part of 1973, if current training rates are maintained. Approximately 250 techni­
cians, with 3 years of training, will be needed for hospital laboratories, dis­
pensaries, and as teachers for the laboratory schools. If training of three year
technicians begins in autumn 1971 as planned, this goal should be reached in
autumn 1980.

4. GAO

While the Ministry of Health has increased spending for hospital maintenance
over the past few years, AID considers the amount inadequate, since facilities
are reported to be deteriorating and lacking essential utilities. Also, equipment is
poorly maintained.

Comment

Difficulties have been encountered in the operation and maintenance of utilities
systems at Vietnam civilian medical facilities. The problem is not one of design
but rather a lack of understanding on the part of hospital personnel and patients
with regard to the proper use of these facilities. The resolution requires a more
extensive effort in health education rather than a provision of additional com­
modities or the redesign and construction of additional systems. The long range
master plans developed by AID contractors are being utilized by the Ministry of
Health as they make improvements in various hospitals. Increased implementa­
tion of these plans must await the realignment of priorities following hostilities.

5. GAO

The Government of Vietnam long-range medical plans apparently do not con­
sider the possibility of transferring excess Vietnamese military facilities to the
Ministry of Health following an end to hostilities and the resulting reduction in
military patient loads.

Comment

The Mission and GVN are conducting joint reviews for the utilization of ex­
cess U.S. and GVN military facilities by the Ministry of Health. The selection of
these sites is the result of careful planning to insure that the Ministry of Health
possesses the capability to staff and operate these facilities.
APPENDIX II

A SURVEY OF CIVILIAN WAR CASUALTIES AMONG REFUGEES FROM THE PLAIN OF JARS, LAOS, BY WALTER M. HANEY, AND TEXT OF CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE CHAIRMAN AND DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE WILLIAM H. SULLIVAN

HON. WILLIAM H. SULLIVAN,
Deputy Assistant Secretary,
Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN: Just a note to say how much I appreciated your helpful participation in the Subcommittee hearing last week.

As we discussed at the hearing, I am formally submitting a copy of Mr. Walter Haney's "Survey of Civilian Casualties Among Refugees from the Plain of Jars". I would appreciate the Department's evaluation of the survey as well as a comment on its conclusions and what action, if any, has been taken in light of its findings.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

EDWARD M. KENNEDY, Chairman,
Subcommittee on Refugees.

HON. EDWARD M. KENNEDY,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Refugees,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Thank you for your letter of July 26, 1971 forwarding a copy of Mr. Walter Haney's report entitled "Survey of Civilian Casualties Among Refugees from the Plain of Jars". I have read his report with close attention and with interest, and have found it to be a serious and carefully prepared piece of work.

I know Mr. Haney and have talked with him in recent weeks. He is an objective and conscientious young man who is personally attached to the Lao people with whom he has been associated as an IVS volunteer and a teacher during the past few years. His paper seems to be a conscientious one-man effort to survey civilian casualties on the Plain of Jars. As he says, it is not intended to be a complete survey but rather a study "comprised of all those case histories of civilian war victims which I could gather in the time available to me".

The persons he interviewed were drawn from the same or similar groups of refugees who figured in the Plain of Jars Survey conducted by the U.S. Embassy in Vientiane in July, 1970. In fact, seven of the ten villages surveyed in both cases are either clearly identical or are villages whose inhabitants were once colocated in the same tasseng on the Plain of Jars.

The refugee villages visited by Mr. Haney contained a total of 8,500 people. Mr. Haney has gathered case histories from this population to demonstrate that 189 people died as a result of military action. A little over half of these deaths were a result of air action. A little over half of these deaths were a result of air action. A little over half of these deaths were a result of air action. A little over half of these deaths were a result of air action. Of this latter group, somewhat less than half were victims prior to 1968-69.

As I have previously testified, the fighting raged back and forth over the Plain of Jars and meticulous efforts were employed to minimize casualties resulting from that fighting. Even given the intensive fighting in 1969 when the Plain changed hands two or three times, the statistics in Mr. Haney's report indicate that this policy has been essentially successful. While 189 deaths out of an 8,500 population certainly constitute too many to have been caught in the war, they do nevertheless represent a small percentage of the total population, given the intensity of the fighting that took place.
As I testified before your Subcommittee on April 22 and July 22, the primary cause for the generation of refugees in Laos has been North Vietnamese military pressure. This statement, I believe, is still justified. At the same time, I also testified that fear of bombing was another factor and that this was doubtless a much more significant element in the minds of some 17,000 people from the Plain of Jars who were caught up in the fighting before they were removed to the Vientiane Plain.

We can not dispute Mr. Haney's conclusion that aerial bombardment was the primary cause of civilian casualties among the people he interviewed, although we have no reliable statistical basis for extending that conclusion to all those who previously lived in the Plain of Jars. On the other hand, we do not, on the basis of his evidence, accept his conclusion that the bombing of the civilian population was extensive. We believe that the policies which govern air operations were conscientiously construed by the United States Mission in Vientiane and we have no reason to believe that they were flagrantly disregarded by the pilots of the aircraft operating in that area.

Nevertheless, we have drawn the conclusions of the Haney report to the attention of our Mission and the appropriate United States military authorities concerned with air operations in Laos. We have instructed them to redouble their efforts to avoid incurring civilian casualties.

I would like to add a few comments on the subject of poison which is mentioned a number of times in the Haney survey. United States forces, of course, do not employ any poisons or poisonous weapons in Southeast Asia or elsewhere. While the description of the substances encountered by the refugees is far from being specific, we have, with the help of the Defense Department, come up with some possible explanations. For example, the long strips of silver paper correspond to an accurate description of radar chaff which is commonly used to interrupt or confuse enemy radar. It is nontoxic, being similar in substance to aluminum foil. The granular yellow powder remains unidentified, but the Defense Department notes that a wide variety of United States or communist equipment such as batteries, smoke canisters, parachute flares, and the like could produce a residue resembling a powder, some of which could be toxic to plants, animals, and possibly to humans.

Finally, I wish to thank you again for the courtesy and serious purpose which have characterized the hearings of your Subcommittee when I have been a witness before it. It will be our continuing common purpose to ease the plight of those hapless civilians who have become victims of the fighting in Indochina.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM H. SULLIVAN,
Deputy Assistant Secretary for
East Asian and Pacific Affairs.

A SURVEY OF CIVILIAN CASUALTIES AMONG REFUGEES FROM THE
PLAIN OF JARS, LAOS

(By Walter M. Haney)
IVS VOLUNTEER, LAOS, 1970-71

A. Background to the Survey

During the summer of 1970, I helped organize a program for Lao students to work during their school vacation. The program was funded by USAID Laos and organized by International Voluntary Services, Inc., Laos (IVS) together with the Lao Ministry of Youth and Sports. During the program, I became involved with students who were teaching refugee children in four camps near Vientiane. The refugees in these villages were part of the reported 15,000 who were evacuated from the Plain of Jars in February 1970. From their involvement with these refugees, the students in the summer program learned a great deal about the refugees' lives prior to their evacuation from the Plain of Jars. As the students told me of their experiences with the refugees, I became increasingly disturbed about what they had learned about bombing on the Plain of Jars. As a result of what I had learned from the students, I was moved to write a letter to the U.S. Ambassador to Laos, Mr. McMurtie Godley, protesting what had evidently been the bombing of innocent civilians, (see Appendix B.) I also sent copies of this letter to my Senators in Washington, Senators Hart and Griffin from Michigan.
In November, Ambassador Godley invited me to discuss the matter with him personally. In our discussion on Nov. 23, Ambassador Godley received me most cordially and expressed his deep concern over the question of bombing of innocent villagers. He told me that American aircraft in Laos adhere to strict rules of engagement which proscribe the bombing of inhabited villages except under highly unusual circumstances. He acknowledged, however, that mistakes do occur and that innocent civilians have on occasion been subject to aerial bombardment. He maintained, however, that considering the number of aerial sorties over Laos, the number of errors resulting in the bombing of innocent villagers had been remarkably few. He suggested that while refugees may talk of the bombing in general terms, very few can actually give first-hand accounts of the deaths of civilians by bombing.

As a result of my letters to Senators Hart and Griffin, I received copies of a letter from a Mr. David Abshire of the United States Department of State. In his letter, dated November 23, 1970, Mr. Abshire stated (see Appendix C for full text of letter):

"American air support of the Royal Lao Government...is furnished under rules of operation designed specifically to protect civilians and to limit attacks to military targets. There is no question but that there have been civilian victims of bombing errors which were due to both mechanical and human causes, but a continuing effort goes on, even in the heat of battle, to keep such errors to a strict minimum. The rules do not permit attacks on non-military targets and places out-of-bounds all inhabited villages."

One of the students in the summer program had written (see Appendix A):

"During the bombing, if the planes couldn't select a place to bomb, but they saw some animals or people they would simply drop the bombs on them. This was the primary reason why the refugees fled from the homes of their birth and came here...The most important reason why the refugees had to come here from their villages must be the bombing."

Obviously, there was a conflict between what American officials, on one hand and students in the summer program on the other, had told me about the bombing.

In November, I visited a refugee camp north of Vientiane at Ban Ilay. There, I talked with the sub-district chief, Than Thit Thong, of the Ban Ilay refugee camp. He told me that the planes had bombed only when North Vietnamese soldiers shot at the planes. However, more than a dozen villagers in the same camp told me of how their homes had been destroyed by bombing when there were no soldiers in their village.

Again, there was a conflict between official and non-official accounts of the bombing. What had actually happened on the Plain of Jars? What was the nature of the bombing? Were there only a few mistaken bombings of innocent civilians or was bombing of civilians heavy enough to have been a "primary cause" for their flight to this side?

B. Method of the Survey

The information which I had gleaned from the students working with the refugees had been subject to a number of possible sources of error. First, the students had not set out specifically to get information about the refugees' experiences on the Plain of Jars. Thusly, between their off-hand reception of the information from the refugees and their later retelling to me, there may have been omissions and distortions. Further, the information from the students was of a general nature with very little specific information. Ambassador Godley had suggested that refugees talk of the bombing largely in general terms, but that few have first-hand specific information about civilian deaths from bombing. Perhaps this had been the case with the refugees with whom the students worked.

So, I set out to make a survey to gain specific information about what had happened on the Plain of Jars. During my vacation from school, December 23, 1970 to January 4, 1971, I visited ten refugee camps on the Vientiane Plain. In order to give my survey greater objectivity, I asked not only about bombing victims, but more generally about any civilian casualties of war. When I went into a village, following the Lao custom, I did not initiate my inquiry immediately. Rather, I conversed very generally with the villagers for thirty minutes or an hour. Only then would I express interest in the question of civilian war victims. My questioning followed this pattern. First, I would inquire if any of the refugees had had any civilian relatives killed while they still lived on the Plain of Jars. Were any relatives shot and killed, or bombed and killed by either Pathet Lao (PL) forces or by Royal Lao government (RLG) forces?
I asked only about incidents in which immediate relatives of my interlocutors had been killed or wounded, on the theory that information about such specific incidents would be more reliable than non-specific descriptions of the situation in general.

If an individual had had a civilian relative killed, I asked the following questions:

What was the name of the narrator?
From what village and district was he?
What was the name of the victim and his relationship to the narrator?
When did he die?
Why did he die?
What was he doing when he died?

Often I would ask additional questions in order to clarify the details of the incident.

During an interview I took notes on what was said. After the interview I asked the interviewee if I might be able to take his picture. Invariably people were happy to have their pictures taken. Further, I also taped most interviews.

In the interviews in Section II, the abbreviations listed below have been used.

T. Tasseng or subdistrict of the interviewee.
B. Ban or village of the interviewee.
N. Name of the interviewee or narrator.

(Names listed in parentheses in this category are those of whoever may have given most of the information during the interview, if it was someone other than the relative of the victim.)

V. Relationship and name of the civilian victim.
D. Date of the incident.
O. Direct cause of death.
C. Circumstances of the incident.
T. Tape on which the interview was recorded.

Interviews usually involved extensive discussions and interplay between myself, the interviewee and other refugees. These interviews as transcribed in Section II are greatly abbreviated from the actual conversations. They were written from my notes and the tapes of the interviews. In some cases, I do not have tapes of the interviews. In these instances I have transcribed the interviews from my notes alone.

Please see Section III for my evaluation of the veracity of the information found in the interviews.

C. Text of Interviews

I. Ban Veu Kham—Tasseng Phan (Thao Oumkham Phimmavong) 241 families 1269 people.

VILLAGES

1. Ban Phan.
2. Ban Nuey.
5. Ban Vene.

1. T. Phan.
B. Pung.
N. Pho Xieng Onh
V. Father Pho Ttikhanta Mother Me Sao Douang another woman.
D. 66/7 (2 young cousins)
O. Large bomb, “fire bomb” from T-28.
C. They were at home. This was before everyone had fled their homes. A big, big bomb set everything on fire. “Mother was burned up, Father

* I made these tapes surreptitiously. I feared that if refugees knew that they were being taped they would have felt less free to express themselves. I may have been wrong because in all cases refugees knew that I was taking complete notes on what was said, yet most expressed themselves with apparent forthrightness. Nevertheless, refugees did not know that I was taping our conversations.
was burned up. The children were burned up. Everything was burned up. "There were no soldiers in the village. T-1A.

2. T. Phan.
B. Pung.
N. Sao Noi.
V. Pho Louang Ti—father.
D. 66/1.
O. T-28 bomb!
C. There were no soldiers around.

T. 1A.

3. T. Phan.
B. Khong Neua.
N. Pho Kang Poua.
V. Son who was 8 years old.
D. 69/6.
O. T-28 bomb!
C. Boy ran for a hole but the planes dropped the bomb before he reached the shelter. No soldiers in the village. There were some PL soldiers in the area but they were far away. "The planes just shot and bombed the village." T. 1A. Later told me about his older brother Ba Pa who was also killed by bombi from a T-28. He was old and deaf and didn't hear the planes coming. Untaped.

4. T. Phan.
B. Pung.
N. Me Sao Chanta.
V. Husband 38 y., three children, Sao Bouavan 12 y.; Sao Bouathong 9 y.; Sao Tui 8 y.
D. '69 or '68, 9th month.
O. Jet, big bomb (one of Sao Chanta's surviving children suggested it was F-105, but mother said she only knew it was a jet.)
C. Father and children had gone to work in rice field north of village. They hid in hole when the planes came, but planes dropped bombs near the hole. They were killed by bomb fragments. No relatives of Sao Chanta have been killed by PL or VN. "There were no soldiers in our village when the planes bombed."

T. 1A.

5. a.:
   T. Phan.
   B. Vene.
   N. Pho Xieng Ta.
   V. Daughter who was 6 y. old.
   D. 66/6.
   O. T-28 bomb!
   C. The girl and her brother were running for hole but they didn't make it in time. The boy was wounded in his right thigh. He almost died also. There were no soldiers in the village when the bombing occured. Xieng To says that he has had no relatives killed by PL or VN.

T. 1A.

5. b.:
   V. Wife's younger brother Ba Chnn 40y.
   D. 1965.
   O. Gunshot.
   C. He had gone to upland rice field he was returning through the forest when some Meo soldiers shot him. They also shot three other villagers that day.

T. 1A.

6. a.:
   T. Phan.
   B. Tang.
   N. Xieng Boua Pha.
   V. Younger brother Thao La.
   D. '63/9.
   O. Mine.
   C. He had gone to fetch buffalo about 6 p.m. He stepped on a mine at the edge of village. The Meo soldiers had put the mine there.

T. 1A.

6. b.:
   V. Son of his younger brother.
D. '67/1.
O. Mine.
C. The boy was a novice monk. He stepped on the mine at the edge of
the wat at about 12 noon. The Meos put in all the mines. No relatives killed by PL or VN.

T. 1A.
6. c.:
V. Daughter of older sister.
D. '68/3 about 6 p.m.
O. 155 mm shell.
C. She was in Ban Ko near Muong Soul. There were RLG soldiers in the village. A 155 mm shell landed in the village and a shell fragment killed her in her home.

T. 1A.
7. T. Phan.
B. Khong Neua.
N. Sao Deuang.
V. Younger brother Thao Ba La.
D. '61.
O. Gunshot.
C. He had gone to forest to look for food and things which he could sell. Region 2 Meo soldiers shot him. They shoot anyone they see in the forest.

T. 1B.
8. T. Phan.
B. Vene.
N. Tit Khamsing.
V. Son Thao Sisouphan Sy.
D. '69/5.
O. Jet, big big bomb.
C. All of the family was in a hole together. The jet—maybe it was F105—dropped big bombs. Sisouphan was hurt inside. He ran around like he was drunk. He died 15 days later. There had been PL soldiers in the village. Didn’t count how many but thought it was a company. They were staying—living and eating with the villagers. They left the hour before the jets came.

T. 1B.
9. T. Phan.
B. Khong Neua.
N. Sao Saphan.
V. Younger brother Xham St 12y.
D. '64 (?) “The year when the PL came to Xieng Khouang for the first time.
O. Gunshot.
C. He was walking in the forest going to upland ricefield. He was going there to raise food for us. The Meo soldiers shot killed him. Shot him right through his cheek bones (When I asked if any other relatives had been killed by shooting or bombing they said,) No, but in Ban Khong Tai in 1970 just before we came here the bombing was very very heavy. All kinds of jets. We had to stay in the holes all the time. Even at night the planes shot and bombed. And they would drop flares. There were no soldiers in our village. In the month before we came to this side the bombing was heaviest.

II. Ban Phao—Tasseng Fat, 134 families, 768 people.

VILLAGES
1. Ban Fat Sol.
2. Ban Muong.
4. Ban Nhat St.
5. Ban Napheung.

BAN PHAO INTERVIEWS

1. T. Fat.
B. Napheung.
N. Me Tum.
V. Daughter Me Pao.
D. '68/4.
O. Jet bombi “F-4-hat”.
C. She was walking along path when jets dropped bombi. Tasseng said that there were PL and VN soldiers in the village when planes bombed.

T. 2A.
2. T. Fat.
   B. Ban Nhat.
   N. Sao Leh.
   V. Son Xieng Thong Chan.
   D. 68/12.
   O. F105 bombi.
   C. We were already living in holes then because the planes always shot up the village. Thong Chanh had gone to the forest to find things to eat and there was no place for him to hide when the planes came. We lived in the holes for five years, but the bombing was only really heavy for two years ’68–’69. We had to run to go cook or work in the ricefield. The planes came everyday T-28s, and F105s. But it was mostly F105s. The bombi came from a big bomb which exploded when it was still high in the air. The bombi were round and fell over a wide area. There were at least three hundred in each big cylinder. They exploded pom, pom, pom. It was impossible to flee. When the little pieces hit a person they twisted and turned inside the body.

T. 2A.
3. T. Fat.
   B. Nhat.
   N. Sao Home.
   V. Son Xieng Boun Song 16 yrs.
   D. 68/12.
   O. Bombi from jet “F105”.
   C. Had gone out to the forest to get things to eat. The planes came very fast and he couldn’t find—a place to hide in time. No relatives were shot or killed by the PL or VN.

T. 2A.
4. a.:
   T. Fat.
   B. Napheung.
   N. Bondi.
   V. Sisters Sao Nong 35y and cousin Xieng Boun 26y.
   D. 68/12/17.
   O. Bombi from T-28.
   C. We were just starting to flee to this side, when the planes dropped the bombs on us. We had just come out of our holes. There were no PL NVN soldiers around. There were many people together but only these two were killed. There were no soldiers with us.

T. 2A.
4. b.:
   V. Father Xieng Boun 62y cousin Thao Kham.
   D. 69/10.
   O. Gunshot.
   C. We were fleeing to this side when the Vietnamese soldiers saw us. A group of 12 soldiers caught them and shot them. There were seven of us together but they only caught these two. It was very dangerous when we were coming to this side. If the planes saw us they would shoot us. If the Vietnamese saw us they would capture us.

T. 2A.
5. T. Fat.
   B. Fat Soi.
   N. Sao Phim.
   V. Mother Sao Sa about 50y.
   D. 67/6.
   O. Big bomb from T-28.
   C. She was in the ricefield but didn’t flee because there were no soldiers and she didn’t think the planes would shoot. No relatives killed by PL or Meo soldiers.

T. 2A.
6. a.:
   T. Fat.
   B. Fat Soi.
   N. Chang Khamdi.
V. Older brother Kang Chouk.
D. 66/1.
O. T-28 firebomb.
C. He was at home and the plane dropped a big firebomb, the house burned up. Everything burned up. There were no soldiers in the village.

T. 2A.
7. T. Fat.
   B. Sang.
   N. Me Sanout.
   V. Son Tltsomphan 23 y.
   D. 67/3.
O. bullets from a T-28.
C. He was coming back from the market when the planes came. He didn’t flee in time. Three or four PL soldiers were also killed at the same time.

T. 2A.
8. a.:
   T. Fat.
   B. Nhat.
   N. Sao Som.
   V. Younger brother Bathon 28 y.
   D. 66/6.
O. bullets from a T-28.
C. He had gone to visit relatives. He was sitting in the house just like we are now. The planes shot the house and he died immediately. There were no soldiers in the village.

T. 2A.
8. b.:
   B. Leng.
   N. Sao Som.
   V. Son Douangsi 22 y.
   D. ‘66/7/13.
O. Gunshot.
C. He was sleeping in wat when the Vietnamese came and shot up the wat. They wanted to get the monks belongings.

T. 2A.
8. c.:
   T. Kheung.
   B. Ban Ang.
   N. Sao Som.
   V. Relative, in-law Xieng Nohn 47 y.
   D. 67/11.
O. Gunshot.
C. He was at home in RLG controlled area. The Vietnamese shot up the house at night. They wanted money. His wife and child died also.

III. Ban Veun Khene—Tasseng Sene Nol, 416 families, 2310 people.

VILLAGES

1. Ban Theuang.
2. Ban Khan Nhao.
4. Ban Na-Oh.
5. Ban Manh.
6. Ban Ton Neua.
7. Ban Ton Tal.
13. Ban Phone.
15. Ban No Ngan.

BAN VEUN KHENE INTERVIEWS

1. T. Sene Noy.
   B. Ton.
N. Mother of Titkhamphan and Backhamta.
V. Sons Titkhamphen 24y Backhamta 12y.
D. Unsure of year but it was 9th month.
O. Jet.
C. Boys had gone to work in the ricefield. Just after they finished eating, the jets came. Tit Khampheng and Backhamta ran into the hole but a bomb dropped near their hole. There were no soldiers in the area.

T. No tape.

2. T. Sene Noy.
B. Ton.
N. Sao Tum Ni.
V. Husband TitPhan 43y.
D. Unsure of year 9th month.
O. Jet with big bombs.
C. He didn't get into the hole in time. Three others died also. There were no soldiers around. No relatives killed by PL.

T. No tape.

B. Ton.
N. Sao Tum .
V. Husband Xieng Phila 60 y.
D. '69/9.
O. Jet.
C. There were no soldiers around. The jets just dropped bombs on the villagers. No relatives killed by PL or VN.

T. No tape.

B. Lat Sene.
N. Sao La.
V. Older brother Xieng Bout Si 48 y.
D. '68/11 doesn't remember day but about 10 AM.
O. Jets and T-28's with big big bombs.
C. He had gone to work in the forest but he didn't flee fast enough. There were no soldiers around only villagers. Xieng Bout Si died that evening.

T. No tape.

5. Sene Noy.
B. Lat Sene.
N. Sao Phomma.
V. 69/9.
O. Jet bombi.
C. He was walking along a path after the jet had dropped the bombi. One went off and killed him. There were only villagers in the area. No soldiers. No relatives killed by PL.

T. No tape.

B. Lat Sene.
N. Sao Moung Ta.
V. Husband Xieng Oum 53-54 y.
D. 69/6.
O. Shot. (unsure of origin of bullets)
C. He was shot at night. Maybe by a plane but not sure. He was taking things from our house. There were planes all around dropping flares and shooting.

T. No tape.

IV. Ban Mak Hiao—Tasseng Sene Noi, 178 families 998 people.
N. Sao Noy.
V. Son Thao Van 14 y.
D. 3–4 yrs. ago 3rd month.
O. Small bomb (doesn't know what kind of plane)
C. He had been taking care of buffalo alone. He was hit by bomb fragments in the neck and chest. He died 30 min later. There were no soldiers around. There was only our village. No relatives killed by PL or Meo soldiers.

T. 2B.

2. N-V. Xieng Boua Phan.

D. '69/8/16, 7 a.m.
O. Bomb from jet.
C. Had been going to buy some things to eat near his home. Saw the plane and ran for a hole but didn't make it. He was hit in the lower part of his left leg and in his left shoulder. There were no soldiers around when the jet bombed. Has had no relatives killed by PL or VN. Can only walk a little and he has four children whom he can't support because he can't work in the field. The government hasn't yet changed his PL money.

T. 2B.


B. S. Noi.
N. Onh Chauh.
V. Mother Sao Sonh 50.
D. '69/10.
O. Shot.
C. When fleeing to this side to Thong Hai Hin (Plain of Jars) Vietnamese shot her.

3. b.: 
V. Younger brother Side 19 y.
D. '69/8/10.
O. Big, big bomb from T-28.
C. He was in Ban Si. There were no soldiers around neither Plan VN.

T. 2B.

4. T. Sene Noi.

B. Na Son.
N. Xieng Som Di.
V. Wife Sao Oum, father Titkhamta, mother Me Douangta, three children.
D. '67/7/15.
O. Big, big bombs from T-28.
C. He had gone to work in the rice field and his family was all at home. There were no soldiers in the village but the planes bombed anyway. Lost wife, mother, father, three children and all his belongings all he had were the clothes on his back. No relatives shot or killed by the PL or VN. (Note: probably same family as Veunkham No. 1).

T. 2B.

5. T. Sene Noi.

B. Phou Houm.
N. Chan Panya.
V. Son Thao Van 18 y.
D. '68/4/11.
O. Bomb from jet.
C. The planes shot up the houses but son did not reach the holes in time. There were no soldiers in the village.

T. 2B.

6. a.: 
T. Sene Noi.
B. Phou Houm.
N. Sao La.
V. Son Khamsing 8 y.
D. '69/9/27.
O. Bomb from jet.
C. He was playing at edge of ricefield. He was too small to know enough to run. There were no soldiers around.
T. 2B.
6. b.: V. Son Khamseum 4 y.
D. '69/3/7.
O. Bomb from jet.
C. He was playing near ricefield. Was too little to know enough to flee when the planes came. Parents were working in their upland ricefield and garden. There were no soldiers around. No relatives killed by PL or VN. Has 3 children left.

T. 2B.
7. T. Sene Nol.
B. Nasam.
N. Sao Bona Pa.
N. Older brother, his wife, three children and a cousin.
D. '69/3/7. Doesn't remember date exactly "was so afraid that I can't remember exactly."
O. T-6, T-28 (not sure) big bomb.
C. They were at home. There were no soldiers around. Only villagers the the planes bombed and the house burned up completely. The whole family died. No relatives killed by PL or VN. (Note: Probably same incident as Veunkham #1 and Mak Hiao #4.)

T. 2B.
B. Nasam.
N. Sao Pheng.
V. Mother Sao Kanna 120 y.
D. '69/7 (doesn't remember day because she was so afraid.)
O. Jet, F105 big, big bomb.
C. Mother was 120 y but still very healthy "Stronger than me". Could work in ricefield all day. But she was deaf and didn't hear the planes coming. Younger brother was also hurt. He was unconscious and very sick but he recovered. There were no soldiers in the village on the day the bombs were dropped. No relatives shot or killed by PL or VN. (Note: Probably same incident as Veunkham #1 and Mak Hiao #4.)

T. 2B.
B. Nasam.
N. Sao Oum.
V. Son Xieng Keo.
D. '68/9.
O. T-28 fire bomb.
C. Had gone to visit relatives. He was killed outside village when he returned. There were no holes nearby which he could get into. There were no soldiers around.

T. 2B.
V. Ban Done Tai—Tasseng Seng (Thao Pheung Vongsa) (Khamphoui) 122 families 713 people.

VILLAGES

1. Ban Kom.
2. Nong Kuang.

BAN DONA TAI INTERVIEWS

1. a.: T. Seng.
B. Kohm.
N. Xieng Phomma.
V. Son Leng 20 y.
D. ?.
O. Nine.
C. Had been ordered to go porter for PL, when he stepped on mine.

T. 4A.
b. V. Son Titminh 30 y.
D. '64/9.
O. Bombs from plane.
C. Had gone to porter for the PL and was killed by bombs from plane.

T. 4A.
2. T. Seng.
B. Kohm.
N. Thao More (village secretary).
V. Son Ba Moul 17 y.
D. '69.
O. Bombi from "B-52" plane.
C. Had gone to school and when returning home was killed by bombi, when he stepped on it. Jet B-52 had dropped the bombs 3-4 days earlier. There were PL and NVN soldiers in the area.

T. 4A.
3. T. Seng.
B. Kohm.
N. Xieng Phomma (Thao Mone Village secretary).
V. Daughter Nang Tut 35 y, Son-in-law Thao On 35 y.
D. '66/7 about 12 Noon.
O. 75mm shell.
C. They had gone to catch fish near Ban Kom when shell from Meo soldiers fell and killed them. Unsure where exactly the shot came from. There were no soldiers in the area.

T. 4A.
4. T. Seng.
B. Kohm.
N. Thao Sing.
V. Older sister Nang Ma.
D. '66/7.
O. 75mm shell.
C. Had gone fishing with Nang Tut and Thao On and was killed at the same time.

T. 4A.
5. a.:
T. Seng.
B. Kohm.
N. Titkhamta.
V. Older brother Khanta 44 y older brother of Thao Su named Thao Sou 45 y. also killed.
D. '66/6 about 8 am.
O. 106 mm shell.
C. Meo soldiers were shooting at the PL but they made a mistake and shell fell near Ban Kohm. Both Thao Khanta and Thao Sou were killed by the shell. There were no soldiers around.

T. 4A.
5. b.:
T. Seng.
B. Kohm.
N. Tit Khamta.
V. Tit Bouang Di.
D. '67/9.
O. Mine.
C. Had gone to porter for the PL when he stepped on a mine of the Meo soldiers.

T. 4A.
B. Kohm.
N. Thao Vong, village chief.
V. Younger brother Tit Bout Di 25 y and Xieng Khong younger brother of Thao Mon.
D. '68/12.
O. 75 mm shell.
C. Bout Di and Xieng Khong were sawing wood outside their homes when a shell from the government side (RLG) fell in the yard killing both of the men. There were no soldiers in the village.

T. 4A.
7. T. Seng.
B. Kohm.
N. Sao Noi.
V. Husband Xieng Ohn 45 and 12 yr. old son.
D. '67/3.
O. "Can" mine.
C. They had gone to the upland ricefield when Xieng Ohn stepped on a big can (kapong) mine. Both of them were killed. The PL soldiers never used the path to the ricefield. PL soldiers sometimes came to the vil-
lage, but only once in a long while. They always came and went through the forest on different ways but not along the path.

T. 4A.
8. T. Seng.
B. Kohm.
N. Xieng Thanh (village secretary Thao Mone).
V. Son Thao Mi 12 yr.
D. 06/0 in the evening about 4 pm.
O. M–14 mine.
C. He had gone to the upland ricefield with his parents. When they returned, he ran ahead of his parents and stepped on the mine put in by the Meo soldiers. He lost all of his lower leg and died very soon. There were no soldiers around.

T. 4A.
B. Kohm.
N. Thao Phan (village secretary Thao Mone).
V. Older brother Xieng Pha 33 y.
D. '64/6 about 3 p.m.
O. Mine.
C. He had gone to get grass to put on the roof of his house when he stepped on a mine of the Meo soldiers. There were no soldiers around.

T. 4A.
10. T. Seng.
B. Kohm.
N. Thao Pheng (village secretary Thao Mone).
V. Younger brother Thao Pha 35 y.
D. '68/6.
O. Gunshot.
C. Had gone to get rice seedlings to transplant. The Meo soldiers shot him from far away. Maybe they thought he was a PL soldier, but there were no soldiers in the area. His wife was wounded at the same time but she didn't die.

T. 4A.
11. T. Seng.
B. Kohm.
N. Thao Khing (village secretary Thao Mone).
V. Son Tit Nan Thi 33 y.
D. '68/8.
C. Had gone to get buffalo and when he came back he was killed by a mortar from the Meo soldiers. There were no soldiers around. The PL soldiers came to visit only once in a long long while. In a month once or twice but sometimes they didn't come at all for two or three months.

T. 4A.
12. T. Seng.
B. Kohm.
N. Thao Myouang.
V. Nang Phai 5 yr.
D. '69/9 (later told me it was '66/6 about 8:30 a.m. tape 6B).
O. Big bomb from T-28.
C. She had gone to the garden with her mother. As they returned the planes came over, but Nan Phai was too small to know enough to get in to the ditch. She didn't because it was full of water. There were no soldiers around. (and 6B later as noted above)

T. 4A.
B. Kohm.
N. Nang Mai (village secretary Thao Mone).
V. Younger sister Nang Bac 6 y.
D. '65/9.
O. Big bomb from T–28.
C. She had gone to the garden with Nang Phai and her mother. But the children were too small to know enough to get into the hole with Nang Phai's mother.

T. 4A.
N. Nang Phiou (village secretary Thao Mone).
V. Older brother Thao So 33 y.
D. '69/9.
O. Bomb from T-28.
C. He had gone to chase pigs out of the rice field. He stepped on a bomb which a T-28 plane had dropped earlier. It exploded killing him. There were no soldiers around.

T. 4A.
15. T. Seng.
B. Kohm.
N-V. Thao Vohng 38 y.
D. '67/8 about 8 o'clock in the morning.
O. Bomb from T-28.
C. He had been working in the ricefield, transplanting rice. When the airplanes came I ran for the holes but didn't make it. No soldiers in the village that day. I was hit in the head and hand. (Note: Thao Vohng was permanently blinded by the bomb).

T. No tape.

B. Kohm.
N-V. Tit Phong (village secretary Tao Mone).
D. '67/4.
O. Mine.
C. Was working with buffalo in ricefield when buffalo stepped on M-14 mine of the Neo soldiers. He lost his leg only. There were no soldiers in the area.

T. 4A.
17. T. Seng.
B. Kohm.
N-V. Thao Sing.
D. '64/1.
O. Mine.
C. Stepped on a M-14 mine. There were no soldiers in the area. He was later taken to Hanoi and given an artificial leg. However he still cannot work very easily.

T. 4A.
18. T. Seng.
B. Nong Kuang.
N. Tit Pheng.
V. Father Xieng Phim 60 y and wife Sao Boun 27 yr.
D. '66/6 about 1 p.m.
O. Mine of cannister type.
C. They had gone to take buffalo to the ricefield. When they went back to get the buffalo they set off the mine, killing them both.

T. 4A.
B. Muang.
N-V. Thao Phom 43 y now.
D. '68/8/12 about noon.
O. Bomb from jet.
C. Was coming back from the upland ricefield to his house. A bomb exploded as he passed hit him in the foot, hand, arm and back. The bomb had been dropped by the jet two or three hours earlier. He had hidden in a hole when the jet dropped the bombs. He thought that they had all exploded, but they hadn't. He was treated in a PL hospital but still can't work in the field. Can only hold a spade with one hand. And even when he goes walking he can't keep up with his friends because he has to walk very slowly. Still has some pellets from the bomb inside his leg and arm. There were no soldiers in the area when the jet dropped the bomb. Only villagers (General Narration with Thao Phoum and other refugee's from Done Tai). The jets and T-28's came for many years—when we were with the PL, they bombed every year every, every, every, every day. Jets, T-28's, Jets, T-28's. They bombed everything, buffalos, houses, people, everything. If they saw any people—they didn't know if they were villagers or soldiers—they would bomb them. If we even heard the sound of—plane we would run for our holes, so they wouldn't see us. If they saw you they would bomb. Every day they would bomb three, four or even five times. But it depended whether they saw people or not. We
couldn't work during the day. Because if we heard the sound of a plane we had to flee for the holes, we had to work at night or early in the morning. Then in the daytime we slept (laughter). The worst were the little bombs, this size (indicating a sphere 8-12 cm. in diameter) which we called bombi. They would drop all over the village. And explode, pum, pum, pum, pum. After five or ten minutes most explode then after two or three hours you think that they are all exploded and you come out. And just as you walk by one it explodes, just like someone set it off. But they really just explode by themselves. Most of the bombi came from jets and from T-26s-like, T-28 except bigger. The T-28's usually dropped big big bombs sometimes bombi but not usually. The bombi came from a big cannister that exploded in the air scattering the little bombs. The bombi were mostly from the jets and the T-26 planes.

There were different kinds of planes. The kind that went very strong and loud, we called jet and the kind that went softer, r-r-r-r-r, we called T-28. And the kind Dakota rrrrrr shot at night. If they saw a fire they would shoot. Right after cooking at 6 o'clock we had to put out the fires even if it was very cold. We couldn't let them see the fire. If it was so cold that we had to make a fire then we had to keep branches handy so if we heard the sound of a plane we could put out the fire. Because if they saw the fire they would drop bombs. At night it was the kind we called Dakota or the kind that looks like a soldiers clothes. It was very difficult. If anyone wasn't very careful they would die. Now it's better but I still can't work very well. When they operated they took out a bone in my foot so it is difficult for me to walk.

T. 4B.
20. T. Seng.
B. Kohm.
N. Thao Soun.
V. Son Thao Mo 4 y.
D. '66/1 about 7 m.
O. Artillery.
C. He had been eating evening meal with his family. A 75 mm shell about three meters from the house. He was hit by a fragment and died the next morning. There were no soldiers in the village when the shell hit.

T. 6B.
21. a.:
T. Seng.
B. Kohm.
N. Thao Thone.
V. Daughter Nang Kham 5 y.
D. '65/8.
O. Bomb from T-28.
C. She had run for a hole but a big bomb dropped near her hole. She died one day later. There were no soldiers near. At that time in '65 it was mostly the T-28s which came but there were some jets too.

T. 6B.
21. b.
V. Mother Tao Inh about 70 yrs.
D. '65/3 about 4 pm.
O. “oil bomb from six planes T-28s and T-6s.
C. She had gone to the field with the buffalo and was napping there. She was deaf so didn't hear the planes. The planes dropped the oil bombs and her blouse and skirt caught on fire. She died three days later. Don't know whether it was the T-28 or the T-6 which dropped the “oil” bombs. The T-6 was bigger than the T-28 but we just called them all T-28. In '65 it was mostly the T-28's which bombed. The jets didn't come much until 1966 and after.
C. Had taken children to the holes. The planes bombed the houses. Xieng Thong came out of the holes to try to put out the fire. The planes came back and strafed again, and Xieng Thong was hit in the stomach. The PL soldiers came and took him about 40 km to the hospital at Lat Bouak. There had been no soldiers in the village when the planes bombed.

T. 6B.
VI. Ban NaKung—Tasseng Seng, 30 families 158 people.

VILLAGE

Ban Mene.
Ban Nong Kuang.
Ban Muang.

BAN NKUNG INTERVIEWS

1. T. Sen.
   B. Mene.
   N. Nang Ming.
   V. Daughter Nang Thong 13 y.
   D. '68/10 about 11 p.m.
   O. Bomb! from T-28 (1).
   C. She had gone to take gifts to the Wat. On the way a bomb which had dropped earlier exploded killing her.

T. 4A (incomplete tape).

2. T. Seng.
   B. Mene.
   N. Sao Dum.
   V. Husband Thao Thao.
   D. '66/10 about 8 A.M.
   O. Mine.
   C. The PL had taken him to porter for them. He had been gone on the porterage for three days. As he returned, he stepped on a mine. There were some PL in the area. None were killed by the mine.

T. 4B.

3. T. Seng.
   B. Mene.
   N. Sao Nan.
   V. Husband Titwan 35 y.
   D. '67/3.
   O. Gunshot and grenade.
   C. He had gone to the forest and was returning with buffalo. Government soldiers ambushed him. They probably suspected he was a PL. But he was just a villager. There weren't any PL soldiers in the area. Has no other relatives killed by PL, VN or bombing.

T. 4B.

4. T. Seng.
   B. Mene.
   N. Sao An (Thao Phu village chief, Sao Nyouang).
   V. Son Thao Phone 4 y.
   D. '64/11 about 12 noon.
   O. Fire bomb from T-28.
   C. The child was at home. This was before we fled our homes. There were no soldiers in the village. Thao Phu's (village chief) younger brother Thao Phai 4 y and Sao Nyouang's son 4 y were also killed at the same time. The children's parents had all gone to work in the upland ricefield. When the planes came over the children were afraid and ran inside. But the planes dropped the bombs right on the houses. There were no soldiers in the village.

T. 4B.

5. T. Seng.
   B. Mene.
   N. Thao Da.
   V. Younger brother Thao Bata.
   D. '69/9.
   O. Small arms.
   C. He was returning from porter for the PL for 2 days. There were no soldiers with him. He was alone. The Meo soldiers saw him and shot him immediately. They probably thought he was a soldier. There were no soldiers with him. They had released him to come back alone.
   B. Mene.
   N. Nang Ouan (Thao Phu).
   V. Father Pho Nan 48 y.
   D. '65/6.
   O. Mine.
   C. Some PL soldiers had died nearby. Other PL soldiers organized villagers to carry the dead soldiers back to their villages. Pho Nan, drafted into this task stepped on a mine. A PL soldier, a company officer, died at the same time.

7. T. Seng.
   B. Mene.
   N. Thao Peng.
   V. Younger brother Thao La 17 y.
   D. '67/7/3 about 5 PM.
   O. Cannister mine.
   C. He was portering for the PL one day out of Ban Mene, somewhere in Xieng Khouang province. The mine was from the Meo soldiers. There were soldiers with Thao La when he died but don’t know if any soldiers died. When villagers have to go portering they usually go for around three days. The village chief has to select who will go. How many people go portering from each village depends on how much equipment the PL have to transport. If it’s not very much few go, if it is a lot many go. This time it was one person from each village.

8. T. Seng.
   B. Mene.
   N. Sao Naa (village chief Thao Phu).
   V. Older sister Sao Maa about 40 y.
   D. '69/3.
   O. "Canon."
   C. Sao Maa had gone to look for fish outside Ban Mene. Some PL were passing by and stopped to watch and talk with the villagers catching fish. Meo soldiers up on the mountain saw the PL and shot at them. Sao Maa and one PL soldier were killed.

9. a.:
   T. Seng.
   B. Mene.
   N. Sao Di (village chief Thao Phu).
   V. Daughter Sao Ba 6 y.
   D. '68/7 around noon.
   O. "poison" from planes.
   C. The planes had dropped poison. Sao Ba was curious and picked some up. Uncertain whether she ate it or just smelled it. She became very drunk and died the next day. The poison came from T-6 planes, like the T-28 only bigger. There were no soldiers around when they dropped the poison.

9. b.
   V. Younger sister Sao Si 8 years old.
   D. '67/10 in the morning.
   O. Silver and gold paper from the airplanes.
   C. The planes had dropped the gold and silver paper. Sao Si had gone out to the ricefield with her mother. She picked some of it up and smelled it. She became very drunk and threw up and died the next day. Usually we were very careful because the PL had told us that it was poison. But Sao Si picked it up and smelled it before her mother could keep her from picking it up. The planes dropped the poison three times. (Later the village chief told me that the poison was dropped many times.)

10. T. Seng.
    B. Mene.
    N. Sao Som.
V. Younger brother Thao Si 24-25 y.
D. '66/11 in the evening.
C. A group of villagers had gone to their upland ricefield to get rice. When they were returning, some Meo soldiers saw them and shot at them. There were five villagers in the group no soldiers but the Meo probably thought they were soldiers. Two villagers died.

T. 3A.
11. T. Seng.
B. Bouak.
N. Sao Phohng.
V. Father Al Tao 80 y.
D. '69/5 in the evening.
O. Burning oil.
C. When the planes dropped the burning oil Al Tao was hit. He couldn't get his clothes off fast enough. He was badly burned. Bumps came out all over his body and then they burst and his eyes burst also. Four days after he was hit he died. The T-28 planes dropped the burning oil this time.

T. 3A.
12. (I returned to Nakung after I realized that I had not comprehended the explanation of the 'poison'. Sao Di who had originally told me of her sister and daughter being killed by the poison was not in the camp, so I talked with the village chief Thao Phu and a group of 4 or 5 others. I asked, "I do not yet understand about this poison. Can you explain it to me?")

N. Thao Phu (primarily). The "poison" was sent down by the airplanes. We called it "ya phit" or "ya beua." The planes dropped a bomb which broke open and sent out the paper, silver and gold paper. The Pathet Lao told us that it was poison. It was long but very narrow like the noodles in Chinese soup. (At this point one man picked up a rice straw to show me what the paper was like.) Very narrow. Not really white but this color like your watch (silver.) It was very pretty so the children like to pick it up. The girl who died had picked it up and put it around her neck and smelled it. They dropped it many times in '67, '68, '69. They dropped it all over. In Ban Mone, Ban Kohm, Ban Leb. The poison was dropped by T-28's and T-6 planes. If animals ate the grass on which the poison had dropped they would die. Pigs, chickens, ducks, buffalo, cows even dogs died from the poison. We couldn't touch it so we had to take sticks and push it into holes and bury it. No, Sao Ba and Sao Si didn't eat the poison they just picked it up and smelled it and in two days they died.

T. 6B.
VII. Ban Thoun Loua—Tasseng Seng, 57 families 223 people.

VILLAGES
Ban Bouak.
Ban Leh.

BAN THOUN LOUA INTERVIEWS

1. T. Seng.
B. Bouak.
N. Thao Khan.
V. Daughter Nang Khong 15 y.
D. 67/12 about 10 A.M.
O. Big bomb 500kg from jet.
C. Three children had gone to look for fish when the plane came. But the plane, an F-4 hat jet dropped big bombs in the area of their hole. They were afraid and ran out and Nang Khong was killed and the other two were wounded.

T. No tape.
2. T. Seng.
B. Bouak.
N. Thao Phone.
V. Son Xiang Nyo 21 y.
D. '67/11.
O. Can mine.
C. He had gone to look for a place to make an upland ricefield. Around noon he stepped on the mine and died. There were no soldiers with
him. The path was only used by villagers. The PL soldiers never used the path.

3. T. Seng.
   B. Bouak.
   N. Xieng Pheng (village Secretary).
   V. Son Pa Phuemng 3 y and younger sister Sao Euan 12 y.
   D. '65/6 early morning.
   O. Big bomb 500 kg from a T-28. When the planes came, the children didn't run because they were afraid that the planes would see them. They tried to stay still. But they had started a small fire to keep warm. The plane probably saw the fire before they could put it out. They were both buried when the bomb exploded. There were no soldiers in the village that day.

4. T. Seng.
   B. Bouak.
   N. Nai Phouang (village chief).
   V. Daughter Sao Ba 12 yr and young nephew Bai Enly.
   D. '65/12 about 2 P.M.
   O. Big big bomb from T-28.
   C. The children had been playing in the sun. Sao Ba was wearing a white blouse. The plane saw them playing in the open space. We had told the children not to run back to the big holes when the planes came because they would see where the big shelters were and then everyone would die. Both Sao Ba and Bai Eh were killed. There were no soldiers around. Life was very difficult then because the planes came all the time. We had to live with the pigs and eat with the dogs.

5. T. Seng.
   B. Bouak.
   N. Sao Nya.
   V. Husband Thao Khanta 48 y.
   D. '66/5.
   O. Mine.
   C. He had heard a mine go off and he was afraid that it had killed his buffalo so he went out to see. He stepped on a mine and was killed. It was on a path which villagers always used going back and forth. Soldiers never used it. Doesn't know who set the mine but we were living in region controlled by PL.

6. a.
   T. Seng.
   B. Leh.
   N. Bouasone (village chief).
   V. Older brother Xieng Ouan 39 y. cousin Thao Van 28 y Thao Phan 38 y.
   D. '67/9/11 about 8 A.M.
   O. Big bombs from T-28.
   C. The three men had taken their buffalo out to the fields when four T-28s came over. They ran for the forest but they did not get there in time. All three were killed. There were no soldiers in the area.

6. b.
   V. Wife's younger brother Xieng Moun 37 y.
   D. '66/2/9 about 11 A.M.
   O. Big bomb 500kg from a T-28.
   C. He was going to the upland ricefield. He was hit and killed along the way. There were no soldiers in the area. No soldiers ever used the path.

7. a.
   T. Seng.
   B. Leh.
   N. Thao Kong (village chief Bouasone).
   V. Older brother Thao Kong.
   D. '68/5 about 11 A.M.
   O. 500kg bombs from T-28's.
C. He was coming back from his bath at the river. Two T-28 planes came over. He tried to hide along the path but there wasn't any good place to hide. He was only 30–40m away from the village. Everyone else in the village had heard the planes coming and had fled. There were no soldiers around.

7. b.
V. Older brother Thao Ot 22 y, Nang Deng.
D. '68/12/13 about 2 P.M.
O. Bombi from T-28's.
C. Many people had been working together in the field binding bundles of rice and taking them for storage. When the planes came—six of them—all the people lay down in the field. But the planes must have seen them because they dropped the bombs. Two villagers died. Thao Ot and Sao Me's daughter Nang Deng who was 19 y. There were no soldiers around.

T. No tape.
8. T. Seng.
B. Leh.
N. Sao Me
V. Son Thao Onh.
D. '68/11/9 about 11 A.M.
O. Bombi from T-28.
C. He was bringing the buffalo back home. Two T-28 planes came over. He hid, but the planes saw the buffalo and dropped the bombs. There were no soldiers near. There were some far away but there were none near.

T. No tape.
B. Leh.
N. Sao Douang.
V. Son Thao Phom 23 y.
D. '67/9/8 about noon.
O. Bombi from T-28.
C. He was coming back from the upland ricefield. He was killed by the bomb. The kind with wire. The bomb had been dropped by T-28 two days earlier. He was just walking along when he was hit. There were no soldiers around when the bombs were dropped.

T. 4B.
10. T. Seng.
B. Leh.
N. Thao Pheng.
V. Two nephews Thao Phom 16 y and Thao Bu 24 y.
D. '66/11/22 about 11 A.M.
O. Big bombs from T-28's.
C. Villagers were all living in holes but Thao Phom returned to the village to get rice for the children to eat. The planes had already passed once but while Thao Phom was in the village six T-28's came back. They probably saw him because they bombed the village. Thao Bu was in his hole near the village. The planes bombed the forest around the village also and that's when Thao Bu died. There were no soldiers around that day neither in the village or in the forest.

T. 4B.
11. a.
T. Seng.
B. Leh.
N. Xieng Boua (narrated originally by village Chief Bouasone. Later verified by Xieng Boua).
V. Son of older sister Xieng Douang 19 y.
D. '66/8/11 about 9 A.M.
O. 500 kg. bombs from T-28.
C. Xieng Douang was working in the ricefield when four T-28 planes of the very black kind came over. He was alone in the rice field. The planes were bombing village next to the ricefield. Xieng Douang couldn't get out of the ricefield in time and was killed. No one else was killed. There was no one in the village. There were no soldiers around.

T. 4B.
11. b.:
V. Nephew of Xieng Boua named Xieng Phoumi 19 y.
D. '67/6/13.
O. Big bombs from jet.
C. Villagers were still living in the village. Everyone ran for the holes but a bomb hit Xieng Phoumi's hole and killed him. No soldiers in area.

T. 4B.
12. T. Seng.
B. Le (near Ban Le).
N. Sao Toum (village chief Bouasone).
Husband's younger sister Sao Deng 22 y.
D. '68/2/9 about 12 Noon.
O. Bombi from jets and T-28's.
C. Sao Deng had gone out to watch the buffalo. Three days earlier 2 T-28's and 2 F-4-bat jets had destroyed a bridge and had dropped bombi all around the area of the bridge. Sao Deng was killed by one of the bombi which exploded when she was near. There were no soldiers.

T. 4B.
13. Seng.
B. Bouak.
N. Pha Phouang (village chief).

No, I can't tell you anything about the poison they never dropped any poison in Ban Bouak. But a jet did drop butterfly bombs on Ban Bouak once in 1968. Very small like a leaf. If you stepped on one it would explode and blow off your leg. These bombs came in two different colors, green and brown like the color of a dried up leaf. No, they weren't the same as bombi. They were much smaller. (At this point he took two leaves, one green and one dry and brown in order to show me what the butterfly bombs were like. Triangular in shape and quite flat.) They only dropped these bombs once. And only one plane. But there were many. A thousand. More than a thousand. Ten buffalo were killed from stepping on the butterfly bombs. When the jet dropped the butterfly bombs there were no soldiers in the whole area. We were in the upland ricefield when these bombs were dropped. They were dropped all around. In an area as big as like Thoun Loua to Ban Nakung (4-5 km.). They were very dangerous and we had to be very careful. We had to collect them and bury them. Yes, they were dangerous. We learned that it was safe to pick them up by one of the three corners. If we touched either of the wrong corners the bombs would explode and we would be killed. But by one corner it was safe to pick them up.

T. 6B.
B. Bouak.
N. Thao Sing.
V. Son Thao Thone.
D. '66/1 about 10 A.M.
O. Big bombs from T-28 planes.
C. The boy was sleeping at home. His parents had gone to work in the ricefield. Four planes came and bombed the village. We hadn't yet gone to live in the holes. The bombs dropped too close to the house and the child was killed immediately. There were no soldiers in the village when the planes bombed.

T. 6B.
15. T. Seng.
B. Bouak.
N. Nang Ban.
V. Son Thao Phom 10 y.
D. '67/10 about 8 A.M.
O. Big bombs from T-28 planes.
C. Child had been playing in area near the village. The planes dropped big, big bombs, and a tree fell over on the child killing him. His parents were working in the upland ricefield. There were no soldiers in the village. At that time, the planes came four or five times a day. Mostly T-28's bombed then. The jets started coming heavily in 1968. The jets and the T-28's would come together.

T. 6B.
B. Boua.
N. Xieng Thong.
V. Sons Thao Boun Tham 4 y and Thao Boun Thian 2 y.
D. '69/11 about 10 A.M.
O. Artillery shell.
C. The boys didn’t make it to the hole in time. A 106 shell from Bouamlong fell near them killing them both. There were no soldiers in the area. The soldiers (PL) usually stayed in the forest and in the mountains. The guns in Bouamlong would sometimes shoot constantly from 7 A.M. until noon. No relatives have been killed by the PL or the Vietnamese.

T. 6B. (Partial interview only.)

17. T. Seng.
B. Bouak.
N. Xieng Pa.
V. Daughters Nong Khamphanh 3 y and Nang Phon 2 y.
D. '67/5 about noon.
O. Big bombs from a jet.
C. Most of the adults in the village had gone to work in the upland ricefield. Khamphanh and Phon were in the village. They hid in a hole when the planes came. But the jets dropped big, big bombs—500 kg, bombs and both girls were killed. There were no soldiers around. They never came to stay in the village.

T. No tape.

18. T. Seng.
B. Bouak.
N. Thao Khan.
V. Grand·daughter Sao Leh 4 y.
D. '66/11 about 8 A.M.
O. 106 mm. shell from Bouamlong.
C. Sao Leh was eating in a hole. A shell fell nearby and a fragment flew into the hole and killed her immediately. There were no soldiers in the area that day.

T. No tape.

B. Bouak.
N. Thao Duan.
V. Daughter Sao Phim 8 y.
D. '67/10.
O. Artillery shell from Bouamlong.
C. She was playing in the village when the shell hit. A shell fragment struck her. She died immediately. There were no soldiers in the area.

T. No tape.

20. T. Seng.
B. Leb.
N. Thao Bouasone village chief.
V. Daughter.
D. '69/7.
O. Smoke bomb (?)
C. Adults had gone to work in the village. The children had been told to stay in the holes and hide from the planes. A smoke bomb fell near the hole. The kind which they shoot. Nang Boudi ate some vegetables near where the bomb had fallen. She got sick and died three days later. We think that the bomb had poisoned the vegetables. Both T-28s and jets were around that day. Don’t know whether it was T-28 or jet which dropped the smoke bomb.

T. 7A.

24. T. Seng.
B. Leb.
N. Sao Khampa (village chief Boua Sone).
V. Son Thao Phiou 8 y. Sao Thouni’s daughter Nang Yang Pheng 3 yr. Thao Oun’s son Thao Phi 10 y. Thao Chandi’s son Thao Phi 6 yr.
D. '69/9.
O. “Poison.”
C. The children had gone to care for the buffalo. They stopped to eat some sour leaves, the kind which they regularly ate. But this time after eating the leaves, they started to throw up. Threw up many times. Three days later they all died. The planes had dropped poison two
days before. The poison had probably contaminated the leaves. The planes had dropped the poison on the village and the area around the village. There were no soldiers around when they dropped the poison. The poison was like sheets of paper.

T. 7A.
(Earlier Xieng Boua and Bouasone had described the poison in general terms.) The planes dropped the poison many times. Many animals died from the poison, pigs, cows, buffalos and chickens. The poison was like sheets of paper. But in many different sizes sometimes as big as 1 m. x 25 cm. It was both green and white in color. It would burn your feet if you stepped on it.

T. No tape.

VIII. Dong Kaleum—Tasseng Xieng, 60 families 340 people.

VILLAGES

1. Ban Slphorn.
2. Ban Nasay.

BAN DONG KALEUM

1. T. Xleng.
   B. Nasay.
   N. Thao SoPi.
   V. Older brother Thao La.
   D. '69/4 about 9 A.M.
   O. Bombi from a jet.
   C. Thao La was working in the ricefield when the jet came over. The fragments from the bombi killed him. There were no soldiers in the village but the planes probably thought that there were some in the forest near the village.

T. No tape.

2. T. Xleng.
   B. Sang.
   N. Nai Mal.
   V. Younger brother Thao Bouala now 10 years old.
   D. '69/3/14 or 15 about 2 P.M.
   O. Bomb from F105 jet.
   C. Thao Bouala fled for the hole when the jets came but he didn't make it. He was hit by fragments from a bomb. He survived but lost the use of his left arm. The bomb was about the size of a bucket. There were no soldiers in the village. At that time the planes were always around. From 7 A.M. to 4 P.M. there were always planes around. Mostly F105 and F-4-hat jets. The T-28's didn't bomb very much then. (Pic. of F105 like the one which dropped bomb which injured Thao Bouala.)

T. No tape.

3. T. Xleng.
   B. Phia Vat.
   N. Nang Khamphounta.
   V. Husband Tit Boun Thong 27 y.
   D. '69/8/23 in the afternoon 3 or 4 P.M.
   O. Big bombs from T-28.
   C. Tit Boun Thong had been working in the ricefield and did not reach the hole in time when the planes came over. There were no soldiers around when the planes bombed. Nang Khamphounta couldn't remember how many times the planes came over in a day because when they came she was very frightened and just ran for shelter. "Every time I heard a plane I fled for the holes." (Picture is of Nang Khamphounta's children Phomachan and Chanthadon. Khamphounta was shy and preferred that I take a picture of her children.)

T. No tape.

4. T. Xieng.
   B. Kang Pa.
   N. Sao Thongdi.
   V. Relative Thao Keo 26 y.
   D. '69/1/12.
   O. Big, big bombs from T-28 or jet (not sure).
   C. He had been working in the ricefield near the village. He ran for a hole when the planes came but did not make it. He was hit in the neck and
stomach by bomb fragments and died that day. There were many planes. There were no soldiers in the village when the bombs were dropped.

T. 5A.
5. T. Xieng.
B. Ban Nasay.
N. Sao Ka Meung.
V. Younger brother Thao Tha 15 y.
D. '64/11 about 5 P.M.
O. Bombs from T-28.
C. Thao Tha was the only one at home when the planes came. They bombed the village and Ka Meung's house burned up completely. There were no soldiers in the village when the planes bombed, only villagers. The bombing was the worst in '68 and '69. We had to stay in the holes all the time, can't remember what kind of planes. "Always fled. When we heard the sound of a plane. Didn't stop to look."

T. 5A.
6. a.: T. Xieng.
B. Si Phom.
N. Pho Ngeun Nan Ta.
V. Son Xieng Douan 26 y.
D. '69/12.
O. Shot.
C. Pho Ngeun NanTa didn't really know the cause of his son's death. He only knew that he was shot while he was in the village. There were no soldiers around at the time.

6. b.: V. Pho Ngeun Nan Ta's son Xieng Dam Douan 18 y.
D. 67/5.
O. Big bombs.
C. Xieng Dam Douan had been at home when the planes came over. There were four of them but unsure of which kind. There had been 10 PL in the village but they left just before the planes came.

T. 5A.
7. T. Xieng.
B. Nasay.
N. Me Daa.
V. Mother Sao Deng 64 y.
D. 62 (?) /3.
O. 106 shell from the RLG side.
C. Sao Deng was old but she was very strong and always went to work in the ricefield. She had been boiling rice at home. She was the only one in the house. All the rest were in the holes. A 106 shell landed under the house. There were no soldiers around when the shell fell. But that evening the PL came and operated on Sao Deng. They took out two shell fragments but it didn't do any good. She died the next morning.

T. 5A.
8. T. Xieng.
B. Si Phom.
N. Sao Oun.
V. Husband Thao Khen 27 y.
D. '67/9/10 about 2 P.M.
O. Big bombs from T-28.
C. He had been going to the ricefield when the planes came over. He was hit by fragments and died. There were no soldiers in the village at the time. In '67 the planes didn't come very often, only two times a day. It was mostly jets then, F-4 batt jets.

T. 5A.
9. T. Xieng.
B. Tiavat.
N. Nan Ta.
V. Younger brother Thao Ml 53 y.
D. '68/3 morning.
O. Mine.
C. He had gone to catch fish in small stream near ricefield. He stepped on a mine and died. There were no soldiers with him but sometimes the PL soldiers used that path.
T. 5A.

10. a.:  
T. Xieng.  
B. Sang.  
N. Than Tit Bounmi.  
V. Son Xieng Onhla 18 yr.  
D. '65/6 about 9 A.M.  
O. Mine.  
C. He had gone to porter for the PL. One day out of Ban Sang when he stepped on a mine and was killed. He was the only one who was killed.

T. 5A.

b.:  
(On tape after #14).  
V. Xieng Som Si 15 yr.  
D. '67/7 about 4 P.M.  
O. Big bombs from T-28's.  
C. He had gone to visit relatives when he was coming back with a group of twelve people, the planes came over. The people ran for the holes but Xieng Som Si did not make it in time. There were not any soldiers with the group or even in the area. The bombing started in 1965, but it was not very heavy. There were only T-28s. The F105 jets first came in 1965. The F-4 but jets came after that. After 1965 all three kinds were in together T-28, F105 and F-4 but. Often the T-28's came first and then the jets came after. (I then asked whether the planes just shoot at the soldiers.) Maybe the planes wanted to shoot the soldiers. But the soldiers went away into the forest. So all they could see was villagers. So they bombed villagers. If they saw anyone they would shoot. They just shot everything.

T. 5A.

11. T. Xieng.  
B. Nasay.  
N. Sao. Ml.  
V. Father Von Chin Chong 60 y.  
D. 70/4.  
O. Jets.  
C. He was trying to come to this side. Came out after the other refugees. Father tried to bring out two of his small children before the rest of the family. He was trying to go up Phou Khe mountain. But the soldiers must have seen him and thought that he was a PL because the jets came and strafed them. Only father was killed. The two children were taken to Savannakhet by the soldiers.

T. 5A.

12. T. Xieng.  
B. Nasay.  
N-V. Xieng Boua Pa.  
D. '69/7 about 11 A.M. or noon.  
O. Big bomb, jet or T-28 (not sure).  
C. He had come back from working in the field and had stopped to talk with friends. Three planes (thinks they were jets but not sure) came over. Xieng Boua Pa fled for the holes but it wasn't quite in time. They had just been sitting talking together. There were no soldiers in the village. At that time the F-4 but jets came very often, many times each day. Only the men came out of the holes all of the time.

T. 5A.

13. T. Xieng.  
B. Nasay.  
N. Xieng Phai.  
V. Older Brother Xieng Nuan 45 y.  
D. '68/7/5.  
O. Big bombs from T-28 planes.  
C. He was in the PL jail called Tham Chan. It was in the jungle outside of Ban Kong Pho. There were more than one hundred prisoners in the jail. Sixty-three died when the planes bombed. There were no soldiers but there were some police guards.

T. 5A.

14. a.:  
T. Xieng.
B. Phieng.
N. Me Bouota.
V. Older brother Xieng Tan 33 yr.
D. '65/4.
O. Small arms.
C. Two PL soldiers were in the village. RLG soldiers encircled the village. In the battle which followed Xieng Tan was killed. Two other villagers were also killed. And the two PL soldiers were killed too.

b. (at this point a neighbor started to help in the narration because Me Bouota's child was crying):
V. Younger brother Thao Thong 19 y.
D. '68/9/18.
O. Mine.
C. He had gone to porter for the PL. He wasn't out of Ban Thieng more than one day. He was killed by a mine. PL sometimes had villagers porter for one day only, sometimes for many days.

T. 5A.
15. T. Xieng.
B. Nasay.
N. Nang Sida.
V. Husband Tit Van Di 25 y.
D. '66/11 about the 1st, about noon.
O. Big big bombs from jets.
C. All of the villagers were living in holes then. But Tit Van Di went back to the village to get some things to take to the holes. While he was in the village the jets bombed before he could flee. There were no soldiers in the village. At that time the planes came many times every day 4 or 5 times even at night. The jets and the T-28's together. Sometimes the T-28's would drop the big bombs first and then the jets would drop the bombi.

T. 5A.
16. T. Xieng.
B. Sang.
N. Xieng Souha.
V. Older brother Tit Thani 60 yr.
D. '68/7/5 about 10AM.
O. Big bombs from T-28s and jets together.
C. The PL had put Tit Thani in the jail called Tham Chanh. Jets and T-28s came together. The planes probably bombed on account of the PL guards. But the guards just locked the prison and fled into their holes as soon as the planes came. Sixty-two or sixty-three prisoners died. (T.5A) In 1968 the planes came to Ban Sang many times each day maybe even 10 or 20 times a day. There were no soldiers in the village but maybe the planes saw villagers and thought that they were soldiers. Usually all the villagers made it to the holes in time.

T. 5B.
17. T. Xieng.
B. Sang.
N-V. Xieng So Pha 62 yrs.
D. '67/12/7 about 4 PM.
O. Big bombs from T-28 planes.
C. Had been putting away rice when two T-28 planes came. They dropped big bombs which destroyed everything. Xieng So Pha was hit in the back and head. The PL gave him medical treatment and took him to a hospital in Xieng Khouang for an operation. However, he is still deaf in his right ear and it hurts inside. He cannot do heavy work.

T. 5A.
18. T. Xieng.
B. Sang.
N-V. Tit Phang.
D. '69/9/10 about noon.
O. Bombi from T-28s and jets.
C. Had been transplanting rice. Some prisoners from the jail called Tham Chan were working in the field nearby. Some PL guards were with them. Everyone ran for the holes when the planes came but I did not reach a hole in time. There were about 20 prisoners working in the field but none of them were injured. They and the guards all reached the holes safely.
Was wounded in the back. (I) recovered although it still hurts sometimes. In '69 it was mostly jets which bombed though on the occasion when I was wounded, it may have been T-28s rather than jets which dropped the bomb. The planes, mostly jets, came two or three times a day. If they saw anyone they would just shoot them.

T. 5B.
B. Muang Ngan.
N. Nang Inh.
V. Older brother Thao Tun 48 y.
D. 68/9 in the morning.
O. 106 shell.
C. He had been gone portering with the PL one and a half or two days. There were many villagers together portering and some guards. A 108 cannon shell fell and killed Thao Tun.

T. 5B (bad tape).
20. T. Xieng.
B. Siphom.
N. Thanh Nut.
V. Son Thao Somnuck 13 yrs.
D. 67/2 or 3 morning.
O. 106 cannon shell.
C. Thao Somnuck had gone to work in the rice field when a 106 cannon shell fell nearby injuring him. He did not die but he lost his right hand. There were some PL soldiers in the area when the shell fell. About 500 meters away from Thao Somnuck.

T. No tape.
21. T. Xieng.
B. Na Liang.
N. Nai Eh.
V. Older sister Sao Phomma and her child Thao Chanh 3 y.
D. 67/1.
O. 106 shell.
C. Sao Phomma was carrying the child on her back when the shell fell. Both Sao Phomma and the child were killed. This was when they on the PL side. The shell was from the RLG side. There were no soldiers nearby when the shell fell. There were some about 1km away on top of a mountain.

T. No tape.
IX. Nong Van Pheung—Tasseng Xieng, 93 families 486 people.

VILLAGES
1. Ban Pho Sl.
2. Ban Naou.
5. Ban Muong Khong.

NONG VAN PHEUNG INTERVIEWS
1. T. Xieng.
B. Kong Pa.
N. Sao Siphan 47 y.
V. Children. Thao Von 16 y, Thao Li 13 y, Nang Thong Tan 12 y, Thao Chantadom 10 y, Thao Khamia 7 y, Thao Khamsouk 5 y, Nang Saysonpheng 1 y.
D. 69/7 and 8.
O. Disease.
C. It was when we were at Nalouang. (RLG.) They would have a fever for two or three days and then die. It wasn't a normal disease. They would just have a fever for a few days and then they would die. It was the place Nalouang. It had bad spirits. It was a bad place. Doctors went to see but they didn't know what was wrong. Even an American doctor came but it didn't help. The children still died. All of my children, all seven died.
We had come to this side already on the plain of Jars. They captured him and made him a soldier. He did not want to be a soldier. But they made him a soldier anyway. He died less than a month later. It was the Meo soldiers from region two who made him a soldier. I haven't received any money from the government and I have six children to raise. It is very difficult. (Note: When I learned that Xieng Dong Di had been a soldier when he died, I explained that I was primarily interested in civilians. Sao Van Di said that her husband really wasn't a soldier. He didn't want to be a soldier. They made him be a soldier. But really he was a civilian "just like us.")

It was in Nalouang, after we had come to this side. She got the fever and a Meo doctor gave her a shot but it didn't do any good. She still died.

They died in Nalouang. They had the fever. The doctors gave them many shots but in 4 or 5 days they died.

They died in Nalouang also. The doctors gave them shots but they died in 4 or 5 days. They died after we had been in Nalouang only about one month. We were there in Nalouang altogether about 11 months.

She died when we were in Nalouang. She had a fever and a cough and was given shots but after 4 or 5 days she died.

When we were in Nalouang, they died from the fever.

She died when we were in Nalouang. She had a fever and a cough and was given shots but after 4 or 5 days she died.
V. Children Sao Keo 10 y, Thao Le 7 y, Thao Bounchan 5 y, Nang Damdouan 4 y.
D. '69/7, 8.
O. Fever.
C. They all died in Nalouang, all four of my children. I have no children left.
T. 6A.
9. T. Xieng.
B. Muong Khong.
N. Sao Phai.
V. Daughter Sao Phai 5 y.
D. (Same.)
O. Fever.
C. She had the fever also.
T. 6A.
10. T. Xieng.
B. Seh Fa.
N. Xieng Sing.
V. Nephew Thao Soundara 5 y.
D. 67/2/5 5:30 A.M.
O. Douchett (small rocket) from T-28.
C. The child was in a hole but the hole was hit by a douchett from a T-28. There were no soldiers in the village. At that time the planes came alot. At least every day.
T. 6A.
11. T. Xieng.
B. Ban Na kham.
N. Thao Tba (Tasseng Xieng Secretary) Boun Song.
V. Child Thao Tha 6 y.
D. '70/3.
O. Sickness.
C. He had a headache and fever for two or three days. It was when we came on the plane to Vientiane. Three or four hundred children died altogether. Three or four hundred children from Tasseng Xieng and Tasseng Nueun died while we were in Nalouang. The two Tassengs had maybe 2000 people altogether. Out of this number 300 children died when we were in Nalouang. Mostly all children. Just a couple old people.
T. 6A.
12. T. Xieng.
B. N. Thanh Boun Song (Tasseng Xieng Secretary) and group of 5-6 other villagers (I asked if the airplanes had ever dropped poison on their villages) Yes, they dropped it on us. It was the F105 jets which dropped it. It was long. It looked like the little noodles from Chinese soup. The Vietnamese said that it was poison. The Pathet Lao taught us to get long sticks and use the sticks to move it into holes and bury it. Also there was another kind of poison which looked like salt. After buffalo ate grass on which it was dropped they died. The paper kind sometimes was in very long pieces two or three meters. It looked like thin strips of paper. Like if you cut a piece of white paper into small strips. We were afraid to touch it.
T. (No tape.)
13. (I returned to Van Pheung on Jan 2 because I had not recorded the villagers description of the poison on Jan 1. See #12).
T. Xieng.
N. Thanh Boun Song (Tasseng Xieng Secretary).
Yes, there were many kinds of things which the villagers called poison, but its not important. We don't really know where it came from. Whether it came from the planes or whether someone brought it, we're not sure. No, I never saw any poison. In Xieng Khouang all I saw was the bombs that exploded sending out many small white particles. If the chickens ate it they would die. It was small and white like salt. (At this point other villagers, including village chief of Ban Kang Pa, Xieng Pheng joined in the conversation). No, it wasn't like paper. You see there were two kinds, one like salt and the other like paper.
67-587-71—7
During the May and June of 1969 before the government (RLG) came, the bombing was the heaviest, they dropped many bombs. Both T-28's and jets dropped the bomb. Four villagers from Kang Pa died from the bombing in 1969. The bombing was the heaviest in May and June before the government (RLG) came in July. Yes, there were soldiers in the village when the planes dropped the bombs. Four or five Vietnamese always stayed with us. They were afraid that we would come to this side. If we moved from one place to another they would always move with us. There were more than 100 villagers in Kang Pa. We can't count how many times the planes dropped the bomb. No, we never saw any poison. Whether they dropped any poison in Kang Pa or not, I don't know. There were some people who got sick and drunk though. No, we never saw any poison. Never. (At this point one man in the background said that the planes sometimes dropped paper). It was paper like this. In very small strips. (One man took the foil from a cigarette package and sent a small girl to get some scissors. When she brought them he started cutting the foil into small strips perhaps 2-4 mm wide.) The paper was like this. Both T-28's and jets dropped it. The Vietnamese told us that it was poison and that we shouldn't touch it or pick it up. Or sometimes they called it yaa mao (literally "drunk medicine"). Or they said like in Vietnam K-nee poison. Animals never ate this kind of poison. They only ate the white kind which was like salt. The paper kind came in long long pieces. Sometimes three or four meters. They told us "this is poison. Don't touch it or you will get drunk and die." Even if you only touch it. We had to take sticks and bury it. We couldn't touch it. If we touched it, it would burn. It was like this (gesturing to the cut strands from the cigarette package foil.) except much longer. The other kind was white, like salt. If buffalo ate it they would die. If it fell on grass all the grass would die. It came from the planes like the other kind. (There followed a general discussion of villagers killed by bombing, artillery and one woman killed by the "enemy" when she tried to come to this side. I didn't have time to get all of the details or even names.)

BAN MAK NAO—Tasseng Thai (Thao Chan Phet), 44 families 203 people.

VILLAGES

Ban Puk.
Ban Chuay.

BAN MAK NAO INTERVIEWS

1. T. Thai.
   B. Chuay.
   N. Sao Chan.
   V. Younger brother Siphan 22 y.
   D. '66 (?) /1.
   O. Mine.
   C. He had gone portering for the PL. He stepped on a mine and was killed
      as he was returning to Ban Chuay.

T. 6A.

2. T. Thai.
   B. Puk.
   N. Sao Phan.
   V. Husband Thao Toumma 23 y.
   D. '69/11 or 12/.
   O. Bombs from T-28's and jets.
   C. He had gone to get rice in the upland ricefield. When they were coming
      back to the holes the planes came. They couldn't flee in time. Nine
      villagers were killed. There were no soldiers around just villagers.
      The planes dropped big big bombs. The planes came very often. They
      came like the birds. All the time there were a few. Even at night
      we couldn't sleep safely. Even though there were no soldiers the planes
      shot up everything.

T. 6A.

3. T. Thai.
   B. Puk.
   N. Brothers Xieng Si Da and Thit Phim Pha.
   V. Sister-in-law Sao Mone 27 y.
D. '69/11 about 12 noon.
O. 2 T-28 planes and jets.
C. She had gone to get rice in the ricefield. On her way back the planes came and dropped big bombs. There were no soldiers in the village. At that time the planes came very often. There were more planes than birds.

T. 6A.
4. T. Thai.
B. Chuay.
N. Bouavan.
V. Mother Sao Da 54 y and younger brother Boua Thong 14 y.
D. '69/11.
O. Big bombs from jets and T-28's.
C. They had gone to get rice in the upland ricefield. When they were returning the planes came over. They ran for the holes but couldn't reach safety in time. Nine villagers died at the same time. In those days the planes came very often 8 or 10 times each day.

T. 6A.
5. T. Thai.
B. Puk.
N. Sao Siphan.
V. Father Tit Tuam 56 yr. and brother-in-law Thao Then 23 y.
O. Bombs from T-28's and jets.
C. They had gone to the upland ricefield to get rice to bring back to the holes. They couldn't hide when the planes came over. Nine villagers died. There were no soldiers with the group.

T. 6A.
6. T. Thai.
B. Chuay.
N. Sao Oun.
V. 64/11 (?)
O. Mine.
C. He had gone to get rice in the upland rice field. When he was returning, he stepped on a mine. We took him to a hospital but he died before we could get there. We were in the region controlled by the PL. So the mine was probably put in by the soldiers from this side.

T. 5A.
7. T. Thai.
B. Tasseng Chanphet and old man.
All of the villagers had to live in the holes for two years '68-'69. The planes shot everything, the houses and the buffalo, just everything, it all burned. In '66 only the T-28's came to bomb. But by '68 there were more jets than T-28's. There were two kinds of jets, F105 and F-4-hat. The F-4-hat could go very low close to the trees but the F105 usually flew much higher. In those two last years we had to stay in our holes all the time. We dug a hole 10 meters into the side of the mountain. In 1968 there were more F105 than F-4-hat, but in 1969 there were more F-4-hat than F105. First the Eller 19 plans would come and shoot a smoke bomb. Then T-28's would shoot, then two F-105's then two F-4-hats, etc. etc. They came in pairs two at a time. The planes shot up our village 12 times, T-28's and jets. On the day that nine villagers died there were twenty-two planes. First there was an Eller-19 which shot—smoke bombs. Then there were two T-28's then all the rest were jets. They came at 9 A.M. that morning and shot all through the day. There were no soldiers around by the villagers. A large group of maybe 50 villagers had gone to get rice in the ricefield near Ban Chuay. (See map) when they were returning to the holes an Eller 19 saw three or four of the villagers and must have ordered the jets. They probably thought that there were many people in the hills on both sides of the valley. That day they mostly dropped the 150 kg bombs, it was about 4km from the rice field to the holes. Twelve of the villagers were caught in the valley half-way between the ricefield and the holes. They had no place to hide. Nine were killed.

We had dug our holes between the two mountains so that it would be hard for the planes to shoot us. No, the planes never dropped any silver paper in our village. They just dropped bombs. All of our houses were
destroyed. They only dropped the poison in Tasseng Seng. And they dropped belts and pens. Very pretty pens. If you opened them they would explode. This was in 1968. I never saw them. I only heard about them. Villagers told me about them. Many pens and watches. But you could not pick them up. If you wound the watches they would explode. But I never saw them I only heard the news.

On our village they only dropped bombs. Big bombs and the bomb. Once in 1969, the 10th month, they bombed our buffalo. There were over 20 animals tied together. There were no soldiers around or even any people. There were never any soldiers in our village. The planes buzzed the buffalo and then dropped the bomb. Nine buffalo were killed.

The planes never saw any people because if we even heard the sound of a plane we fled and hid. We were too afraid. From 1964 on, we lost villagers only on that one occasion. Because we always hid. Even that time no one would have died except that they returned from getting rice after the rest of us. If they hadn't been slow the planes probably wouldn't have seen them. But the planes didn't know if they were villagers or soldiers or what. So they just shot, shot everything. Our life was very difficult. We didn't have any money or gold or houses. Just our own bodies and our lives. We were very lucky not to lose our lives.

Sometimes we had to go porter. Sometimes one or two days. The groups of villagers portering sometimes number 10 or 20 or sometimes 30. If the porterage was a large one of say 30 people, three or four soldiers would go with us, no more than that. The soldiers were always Lao soldiers. Vietnamese soldiers never went portering. Yes, I saw some Vietnamese soldiers. Maybe 9 or 10 altogether. They would be with the PL soldiers. In a group of 10 PL soldiers there might be one Vietnamese never more than one. If there were 20 PL soldiers there might be five Vietnamese. But usually there were no Vietnamese. If I saw PL soldiers ten times there would be Vietnamese with then only once. Or maybe more but never more than 5 out of 10 times.

When we went portering the sub-district chief and the village chief would consult about who should go.

T. 7B.
D. Evaluation of the Survey

1. Accuracy of the Interviews.

When I first went into a village, I found that people sometimes were hesitant to talk to me about civilian war casualties. Particularly, I found that officials were hesitant to talk about such casualties. This hesitation seemed to vary directly with the level of the official. In November, I had found that many individual refugees in Ban Ilay had contradicted the account of the sub-district chief of that refugee camp who had told me that planes only bombed when Vietnamese soldiers shot at the planes first. On many occasions during my ten day survey, I again noticed contradictions in the accounts of minor officials and those of refugees holding no official positions. In the Veun Khene refugee camp, the subdistrict chief showed me a list of civilian fatalities. I asked him why the people had died. He replied, "On account of the Pathet Lao."

I inquired further, "What do you mean? Were these people all shot by the Pathet Lao?"

"No."

"I do not understand. What do you mean? Why did you say that the deaths of these people were caused by the Pathet Lao?"

He answered, "The people were killed by many things. But if the Pathet Lao had not been there, the people would not have been killed. And it was the fault of the Pathet Lao because they would not let the people come to this side. If those people could have come to this side they would not have been killed."

The logic of this subdistrict chief is undeniable but Veun Khene refugees holding no official positions were much more explicit about the primary causes of individual war victims, (see Interviews Section III.) Also, in the refugee camp in Dongkaloum the sub-district chief seemed to give a story quite different than that of most non-official refugees. In this village, the subdistrict chief seemed to try to dissuade me from my inquiry. He told me, "There were very few civilian deaths. It's hard to say why they died. It was very confused, you know. On account of the war. You can't really get much information here, why don't you go look at the lists which we sent to Vientiane."