, 1972, US aircraft discharged large numbers of demolition bombs on neuragile dyke sections and lower water conservancy works along the Day river dyke from Gia Vien district to Yen Khanh and Kim Son districts. In particular, on May 22, 1972, 44 sorties of US planes dumped 28 demolition bombs on Ha Phu dyke, Thuan Phu village, Yen Khanh district, breaking or causing to slide down 150 meters of dyke, some place on an uninterrupted length of 25 meters.

In Nam Ha, repeatedly on May 6, 7, 12 and 17, 1972, dozens of high calibre bombs were dropped on the dykes of Nam Dinh canal and Day river in the Red River basin, damaging many dyke sections and lower water conservancy works.
Besides, day and night, US warships from the sea fired 550 shells on the sea-dyke in Hai Hau district, damaging sluices and dyke sections.

The Red River left-bank dyke, on May 10, 1972, was also damaged by US bombs at many places in the section belonging to Yen Tan village, Gia Lam district, Ha Noi suburbs.

Especially, on May 21, a 1-odd km sea dyke section in Thai Loc village, Thai Thuy district, Thai Binh province, received as many as 180 demolition bombs.

Obviously, those crazy war acts of the Nixon administration, those day-and-night air and naval bombardments against the dyke and water-conservancy system of the DRVN aimed at the exterminating en masse men and property in heavily populated areas in North Vietnam, constitute most savage acts prohibited by international law.

The DRVN Ministry of Water Conservancy vehemently denounces to public opinion at home and abroad those crimes of blackest dye of the Nixon administration and absolutely demand that the latter immediately end the bombardments against the DRVN dyke and water-conservancy system as well as all other war acts against the Vietnamese people.

We call on the people of the peace- and justice-loving countries in the world, including the American progressive people, to strongly condemn the Nixon administration's above crimes and take effective and energetic measures to timely stop those barbarous acts of the US imperialists.

No matter how mad, cruel and pernicious are they, the aggressive Nixon clique can in no way shake the Vietnamese people's iron-like determination to defeat the US aggressors. The US imperialists' crazy war acts against the Vietnamese people only show that they are being inflicted heavy setbacks in their scheme of neo-colonialist aggression in South Vietnam, that they are in a hopeless declining position and will meet with total failure. The more the US imperialists step up their attacks against the dykes and water conservancy works in North Viet Nam, the deeper will grow the Vietnamese people in both zones, who are determined to punish the aggressors five times, ten times more severely to defend, the socialist achievements in the North, liberate the South and go forward to a peaceful reunification of the country.

COMMUNIQUE ISSUED BY THE SPOKESMAN FOR DRVN MINISTRY OF WATER CONSERVANCY: IN JUNE 1972, THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS AIR RAIDS ON THE DRVN DIKE AND WATER CONSERVANCY SYSTEM

Over nearly 3 months, from April 10 to June 29, 1972, US aircraft have conducted 77 bombing and strafing raids on 37 important dike portions of large rivers, 33 hydraulic works and many dike-repairing sites, dropping 764 high-calibre demolition bombs and hundreds of containers of steel-pellet bombs or of other kinds of anti-personnel weapons.

In June, 1972, alone, the US imperialists concentrated 20 violent attacks on a number of dyke portions and irrigation works already hit more than once in April and May. Meanwhile, they extended the scope of attack to other dyke portions. What is most savage is that the US imperialists intensified the use of steel-pellet bombs and other antipersonnel bombs, especially perforating bombs, against dyke menders.

Following are some typical cases among those utterly criminal raids:

On June 10, 1972, the US imperialists flew 55 sorties of planes for a second intensive attack on Thac Ha hydro-electric station with a view to bringing about sudden flood in the downstream area since the dam is a major flood-preventing work in the entire Red River system. Then, in the morning of June 14, in a bid to prevent the mending and consolidating of dykes, many flights of US aircraft, coming from the sea, rained anti-personnel bombs on civilians who were repairing a dyke portion on the southern bank of Ma river in Dong Son district, bombed in the preceding month, killing or wounding scores of them.

On June 18, many flights of US planes, coming from the sea, dumped dozens of demolition bombs on the dyke and a sluice below it. The dyke got a 200m-breath village, Nghia Hung district, Nam Ha province, belonging to the Red River system. The dyke was damaged on a stretch of 1,000 meters of which 500 meters were heavily battered. The Minh Chau sluice below was also seriously damaged by US bombs and missiles. An eventual breaking of that dike portion on the period of great swellings might cause tens of thousands of hectares of fields in the
2 districts of Nghia Hung and Nam Ninh to be flooded, thus endangering the life and property of hundreds of thousands of people.

In particular, the Kim Bang dyke in the same province was bombed on 3 occasions (June 2, 6 and 21, 1972). On June 21, US aircraft dropped 3 large-size demolition bombs on the dyke and a sluice below it. The dyke got a 200m-breath and the sluice was smashed. The Kim Bang dyke belonging to the Day river system protects from flood the six northern districts and the capital of Nam Has province and the sluice is designed to ease thousands of hectares of fields in Duy Tien district of excessive water in case of submergence. If this dike collapses, the life and property of about a million peasants in the province will be in great danger and tens of thousands of hectares of cropland will be inundated.

These premeditated and deliberate attacks on dykes and water conservancy works in the preceding months as well as in June 1972, constitute an extremely savage and loathsome crime of the Nixon clique. In the forthcoming rainy season, the consequences of these acts of sabotage will be a serious threat of dyke-breaking and flood.

Evidence is overwhelming that Nixon and Co are the author of the attacks on dykes and other irrigation works in North Viet Nam. Yet the war maniacs in the White House and the Pentagon have advanced extremely impudent and preposterous denials to cover up their crimes. Moreover, despite growing protest and condemnation from the world public, the inhuman war criminals and perpetrators of genocide in Washington are continuing their criminal acts.

The DRVN Ministry of Water Conservancy vehemently denounces and condemns the Nixon’s administration’s barbarous, pernicious schemes and acts and attacks on the dykes and hydraulic works of North Vietnam. We severely warn the Nixon administration that it must bear full responsibility for all the consequences of its acts in case of dyke-breaking and flood, and resolutely demand an immediate end to these felonies. We call on public opinion and the peace- and justice-loving countries all over the world and the progressive public in the US to step up the denunciation and condemnation of these savage acts of genocide taken by Nixon and Co against the Vietnamese people, thus actively contributing to stop their criminal hand.

No matter how frantic and cruel the US imperialists are, the Vietnamese people with the determined-to-overcome-all-difficulties-and-hardships-to-fight-and-to-win spirit, will perseveringly continue and press forward their struggle against US aggression for national salvation till they strongly defeat and duly punish the new Hitlerites of our time.

EXCERPTS OF THE PRESS CONFERENCE OF VO VAN SUNG, GENERAL-DELEGATE TO FRANCE FROM THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM, JUNE 22, 1972

Q. What is the exact period during which the water level is at its highest?
A. From June through October, although most critical points are reached during July and August. This is the time when danger of floods is the greatest.

Q. What proportion of the dikes in the DRVN have been touched by the bombing raids? Also, some points in the dikes are more crucial than others; have these been touched?
A. The Americans have already attacked all of the dike networks throughout the DRVN. The Americans attack both dikes and dams; they attack river dikes as well as sea dikes. They employ several different tactics in these attacks. First of all, they strike the dikes directly with bombs of medium or high calibre. Secondly, in order to cover their crimes, the Americans do not always strike the dike itself, but instead unleash bombs of very high calibre in immediate proximity of the dikes. The shock waves of these attacks, traveling through the ground, weaken the foundations and lower the capacity of the dikes to hold back the rivers and seas at high water marks. And finally, the U.S. forces have hit the same areas with anti-personnel bombs, killing the peasants who have come to repair and reinforce the dikes.

We have no information on the vital portions of the dikes. We can say, however, that the recent attack on the Song Ma dam may provoke a catastrophe many times greater than that of Rapid City, South Dakota.

Q. Is there danger of flooding?
A. The breaking of the dikes and dams, in periods of high waters, threatens the lives of millions of people, and might submerge hundreds of thousands of acres.

Q. Is the damage to the dikes as great as that inflicted by the Japanese in 1945?
A. The damage to the dikes in 1945 was extremely grave. There was flooding
throughout seven Provinces. Two million people died, either directly, from the 

floods, or indirectly from famine.

Q. Was there American bombing of the dikes between 1965 and 1968?

A. During the period called "the first escalation," there were American raids against the dikes, but they were not as concentrated as at present. The earlier strikes were fewer and spread out over several years. In the past two or three months, there have been over one hundred attacks on the dikes.

[From the New York Times, June 23, 1972]

DIKE ATTACKS CHARGED

PARIS, June 22—North Vietnam appealed to world opinion today to halt what it called a "premeditated" effort by the United States to destroy its dike system and flood the country in the coming months.

Vo Van Sung of the Hanoi delegation here read a statement at a news conference charging that from April 10 to June 10 the United States attacked dikes 665 times, dropping 605 bombs along the Red River and other waterways.

The statement asserted that 32 portions of dikes and 31 hydraulic works had been seriously damaged, while a large number of civilians working on repairs and reinforcement of the dikes had been killed or wounded by antipersonnel bombs.

Mr. Sung asserted that the American aim was to spread death and famine among the civilian population and lower its morale. "The possible rupture of the dikes in North Vietnam during the season of cresting rivers would threaten millions of inhabitants and create the danger of submersion of hundreds of thousands of acres of cultivated land," he said.

Mr. Sung indicated that most of the bombs had fallen not directly on the dikes, but close to them. He asserted that this was an effort to weaken the dike structure so that it could not resist the water pressure when the rivers rose in July and August.

"VENGEANCE" IS CHARGED

He linked the air threat in the dike region to what he said was a search for "vengeance" by President Nixon. He said that President Nixon was rankled by what was termed the failure of Vietnaming in South Vietnam.

There has been nothing in the terms employed by North Vietnamese spokesmen recently to suggest any softening of Hanoi's negotiating position as a result of the diplomatic and military pressure they have publicly protested. Today, while expressing obvious worry, Mr. Sung described the Vietnamese people as "persevering in their patriotic struggle for independence and freedom."

[From LeMonde, June 24, 1972]

HANOI CASTS AN APPEAL TO WORLD OPINION To PREVENT DESTRUCTION OF THE DIKE SYSTEM

It was with pathetic tone that M. Vo Van Sung, general delegate of the DRV (Democratic Republic of VietNam) to France, declared Thursday afternoon to the press: "In the name of the Vietnamese people, the delegation of the DRV to France condemns with force the extremely barbarous acts of genocide of the Nixon administration which consists of systematic attacks against dikes and hydraulic works in North VietNam, denounces them vigorously and alerts French and world opinion to this extremely grave crime not only against the Vietnamese people but against all of humanity that the Nixon administration is in the midst of committing. The Vietnamese people appeal to the people's of the world, to international organizations, to the scientists of the world, to take action now to stop the bloody hand of the American aggressors and to energetically demand that they put a stop to the bombings of the dikes and hydraulic works, as well as to every act of war against the Vietnamese people."

GUAVA BOMBS ON PEASANTS

Each day, in effect, for some time, Hanoi has announced attacks against the hydraulic system. From April 10 to June 10, there were aerial bombardments.
totalling 68 and several naval bombardments. 38 important frustums and 81 hydraulic works were heavily damaged. The diverse river basins—that of the Red River and its tributaries, the Clear River and the Black River, the Thay Binh River and the Song-Dao were attacked. The central part of the Thac-Ba Dam was destroyed; a simple fissure in the dam, which took ten years to construct, would provoke a catastrophe, for the lake reserve would spill over on hundreds of thousands of inhabitants. The same would go for the Do-Luong—in the Nghe-An River—which was also attacked.

The North Vietnamese are no longer hiding their fear, at least as great, they emphasize, as the air raids—such as those of the 14th of June, in the south of their country—of guava bombs on peasants and students who fill in the holes provoked by the raids. And now, the rainy season will begin in about two weeks. It will last until October. The months of August and September will be critical.

Perhaps the huge dikes have already been shaken, without the engineers knowing it, by the explosions. If the system were to crack, millions of persons would risk being drowned; the best lands would be under water.

15 million Vietnamese (out of a total of 20 million) live in the river basins. The density in the Delta is from 700 to 800 inhabitants per sq kilometer. Soon, the rivers will exercise a formidable push on the dikes which protect the cities such as Hanoi. This summer, the output of the Clear River at Yen-Bai will be 17,800 cubic meters per second, that of the Black River at Son-Tay will be 33,500 cubic meters per second (the average output of the Seine in Paris is 450 cu. meters; the maximum reached during the floods of 1910 was 2500 cu. meters). In 1945, recalled M. Vo Van Sung, there were about 2 million deaths in the North, when the Japanese provoked the rupture of the dikes; for, due to the catastrophe, came a famine. Last year, the North also knew very high waters; there were no doubt victims, but they weren’t numerous, he believed. Each year since 1954 the peasants have transported from 2 to 3 million cubic meters of earth to reinforce their some 4,000 kilometers of dikes. M. Sung recalled in his press conference that Selb-Inquart, Nazi war criminal, was hanged for having destroyed hydraulic installations in Southern France.

Meanwhile, raids against the DRV remain numerous: 270 on Thursday, several B-52’s near Dong-Hoi city. The Americans claim to have lost one plane; the Vietnamese affirmed having destroyed four aircraft and declared that two dikes were destroyed in Quang-Ninh province.

[From LeMonde, June 28, 1972]

M. Trang Dang Khoa, Director of the Institute of Hydraulic Sciences, expressed astonishment that humanity was so concerned about atomic testing in the Pacific, but scarcely worried about the catastrophe which is threatening his country because of the bombing of the dikes. He asked journalists, technicians, scholars, and jurists around the world to do everything possible to stop “the bloody hands of the bellicose Nixon and to avert catastrophe that no conscience could pardon.”

[From the Washington Post, June 29, 1972]

VO RENEWS CHARGES OF BOMBING OF DIKES

PARIS, June 28—Despite Pentagon denials, the Vietcong today renewed charges that the United States was bombing North Vietnamese dikes and flood control systems in order to cause their “systematic destruction.”

Waving a photograph allegedly showing a partially destroyed irrigation canal, Vietcong spokesman Ly Van Sau told a news conference that impartial witnesses have seen the destruction of dikes. Official Pentagon denials only “reveal the Nixon administration’s cynicism,” he said.

“He today flies over flooded areas of the United States,” he added, “he is conducting the most diabolical plan to submerge vast areas of North Vietnam under water.”

The spokesman stressed that there was “absolutely no change” in the Vietcong’s demands that the United States accept their year-old seven-point peace plan. He again rejected President Nixon’s May 8 offer to withdraw all U.S. troops four months after a cease-fire and release of all American POWs.

Sau also took the unusual step of differing with the French government in public. He “regretted” that French entry visas had not been forthcoming for a
North and South Vietnamese delegation of victims of U.S. bombing who had hoped to meet near here with an American group representing Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

Sau said tartly "you'll have to ask the French" why the Vietnamese group had been held up in Moscow awaiting the visas.

[From the Washington Post, July 5, 1972]

U.S. BOMBS DIKE GATES, HANOI SAYS

(By Murrey Marder)

North Vietnam is now accusing the United States of using television and laser-controlled “smart” bombs to knock out sluice gates and repair centers for its dike system.

According to North Vietnam, the United States is now striking its dike maintenance system while denying it is engaging in any attacks on “dikes.” Hanoi charges that this is a “mendacious” scheme to so weaken the dike system that when flooding develops during coming weeks it can be blamed on “natural calamity.” North Vietnam is warning its farmers to “be ready to overcome the greatest difficulties.”

The intensified charges about American bombing attacks on North Vietnam’s dike system produced another Defense Department denial that U.S. aircraft are aiming at the dike complex.

Defense Department press spokesman Jerry W. Friedheim said yesterday: “The dike system of the North has not been targeted, as we said a number of times. I wouldn’t want to guess about what might have happened to some (dikes), if in fact anything happened to them.

“We’re obviously being treated to a kind of worldwide propaganda campaign on this subject in which the enemy may hope to explain the normal monsoon flooding by blaming it on us.

“It always floods during the monsoon in North Vietnam and it probably will again. We have not targeted dikes and we have no intention to do so.”

North Vietnam has been intensifying its charges of U.S. attacks on its dike system, and conducting diplomats and newsmen based in Hanoi on tours to examine the claimed damage.

President Nixon said last Thursday that “we have orders out not to hit dikes because the result in terms of civilian casualties would be extraordinary.” Nevertheless Hanoi insists the dike complexes are being hit, with new concentration on the dike maintenance equipment, even more than on the dikes themselves.

The rising North Vietnamese criticism, which is receiving increasing world support, is likely to be pursued vigorously when the Paris peace talks on Vietnam resume July 13. The Stockholm Conference on Vietnam on Sunday said it will rally world technicians to aid in reconstructing the dikes allegedly damaged by American bombing.

In a July 1 statement, North Vietnam’s Water Conservancy Ministry charged:

“Especially in June, the U.S. Imperialists violently struck 20 times (at) sections of dikes and water conservancy projects that had already been repeatedly hit in April and May.

“More barbarous still, the U.S. Imperialists stepped up using CBU bombs and smart bombs to strike the dike-repair sites . . . to prevent the people in the localities from repairing and strengthening dikes to prevent flash floods and other flooding.”

An Agence France Presse reporter in Hanoi, Jean Thora Val, reported on June 30 that he was taken to Phu Ly, about 40 miles from Hanoi, to inspect bomb damage to a tributary of the Red River. He reported, “The system of sluice gates no longer worked, for the six doors could not move up or down. The reinforced concrete pillars had been destroyed or cracked. As for the dike itself, apart from the craters which demolished it; it was full of cracks, some of them 30 centimeters wide.”

North Vietnam last year suffered its worst natural floods in modern history. The condemnatory language used against the Nixon administration is now reaching new depths of bitterness. The Army newspaper, Quan Doi Nhan Dan said on June 29:

“In his impasse (in the war), Nixon is repeating the crimes of Hitler by ordering U.S. aircraft to attack dikes in a systematic manner with the intention to cause floods and bring the Vietnamese people to their knees.”
Hanoi, North Vietnam, July 6 (Agence France-Presse)—The North Vietnamese Foreign Ministry said today that American planes attacked inhabited areas of a dozen provinces yesterday, from the southernmost part of the country almost to the Chinese border.

It said that a dike had been damaged in Xuanlam commune of Nghe An Province, in the middle of the country, and that a sluice gate in Nam Ha Province, south of Hanoi, had been struck.

Agence France-Presse Dispatch on Several Dike Bombings Reported by the North Vietnamese News Agency

Hong Kong, July 9, AFP—American fighter bombers badly damaged the foundation of the forty-year-old Hai Thang dam in North Vietnam after dive bombing it with 8,000-pounders on July 6, the North Vietnamese news agency reported today. The bombs dug craters 6-7 meters (yards) in diameter on the left side of the dam on the Chua River in Thanh Hoa province. The agency claimed one of the bombs fell squarely on the surface of the dam, tearing a hole 1.5 meters deep and 3 meters wide, causing large cracks in the dam body. U.S. planes bombèd the main canal connecting the dam to paddy fields a few hours later when six large bombs severed the canals at many places, the Agency claimed. The VNA charged that during the last three months U.S. aircraft have bombèd dikes and dams in Thanh Hoa province 27 times, killing scores of people busy filling up the craters. From July 1 to July 6 U.S. planes also made night raids against dikes, piers, medical stations, and farming establishments in Hai Hung province, damaging many vital dike sections, killing many civilians, the Agency claimed. U.S. planes dropped twelve demolition bombs on a pier at Duyen Yen hamlet in Hoc Thanh village, Kim Dong district on the night of July 1, blowing up 8 meters of dike, VNA also claimed. A flight of U.S. 6 planes dropped four bombs on a dike section at Thanh Bich village at Thanh Ha district on July 2, destroying 10 meters of dike, VNA added.

Agence France-Presse Dispatch on Several Dike Bombings Reported by the North Vietnamese Foreign Ministry

Hanoi, July 10, AFP—The North Vietnamese Foreign Ministry today protested against U.S. bombing of Haiphong suburbs, ten North Vietnam provinces and Vin Linh town near the 17th parallel Saturday and Sunday. The Ministry said that the dikes were attacked at three points during the weekend raids by fighter bombers: in Nam Ha province, in the commune at Truc Thanh and in Hai Hung province 60 miles southeast of Hanoi.

Fat Albert Bombs Used, 1st Six Score Six Hits

(By George Esper)

Saigon.—The U.S. Navy announced today the introduction of a new, one-ton video bomb called “Fat Albert” into the air war against North Vietnam and termed it highly effective.

The weapon is an improved version of the “Walleye” television bomb and has been in use for a month, the Navy said.

Capt. Marland W. Townsend, commanding officer of the carrier Kitty Hawk, said the first six Fat Alberts scored direct hits on their targets, while reducing the risk that American pilots would be hit by ground fire.

Townsend said four bridges were downed and two military supply buildings were destroyed by the bombs.

“You can’t beat 100 percent,” he said.

Twice as Powerful

The Fat Albert, named by fliers aboard the Kitty Hawk, is twice as powerful as the Walleye and has a television camera in the nose to direct the bomb to the target.
"The primary advantages of the Fat Albert over the earlier Walleye series are increased explosive impact, better reliability and greater standoff range—or the ability to hit targets from higher altitudes, the most popular feature for combat air crews exposed to enemy ground fire," the Navy said.

The Navy said it would continue to use the Walleye, first used against North Vietnam in March 1967, and also the laser-guided bombs.

270 STRIKES MADE

The U.S. Command announced, meanwhile, that U.S. pilots carried out 270 tactical air strikes against targets inside North Vietnam yesterday.

The Navy said its pilots leveled three coastal defense sites, northeast and southeast of the port city of Vinh, with laser guided bombs.

Other Navy planes from the three carriers in the Tonkin Gulf hit hard for the second successive day in the Hanoi-Halphong region. The pilots reported destroying six buildings in the Chung Hau storage area 28 miles northeast of Hanoi, five buildings at the Mai Thinh vehicle truck park a mile farther northeast, three warehouses 14 miles northeast of Haiphong and a railroad bridge 18 miles northwest of the port city.

Pilots said they sank three barges on a small waterway 19 miles northeast of Halphong, and in attacks against coastal transshipment points 20 miles northeast of Halphong triggered six large secondary explosions and two sustained fires.

Radio Hanoi claimed that 14 U.S. warplanes bombed a section of dikes in North Vietnam's Hai Hung Province on Tuesday and that a large number of Western newsmen saw it.

The broadcast said the newsmen had been taken to the area near Hiep Oa and Nan Hung villages to see damage allegedly done to dikes there by U.S. bombs two days earlier.

"While the reporters were inspecting and photographing this damage," Radio Hanoi said, "a wave of 14 U.S. warplanes dropped 28 bombs in a massive, concentrated attack against a portion of the dikes less than 600 meters from where the newsmen were standing."

The North Vietnamese radio said two of the bombs scored direct hits on top of the dike and 23 others hit along the sides, "cratering and cracking a 200-meter long section."

Radio Hanoi said the "more than 60 reporters and newsmen" present included representatives of French, Japanese and Swedish television network, and reporters and photographers from newspapers and magazines in Germany, France, Russia, Japan and China.

[From the Guardian, July 22, 1972]

RICHARD GOTT WITH THE VIETNAMESE DELEGATION IN PARIS: BREAKING POINT?

Adament that Nixon's diplomatic initiatives in Peking and Moscow have met with failure, the Vietnamese also maintain that the bombing will not break their resolve now, any more than it has done in the past. "Can the bombing halt our determination to fight for a just cause?" asks Mr. Vy without rhetoric. "The answer is no." Next month is the flood season, he explains. "Already there is danger of the dikes breaking. It will increase if the bombing continues." He recalls the recent floods in South Dakota. "The losses there were very big, even though they have more advanced technology than us for dealing with the situation."

Some people believe, Mr. Vy continues, "that after several million people have been killed by the dikes breaking, Vietnam will give in. But they should remember that in 1945 there were floods in Yen Sin and two million people died—and this was followed by the August revolution."

The Americans have repeatedly denied that they are engaged in specific attacks on the Vietnamese dike system, but the Vietnamese insist that Nixon's phrase including as targets "anything that contributes to the war effort" has been interpreted to mean the dikes. Certainly when a group of foreign journalists—among them Jean Thoraval of Agence France Presse—were inspecting dike damage near Hanol, they were able to give incontrovertible proof of the existence of these American attacks. Almost as if for the benefit of the journalists, a dozen American fighter-bombers appeared on the horizon, dropped their bombs on the
dikes, and then returned to spray the startled party with machine gun fire. Fortunately they survived to tell the tale.

“What does Mr. Nixon mean when he claims to be using ‘restraint’?” asks Mr. Vy. “His air war against North Vietnam is even more atrocious than that of Mr. Johnson. Perhaps by restraint he means not using A bombs or H bombs.” Our country, Mr. Vy says, is smaller than Florida, yet it has received a greater tonnage of bombs than that dropped in all of the Second World War in all theatres. “The acts of Mr. Nixon,” he concluded, “are a challenge to you all.”

[From the New York Times, July 23, 1972]

POLEMIC SESSION IN PARIS—NO PROGRESS IS REPORTED AS DISPUTE ON DIKES FLARES—SECRET TALK LOOKED FOR

(By Clyde H. Farnsworth)

PARIS, June 27—The 152d meeting of the Paris peace talks was held here today and Communist and Western sources said that there had been no change from the positions the United States and North Vietnam took at secret talks eight days ago.

At today’s full meeting, American and Communist negotiators traded charges concerning the damage done to dikes in North Vietnam in a reversion to polemics that was another signal of no progress.

The United States yesterday said that any damage done to the North Vietnamese dike system by the American bombing of military installations was accidental and had only “the most incidental and minor impact” on the system.

The American chief delegate, William J. Porter, said to his counterpart from Hanoi, Xuan Thuy, “I note that you make no claim that military equipment or installations were not emplaced near dikes or related structures.”

Hanoi repeated its charge that the United States was waging genocidal warfare. Hanoi’s spokesman, Nguyen Thanh Le, asserted that attacks against the dikes were deliberate because several specific dikes had been struck many times.

Mr. Porter said that Hanoi had brought its troubles on itself by not repairing damage done to dikes by last year’s flood-waters, diverting manpower to building roads across the demilitarized zone to the South in preparation for the spring invasion.

[From the Washington Post, Aug. 4, 1972]

PUBLIC ANGER POINTS TO LITTLE PROGRESS IN PRIVATE VIET TALKS

(By Jonathan C. Randal)

PARIS, Aug. 3—The formal Paris peace conference bogged down in angry exchanges today, adding to the growing impression that the latest private meeting between North Vietnam and the United States failed to narrow fundamental differences.

Symptomatic of the ugly mood at the 153d semipublic session were charges and countercharges arising from Hanoi’s claim that the United States is now systematically bombing North Vietnamese dikes as a matter of policy. The United States maintains that only about a dozen bombings of dikes have occurred and that these were accidental or aimed solely at destroying weapons installed on the dikes.

U.S. Ambassador William J. Porter fruitlessly challenged the North Vietnamese to explain the apparent discrepancy between a recent Hanoi newspaper photograph of a weapon mounted on or behind a dike and North Vietnamese claims last week that “we never put military installation on a dike.”

Hanoi repeated its charge that the United States was waging genocidal warfare. Hanoi’s spokesman, Nguyen Thanh Le, who last week denied weapons were installed on dikes, claimed that President Nixon had uttered “a series of lies” about the dikes during his July 27 news conference.

Both Le and Thuy said that U.S. warplanes have attacked dikes and dams 173 times since April.

Le listed 17 such attacks in April, 46 each in May and June and 68 in the first 27 days of July.
In addition, Thuy charged that American bombs destroyed the Lan sluice gate in Thai-Binh Province which irrigates 120,000 acres of land.

Thuy also charged that American warplanes since April have attacked "100 primary schools, 82 medical installations including 22 hospitals, some 30 pagodas and churches, dozens of farms and forestry installations, many power plants and dozens of enterprises . . . including a flour mill and a candy store."

So angered was Porter by the prepared Hanoi and Vietcong statements to the conference that he lashed out against communist "invective" and "attempts to vilify President Nixon" as well as "continual slanders against the person of (Saigon) President (Nguyen Van) Thieu."

He warned the communist delegates: "You would be well advised to abstain from egregious insult and to concentrate instead on the issues." Porter later expressed the hope that next week the communists would honor "minimal standards of diplomatic interchange."

At no point did any of the head delegates even mention the meeting Tuesday between White House advisor Henry Kissinger and Thuy and Le Duc Tho, the Hanoi Politburo member.

[From the Boston Globe, Aug. 2, 1972]

HANOI MAY EVACUATE DIKE AREA

STOCKHOLM.—Hanoi declared yesterday that the civilian population of North Vietnam will have to be evacuated if American bombings of dikes and dams continue.

The statement was made by Cao Dac Hung, charge d'affaires at the North Vietnamese embassy in Stockholm. He told a press conference that if the bombardment of dikes and dams continued, "it will be necessary to evacuate the population . . . to the Highlands, where they will be exposed to further air attacks."

Cao said US bomber sorties have attacked embankments and dams 173 times from the time US aerial bombings resumed in April until July 25.

"President Nixon alleges that the dams were hit by accident, but so many attacks cannot be judged accidental," he said.

Today from Hong Kong came the report that Hanoi has accused Indonesian foreign minister Adam Malik of helping the United States to cover up American bombings of dikes in North Vietnam.

According to the North Vietnamese army-paper Nguoi Doi Nhan Dan, Malik said in a recent statement that the US air raids had not been carried out with the intention of making the dikes the object of attacks.

The North Vietnam news agency said that Nguyen Viet, acting head of the Third Department for Asia of North Vietnam's Foreign Ministry, told Indonesian charge d'affaires Kasman P. H. Siahaan that Malik's statement "runs counter to the common trend of public opinion in the world, including opinion in the United States, which is . . . demanding that the (US) immediately stop the bombing and shelling of North Vietnam and the blockade of its ports, especially the bombing of its dikes," the agency reported.

PART III: U.S. GOVERNMENT RESPONSES

[From the New York Times, May 9, 1972]

U.S. RESPONSE

[The United States command denied that American jets had bombed the dikes, United Press International reported. In Washington, a Pentagon spokesman said it was possible that North Vietnamese missiles fired at the American planes had missed and fallen back on the dikes.]

[From the New York Times, June 8, 1972]

BOMBING OF DIKES DENIED

WASHINGTON, June 8.—Two high-ranking military officials denied today that the North Vietnamese dikes had been targets of the bombing campaign.

Vice Adm. William P. M Line, who commanded the Seventh Fleet until two weeks
 ago, told reporters that the dikes were not among the targets struck by Navy and Air Force bombers. The Seventh Fleet is stationed off Vietnam. Admiral Mack has been designated the new superintendent of the United States Naval Academy. In an afternoon briefing, Lieut. Gen. George J. Eade of the Air Force also denied that the dikes had been hit.

We haven't targeted any dikes," General Eade said in a review of the bombing campaign. He also said that he was not aware of any dikes struck by accident.

In an afternoon briefing, Lieut. Gen. George J. Ende of the Air Force also denied that the dikes had been hit.

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General Eade is the Air Force Deputy Chief of Staff for Plans and Operations. Regarding the reported attack on Konghring, Defense Department officials said that there would be no comment. A spokesman said that all reports of alleged massacres were routinely investigated by the military.

[From the New York Times, July 1, 1972]

WASHINGTON, June 30.—A Pentagon spokesman said today in response to questions about the reported bombing of the Phuly dike that the Defense Department "will stand on the statements that we have made in the past and that were made yesterday by the President."

In his news conference last night President Nixon said that orders not to hit the dikes of North Vietnam were still in force and that reports of strikes were inaccurate.

The Agence France-Presse dispatch from Hanoi quoted a North Vietnamese official as having said that American planes last bombèd the Phuly dike on June 21, but apparently newsmen did not visit the site until today. The dispatch gave no indication whether anything else in the area might have been an intended target.

Ronald L. Ziegler, the President's press secretary, reiterated the President's statement this morning, saying it was based on good information.

Mr. Ziegler was questioned about statements by diplomats in Hanoi that they had witnessed bombing of dikes. Asked if his remarks would leave open the possibility of accidental bombing, he replied: "I do not mean to leave anything open."

The Pentagon spokesman repeated the department's position that the dike system was not "targeted" in the bombing campaign, adding, "That doesn't mean that some of them don't get hit by stray weaponry."

[From the New York Times, July 1, 1972]

PRESIDENT NIXON'S NEWS CONFERENCE (EXCERPT)

BOMBING OF HANOI's DIKES

Q. Mr. President, the background—Thank you, Mr. President, I'll remember you. The background of this question is your own statement made down in Texas among other places, saying that you had not sanctioned and would not sanction the bombing of the dikes and dams in North Vietnam because you considered it an inhumane act because of what it would do to civilians. Now within the past week there's been reports to eyewitnesses, one of these reports came from French press agency and another, I think, from the Swedish Ambassador in Hanoi; eyewitnesses claiming to have seen American planes hit dikes and dams. Now, the question is: has such bombing occurred; if so, what steps are you taking to see that it doesn't happen again?

A. Mr. Rather, we have checked those reports. They have proved to be inaccurate. The bombing of dikes is something, as you note from—will recall from the gentleman who asked the question in Texas, was something that some people have advocated. The United States has used great restraint in its bombing policy; and I think properly so. We have tried to hit only military targets and we have been hitting military targets.

We have had orders out not to hit dikes because the result in terms of civilian casualties would be extraordinary.