HEARING
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH REFUGEES AND ESCAPEES
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE
NINETY-SECOND CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

JULY 22, 1971
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

JULY 26, 1971.

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.

AUGUST 10, 1971.

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

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Thank you for your letter of July 28, 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. 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 8,300 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.

(65)
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 doubly 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. Hany'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 constrained by the United States Mission in Vientiane and that material evidence does not 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 unidentifiable, but the Defense Department notes that a wide variety of United States or communist equipment such as batteries, smoke cansisters, parachute fuses, 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 Ministry of Youth and Sports. During the program, I became involved with students who were teaching refugees coming from 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 the refugees in the summer program I learned a great deal about the refugees' lives prior to their eviction 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 also 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.)

In November, Ambassador Godley invited me to discuss the matter with him personally. In our discussion on Nov. 29, Ambassador Godley received me most cordially and made it clear that the question of bombing of innocent villagers. He told me that American aircraft in Laos adhered to strict rules of engagement which proscribed the bombing of inhabited villages except under highly unusual circumstances. He acknowledged, however, that inadvertent damage was taking place on occasion been subject to aerial bombardment. He maintained, however, that the number of aerial sorties over Laos was, the number of errors resulting in the bombing of innocent villagers had been remarkably few. He suggested that while refugee reports of the bombing in very few cases could 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 of November 29, 1970, Mr. Abshire stated (see Appendix C for full text of letter):

"American air support of the Laos Government ... is furnished under rules of engagement designed specifically to protect civilians and to limit damage 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 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 saw some animals or people they would only 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."

Offering a wide variety of what American officials, on one hand 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 Hay. There, I talked with the sub-district chief, Tham Thong, of the Ban Hay 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 mistakes or widespread 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 gathered from the students working with the refugees had been subject to a number of possible sources of error. First, the students had not been specifically to get information about the refugees' experiences on the Plain of Jars. Thus, 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 not in great detail. Missions' little specific information for further clarification. 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 were working.

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 28, 1970 to January 4, 1971, I visited ten refugee camps on the Plain of Jars. In order to find out more 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. Then I expressed 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 lived on the Plain of Jars. Were any relatives shot and killed, or bombs 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 a civilian relative killed, I asked the following questions:

What was the name of the victim?
From what village and district was he?
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 he might be able to take his picture. Invariably people were happy to have their pictures taken. Further, I also tape-recorded the 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 Venn Kham—Tasseng Phan (Thao Omkham Phimmavong) 241 families, 1269 people.

VILLAGES

1. Ban Phan.
2. Ban Nasa.
5. Ban Vene.

1. T. Phan.
2. B. Pung.
3. N. Pho Xiang Onh.
4. V. Father Pho Thitkhanta 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 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 Nol.
V. Pho Louang Th—father.
D. 69/6.
O. T-28 bomb.
C. There were no soldiers around.

T. 1A.

3. T. Phan.
B. Khong Neun.
N. Pho Kang Poun.
V. Son who was 8 years old.
D. 69/6.
O. T-28 bomb.
C. Roy ran for a hole but the planes dropped the bomb before he reached the hole. 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 bomb 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 Bounavan 12 y.; Sao Bounathong 9 y.; Sao Tai 8 y.
D. 69 or 68, 9th month.
O. Jet, big bomb (one of Sao Chanta's surviving children suggested it was P 106, but mother said she only knew it was a jet.)
C. Shop 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.
1. T. Phan.
B. Vene.
N. Pho Xieng Ta.
V. Daughter who was 6 y. old.
D. 69/6.
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 occurred.

Xiang To says that he has had no relatives killed by PL or VN.

T. 1A.

5. b.
O. Wife's younger brother Ba Chun 40 y.
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.
1. T. Phan.
B. Tang.
N. Xiang Boun Pha.
V. Younger brother Thao La.
D. 69/6.
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/L.
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 Meo put in all the mines. No relatives killed by PL or VN.

T. 1A.
6. c.: 
V. Daughter of older sister.
D. '68/8 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.
R. Khong Nua.
N. Sao Deung.
V. Younger brother Thao Ba La.
D. '94.
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.
R. Vene.
N. Ph Khamsing.
V. Son Thao Siaouphan 8y.
D. '68/3.
O. Jet, big big bomb.
C. All of the family was in a hole together. The jet—maybe it was F105—dropped big bombs. Siaouphan 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.
R. Khong Nua.
N. Sao Saphan.
V. Younger brother Xham Si 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 rice field. He was going there to raise food for us. The Meo soldiers shot killed him. Shot 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 Pat, 134 families, 788 people.

VILLAGES

1. Ban Fat Sol.
2. Ban Muong.
4. Ban Nhat Si.
5. Ban Napeuang.

BAN PHAO INTERVIEWS

1. T. Fat.
R. Napeuang.
N. Me Tum.
V. Daughter Me Pao.
D. '69/4.

O. Jet bomb "F-4-hat".
C. She was walking along path when jets dropped bomb. Tasseng said that there were PL and VN soldiers in the village when planes bombed.

T. 1A.
2. T. Fat.
R. Ban Nhat.
N. Sao Leb.
V. Son Xiang Thong Chan.
D. '68/12.
O. F105 bomb.
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 bomb came from a big bomb which exploded when it was still high in the air. The bomb was 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.
R. Nhat.
N. Sao Home.
V. Son Xiang Boun Song 16 yrs.
D. '68/12.
O. Bomb from jet "F105".
C. Had come out to the forest to get things to eat. The planes came very fast and he couldn’t find—place to hide in time. No relatives were shot or killed by the PL or VN.

T. 2A.
4. a.
T. Fat.
R. Napeuang.
N. Bondi.
V. Sisters Sao Nong 30y and cousin Xiang Boun Phan 26y.
D. '68/12/17.
O. Bomb 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 or 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 Xiang Boun Phan 62y cousin Thao Khan.
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.
R. Fat Ph.
N. Sao Phim.
V. Mother Sao 8y 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.
R. Fat Ph.
N. Chang Khamdi.
V. Older brother Kang Chouk.
D. 69/1.
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 Tisomphan 23 y.
D. 67/6.
O. Bullets from a T-28.
C. He was coming back from the market when the planes came. He didn't see 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 Douangsl 22 y.
D. 66/7/13.
O. Gunshot.
C. He was sleeping in vat when the Vietnamese came and shot up the vat. 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.

H. Ban Veun Khene—Tasseng Sene Noi, 410 families, 2310 people.

BAN VEUN KHENE INTERVIEWS

1. T. Sene Noy.
B. Ton.
T. 2B.
2. T. Sene Nol.
B. Si.
N-Y. Xieng Bond Pham.
D. '59/3/16, 7 a.m.
O. Bomb from jet.
C. He 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 status.

T. 2B.
3. a.:
T. Sene Nol.
B. Si.
N. Onh Chanh.
V. Mother Sao Sonh 50.
D. '59/10.
O. Shot.
C. When fleeing to this side to Thong Hai Hin (Plain of Jars) Vietnamese shot her.

T. 2B.
3. b.:
V. Younger brother Side 19 y.
D. '59/10.
O. Big guns from T-28.
C. He was in Ban Si. There were no soldiers around on the other Plan VN.

T. 2B.
B. Na Sou.
N. Xieng Bond Pham.
V. Wife Sao Oum, father Tithkhamta, mother Mo Douangtae, three children.
D. '57/7/15.
O. Big guns 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 Nol.
B. Phou Houm.
N. Chan Pantha.
V. Son Thao Van 13 y.
D. '58/1/11.
O. Bomb fragment.
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 Nol.
B. Phou Houm.
N. Sao La.
V. Son Khamsing 8 y.
D. '59/9/27.
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.

6. b.:
V. Son Khamsem 4 y.
D. '58/3/7.
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. Nason.
N. Sao Bona Pa.
N. Older brother, his wife, three children and a cousin.
D. '57/7/23 (?) 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 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 Mok Hao #4.)

T. 2B.
B. Nason.
N. Sao Pheng.
V. Mother Sao Kanna 120 y.
D. '57/7 (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 dead 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.

T. 2B.
B. Nason.
N. Sao Oum.
V. Son Xieng Koe.
D. '58/9.
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 Dona Tai—Tasseng Seng (Thao Phung Vongsa) (Khamphoui) 122 families 715 people.

VILLAGES
1. Ban Kom.

BAN DONA TAI INTERVIEWS
1. a.:
T. Seng.
B. Kohm.
N. Xieng Phomma.
V. Son Leng 20 y.
D. '58/3.
O. Nine.
C. Had been ordered to go porter for PL when he stepped on mine.

T. 2B.
6. a.:
V. Son Tingmnh 30 y.
D. '58/9.
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 Mou 17 y.
D. '06./
O. Bomb from "B-32" plane.
C. Had gone to school and when returning home was killed by bombi, when
he stepped on it. Jet B-32 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. '06/7 about 12 Noon.
O. 75 mm shell.
C. They had gone to catch fish near Ban Kohn 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. '06/7.
O. 75 mm 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. Tit Khanta.
V. Older brother Khanta 4 y. older brother of Thao Su named Thao Sou
4 y. also killed.
D. '06/6 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 Khanta.
V. Tit Bouang Ml.
D. '07/9.
O. Mine.
C. Had gone to port 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 Thb Bout Dl 25 yr and Xieng Khong younger brother of
Thao Mon.
D. '06/12.
O. 75 mm shell.
C. Bout Dl and Xieng Khong were saving wood outside their homes
when a shell from the government side (BLG) 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 Nol.
V. Husband Xieng Ohn 45 and 12 yr. old son.
D. '07/9.
O. "Cao" mine.
C. They had gone to the upland ricefield when Xieng Ohn stepped on a big
can (kaoman) 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. '06/6 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 Phana 35 y.
D. '07/6/ about 5 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 Phan (village secretary Thao Mone).
V. Younger brother Thao Pha 35 y.
D. '06/7.
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 Tt Nang Th 33 y.
D. '06/7.
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 Myoung.
V. Nang Pha 35 y.
O. '06/9 (later told me it was '06/6 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 Nang Pha 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 Bao 6 y.
D. '06/7.
O. Big bomb from T-28.
C. She had gone to the garden with Nang Pha and her mother. But the
children were too small to know enough to get into the hole with
Nang Pha’s mother.

T. 4A.
B. Kohm.
N. Nang Phu (village secretary Thao Mone).
97-057-71-6
Older brother Thao So 35 y.
D. '89/9.
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. 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. Tu Phong (village secretary Tao Mone).
D. '87/4.
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-V. Thao Phong.
D. Father Xiong Phum 60 y and wife Sao Boun 27 yr.
O. Mine of cannonister 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 45 y now.
D. '69/8/12 about noon.
O. Bomb from jet.
C. Was coming back from the upland ricefield to his house. A bomb exploded as he passed him in the foot, hand and arm. 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 Phom and other refugees from Done Tai). The jets and T-28s came for many years—when we were with the PL, they bombed every year every, every day. Jets, T-28s, T-28s. They bombed everything, buffaloes, 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. Afterwards the plain, the plain, the plain. 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-28s—like T-28 except bigger. The T-28s’ usually dropped big bombs sometimes bombi but not usually. The bombi came from a big cannonister that exploded in the air scattering the little bombs. The bombi were mostly from the jets and the T-28 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, we called T-28. And the kind Dakota rrrrr 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, 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 Thion.
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 bomb 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-28s. In '63 it was mostly the T-28s which bomb. The jets didn’t come much until 1968 and after.

T. 6B.
22. T. Seng.
B. Kohm.
N-V. Xiong Thong.
D. '65/3.
O. T-28.
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 Bounak. There had been no soldiers in the village when the planes bombed.

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

Village

Ban Mene.
Ban Nong Kuang.
Ban Muang.

Ban Nkung Interviews

1. T. Seng.
   B. Mene.
   N. Nang Ming.
   V. Daughter Nang Thong 13 y.
   D. '68/10 about 11 p.m.
   O. Bomb from T-28 (?).
   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. Nang Ming.
   V. Husband Thao Tha.
   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 portage 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. Nang Ming.
   V. Husband Thao Tha.
   D. '67/2.
   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. Nang Ming.
   V. Son Thao Phai 4 y.
   D. '61/31 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 Phai's (village chief) younger brother Thao Phai 4 y and Sao Nyoong'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. Nang Ming.
   V. Younger brother Thao Tha.
   D. '67/9.
   O. Small arms.
   C. He was returning from portering for the PL for 2 days. There were no soldiers with him. He was alone. The Mee 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.

T. 4B.

   B. Mene.
   N. Nang Ming (Thao Phu).
   V. Father Pho Nan 48 y.
   D. '69/6.
   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.

T. 4B.

7. T. Seng.
   B. Mene.
   N. Thao Thong.
   V. Younger brother Thao Thong 17 y.
   D. '67/7/3 about 5 PM.
   O. Cannon mine.
   C. He was portering for the PL one day out of Ban Mene, somewhere in Xieng Khouang province. The mine was from the Mee soldiers. There were soldiers with Thao Thong 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.

T. 3A.

8. T. Seng.
   B. Mene.
   N. Sao Naa (village chief Thao Phu).
   V. Older sister Sao Naa about 40 y.
   D. '69/3.
   O. "Canister".
   C. Sao Naa 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. Mee soldiers up on the mountain saw the PL and shot at them. Sao Naa and one PL soldier were killed.

T. 3A.

9. a.: T. Seng.
   B. Mene.
   N. Sao Naa (village chief Thao Pha).
   V. Son Thao Bua 5 y.
   D. '68/7 around noon.
   O. "poison" from planes.
   C. The planes had dropped poison. Sao Bua 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.

T. 3A.

   B. Mene.
   N. Sao Naa (village chief Thao Pha).
   V. Daughter Sao Bua 5 y.
   D. '68/7 around noon.
   O. "poison" from planes.
   C. The planes had dropped poison. Sao Bua 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.

T. 3A.

10. T. Seng.
    B. Mene.
    N. Sao Son.
V. Younger brother Thao Sl 24-25 y.
D. '96/11 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. Mane.
N. Sao Phong.
V. Father Al Tao 80 y.
D. '96/5 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 bong. 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 needles 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
Kou, 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—Taseng Seng, 57 families 223 people.
VILLAGES
Ban Bouak.
Ban Leb.
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 that 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.
T. No tape.
3. T. Seng.
B. Bouak.
N. Xiang Pheng (village Secretary).
V. Son Pa Pheng 3 y and younger sister Sao Euan 12 y.
D. '68/6 early morning.
O. Big bomb 500kg 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
burned when the bomb exploded. There were no soldiers in the
village that day.
T. No tape.
4. T. Seng.
B. Bouak.
N. Nai Phouang (village chief).
V. Daughter Sao Ba 12 yr and young nephew Bai Emly.
D. '65/12 about 2 P.M.
O. 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 Emly 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.
T. No tape.
5. T. Seng.
B. Bouak.
N. Sao Nya.
V. Husband Thao Khanta 43 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.
T. No tape.
6. a.
1. T. Seng.
B. Leh.
N. Bouasone (village chief).
V. Old brother Xiang Ouan 39 y. cousin Thao Van 28 y Thao Phan 38 y.
D. '67/3/11 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.
T. No tape.
6. b.
1. Wife's younger brother Xiang 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.
T. No tape.
7. a.
1. T. Seng.
B. Leh.
N. Thao Kong (village chief Bouasone).
V. Older brother Thao Kong.
D. '68/3 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. '63/12/19 about 2 P.M.  
O. Bombs 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 Nang 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. '63/11/9 about 11 A.M.  
O. Bombs 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. '67/9/9 about noon.  
O. Bombs 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 bombèd the village. Thao Bu was in his hole near the village. The planes bombèd 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. Xiang Boua (narrated originally by village Chief Bouasone. Later verified by Xiang Boua).  
V. Son of older sister Xiang Douang 19 y.  
D. '67/11/11 about 9 A.M.  
O. 500 kg. bombs from T-28.  
C. Xiang Douang was working in the rice field 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 rice field. Xiang Douang couldn’t get out of the rice field 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 Xiang Boua named Xiang Phoun 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 Xiang Phoun’s hole and killed him. No soldiers in area.

T. 4B.  

12. T. Seng.  
B. Leh (near Ban Leh).  
N. Sao Toum (village chief Bouasone).  
V. Son Sao Toum’s younger sister Sao Deng 22 y.  
D. '67/2/9 about 12 Noon.  
O. Bombs from jets and T-28’s.  
C. Sao Deng had gone out to watch the buffalo. Three days earlier 2 T-28s and 2 F-4s had destroyed a bridge and had dropped bomb all around the area of the bridge. Sao Deng was killed by one of the bomb which exploded when she was near. There were no soldiers.

T. 4B.  

B. Bouak.  
N. Pho Pioua (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 bomb. 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. 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 rice field when these bombs were dropped. They were dropped all around. In an area as big as like Thoun Loa to Ban Nang (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. '66/1/1 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 rice field. Four planes came and bombèd the village. We hadn’t yet got 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 bombèd.

T. 6B.  

15. T. Seng.  
B. Bouak.  
N. Nang Ban.  
V. Son Sao Thong 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 rice field. There were no soldiers in the village. At that time, the planes came four or five times a day. May poison in Ban Bouak. The jets and the T-28’s would come together.

T. 6B.  

B. Bouak.
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. '67/6 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 Duan.
V. Grand-daughter Sao Le 4 y.
D. '67/6 about 10 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 5 y.
D. '67/6.
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. Leh.
N. Thao Bouasone village chief.
V. Daughter.
D. '67.
O. Smoke bomb (1).
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 Bonoi 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. Leh.
N. Sao Khampa (village chief Boua Sone).
V. Son Thao Phiou 8 y. Sao Thouni’s daughter Nang Vang Pheng 3 yr. Thao Oun’s son Thao Phi 10 y. Thao Chong’s son Thao Phi 6 yr.
D. '69/7.
O. “Poison.”
C. The children had gone to care for the buffalo. They stopped to eat some sour leaves, the kind which they regularly eat. But this time after eating the leaves, they started to throw up. Throw 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. Cows, buffaloes 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.

VILLAGERS

1. T. Xieng.
B. Nassy.
N. Thao SoPL.
V. Older brother Thao La.
D. '67/6 about 9 A.M.
O. Bomb from a jet.
C. Thao La was working in the ricefield when the jet came over. The fragment hit the bomb 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. Xieng.

3. T. Xieng.
B. Phia Vat.
N. Nang Khamphouta.
V. Husband Tit Boun Thong 27 y.
D. '67/6/23 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 dropped. Nang Khamphouta 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 Khamphouta’s children Phomachan and Chanaout. Khamphouta 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. '67/1/12.
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...
T. 5A.

5. T. Xiang.
   B. Nao Nassy.
   N. Sao Ka Mung.
   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 Mung's house burned up completely. There were no soldiers in the village when the planes bombed, only villagers. The bombing was the worst in '65 and '69. We had to stay in the holes all the time, can't remember what kind of planes. "Always flew. When we heard the sound of a plane. Didn't stop to look."

T. 5A.

6. a.:
   T. Xiang.
   B. Si Phom.
   N. Boy Nan Ta.
   V. Son Xiang Ouon 28 y.
   D. '80/12.
   O. Shot.
   C. Pho Nguen Nan Ta 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.:
   T. Xiang.
   B. Si Phom.
   N. Boy Nan Ta.
   V. Son Xiang Ouon 28 y.
   D. '80/12.
   O. Big bombs.
   C. Xiang Dam Ouon 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. Xiang.
   B. Nassy.
   N. Me Dao.
   V. Mother Sao Deng 64 y.
   D. 62 (?) /3.
   O. 106 shell from the RLQ side.
   C. Sao Deng was old but she was very strong and always went to work in the ricefield. She had been bolling 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. Xiang.
   B. Si Phom.
   N. Sao Oum.
   V. Husband Thao Khen 27 y.
   D. '67/10 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-4/4-alt jets.

T. 5A.

9. T. Xiang.
   B. Tlavan.
   N. Nan Ta.
   V. Younger brother Thao Mi 53 y.
   D. '65/3 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. Xiang.
    B. Nassy.
    N. Thon Nhan Bunn.
    V. Son Xiang Ouon 18 yr.
    D. '82/3 about 9 A.M.
    O. Mine.
    C. He had gone to porter for the PL. One day out of Ban Nassy 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. Son Xiang Ouon 18 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 Xiang Son Si did not make it in time. There were no any soldiers with the group or even in the area. The bombing started in 1968, but it was not very heavy. There were only T-28's. The F-105 jet's first came in 1969. The F-4 jet's came after that. After 1965 all three kinds were in together T-28, F-105 and F-4 jet. 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. Xiang.
    B. Nassy.
    N. Sao, Mi.
    V. Father Vo Chin Chong 69 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. Xiang.
    B. Nassy.
    N-V. Xiang Boua Pa.
    D. '67/9 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 (think's they were jets but not sure) came over. Xiang 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 jet were very often, many times each day. Only the men came out of the holes all of the time.

T. 5A.

13. T. Xiang.
    B. Nassy.
    N. Xiang Phal.
    V. Older Brother Xiang Nuan 45 y.
    D. '65/7/15.
    O. Big bombs from T-28 planes.
    C. He was in the PL tall called Thum Chao. It was in the jungle outside of Ban Kung Pho. There were more than one hundred prisoners in the tall. Sixty-three died when the planes bombed. There were no soldiers but there were some police guards.

T. 5A.

14. a.:
    T. Xiang.
Was wounded in the back. (1) 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 (bad tape).

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

T. No tape.

20. T. Xieng.  
B. Siphom.  
N. Thanh Nui.  
V. Son Thao Somnuck 13 yrs.  
D. '67/2 or 3 morning.  
O. 106 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 700 meters away from Thao Somnuck.

T. No tape.

21. T. Xieng.  
B. Na Liang.  
N. Nai Ei.  
V. Older sister Sao Phomna and her child Thao Chanh 3 y.  
D. '67/1.  
O. 106 shell.  
C. Sao Phomna was carrying the child on her back when the shell fell. Both Sao Phomna 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 Phe Sl.  
2. Ban Naou.  
5. Ban Muong Khong.  

NONG VAN PHEUNG INTERVIEWS

1. T. Xieng.  
B. Kong Pa.  
N. Sao Sihan 47 y.  
V. Children, Thao Von 16y, Thao Li 12y, Nang Thong Tan 12y, Thao Chantadon 10y, Thao Khamlak 7y, Thao Khamsook 5y, Nang Saythompheng 1y.  
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.
T. 6A.
2. T. Xieng.
   B. Kang Pa.
   N. Sao Van Si.
   V. Husband Xieng Dong Di 35 y.
   D. '68/10.
   O. -7.
   C. 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 in-
   terested 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.")

T. 6A.
3. T. Xieng.
   B. Na Kham.
   N. Sao Nai.
   V. Daughter Sao Dam Douan.
   D. '69/8.
   O. Fever.
   C. 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. Sue still
   died.

T. 6A.
4. T. Xieng.
   B. Na Kham.
   N. Sao Ama.
   V. Children Thao Ko 5 y, Thao Eh 1 y.
   D. (Same) '69/8.
   O. Fever.
   C. They died in Nalouang. They had the fever. The doctors gave them many
   shots but in 4 or 5 days they died.

T. 6A.
5. T. Xieng.
   B. Na Kham.
   N. Sao Vanl.
   V. Children Sao Boun Ma 3 y and Thao Eh 2 y.
   D. (Same).
   O. Fever.
   C. 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.

T. 6A.
6. T. Xieng.
   B. Na Kham.
   N. Sao Nouan.
   V. Daughter Nang Boun Wai 1 y.
   D. '69/32.
   O. Fever.
   C. 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.

T. 6A.
7. T. Xieng.
   B. Thoun.
   N. Sao Khampheut.
   V. Children Sao Khambian 5 y Thao Thongton 3 y.
   D. '69/8.
   O. Fever.
   C. When we were in Nalouang, they died from the fever.

T. 6A.
8. T. Xieng.
   B. Sch Fa.
   N. Sao Boun Ma.

V. Children Sao Keo 10 y, Thao Le 7 y, Thao Bounchan 5 y, Nang Damdouan
   4 y.
   D. '69/7.
   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. Sch Fa.
    N. Xieng Seng.
    V. Nephew Thao Sonnarn 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
    over every day.

T. 6A.
11. T. Xieng.
    B. Ban Na Kham.
    N. Thao Tha (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 Vieltane. Three or four hundred children died al-
    together. Three or four hundred children from Tasseng Xieng and
    Tasseng Ameur died while we were in Nalouang. The two Tassengs
    had maybe 2000 people altogether. Out of this number 500 children
    died when we were in Nalouang. Mostly all children. Just a couple old
    people.

T. 6A.
12. T. Xieng.
    B. Sch Fa.
    N. Thanh Boun Song (Tasseng Xieng Secretary) and group of 5-8 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 Phu on Jan 2 because I had not recorded the vil-
    lagers 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 poisons,
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 Khoun
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.
During the May and June of 1969 before the government (RLG) came, the bombing was the heaviest, they dropped many bomb. Both T-28s and jet 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 bomb. 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 from Kang Pa. 200 people. 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-28s 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 'ya mau' (literally 'drunk medicine'). Or they said like in Vietnam K-rise 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 man killed by the "enemy" when he tried to come to this side. I didn't have time to get all of the details or even names.)

X. Mak Nao—Tasseng Thali (Thao Chan Phet), 44 families 203 people.

VILLAGERS

Ban Puk
Ban Chusay

BAN MAK NAO INTERVIEWS

1. T. Thai.
   B. Chusay.
   N. Sao Chan.
   V. Younger brother Siphan 22 y.
   D. '66 (?) / / .
   O. None.
C. He had gone portering for the PL. He stepped on a mine and was killed as he was returning to Ban Chusay.
T. 6A.

2. T. Thai.
   B. Puk.
   N. Sao Phan.
   V. and Thao Touma 23 y.
   D. '69 or 12 / .
   O. Bombs from T-28s 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 could not see 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 you couldn't sleep safely. Even though there were no soldiers the planes shot up everything.
T. 6A.

3. T. Thai.
   B. Puk.
   N. Brothers Xaeng Si Da and Thit Phim Pha.
   V. Sister-in-law Sao Pha 27 y.

D. '69/11 about 12 noon.
C. She had time 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. Chusay.
   N. Bounvan.
   V. Father Sao Da 54 y. and younger brother Boun Thong 14 y.
   D. '69/11.
   O. Bombs from T-28s and jets.
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 Phan.
   V. Father Thaum 50 yr. and brother-in-law Thao Then 23 y.
   D. '69/11.
   O. Bombs from T-28 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. Chusay.
   N. Sao Pha.
   V. 64/11 (?)
   O. None.
C. He had gone to get rice in the upland ricefield. 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.

N. Tasseng Champhiet 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 '68 only the T-28s came to bomb. But by '69 there were more jets than T-28s. There were two kinds of jets, F-105 and F-4-hat. The F-4-hat could go very low close to the trees but the F-105 usually flew much higher. In those two 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 F-105 than F-4-hat, but in 1969 there were more F-4-hat than F-105. First the Eiller 19 planes would come and shoot a smoke bomb. Then when the T-28s would shoot then two F-105s then two F-4-hats, etc. They came in pairs two at a time. The planes shot up our village 12 times, T-28s and jets. On the day that nine villagers died there were twenty-two planes. First there was an Eiller 19 which shot—smoke bomb. Then there were two T-28s 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 only villagers. A large group of maybe 50 villagers had gone to get rice ricefield near Ban Chusay. (See map) when they were returning to the holes an Eiller 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 big 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 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
The responses of individual refugees (See Dongkaleum Interviews Section VIII) again were much more explicit about causes of death.

I think, however, that most non-official refugees told me their stories with as much truth as the circumstances would serve. Certain characteristics of our conversations indicated truthfulness. Conversations were not dominated by a single theme, or carried on among a single individual. Answers to details often came only after a general discussion among the other villagers or neighbors. Also, I found that after I had heard the story from the village for a length of time, I would be less inclined to accept verbal information about which I would never have thought of questioning, unless it was brought up by the refugees themselves. For instance, "polo." Nor was I particularly interested in people who had died from disease, except that in Kong Phaeng they died, there was no one of their group to tell me what had happened. I thought of this as not quite as significant as the knowledge and the memories of the refugee interviewees would serve them.

This is not, however, to say that either the refugees memories of, or, even, original knowledge of particular incidents was completely faultless. More particularly, I was concerned with the accuracy of the responses as follows. I feel that refugees knew their own sub-district, their village, their name, and that of their neighbors, and that this knowledge was relatively complete and unique. Also, I felt that they knew the general causes of death, such as bombs, mines, or small arms when it came to identifying the specific cause, I would be less certain of reliability. For instance, if a number of planes had been present, whether a shake or a个别 driven planes, but I would question identification of the planes if we had only a few, or if they were seen driving, or if they were not flying.

Almost invariably refugees reported that RLG forces were the source of mines and artillery fire, usually killed villagers. Such opinions seem to be based entirely on the fact that the people were living in PL controlled areas. The people have therefore, from a source of information that accurate is not always completely accurate. Beyond these reservations, I believe that the information in these interviews is quite accurate.

1. Summary.

1. General Pattern of the Bombing

From 1964 to 1969, villagers in the Plain of Jars were subjected to dangers from the bombs. The bombing was done by a variety of jet planes and propeller driven aircraft, using a wide variety of ordinance. Among the ordinance, the following were described to me by refugees from the Plain of Jars:

*Refugees could recall the months of particular incidents reasonably because they could relate incidents to seasonal activities such as planting in the sixth or seventh month, or sheep in the sixth or seventh month. The Lao calendar is one month ahead of the western calendar (i.e., the seventh month of the Lao is the eighth month of the western calendar). The Lao calendar is one month ahead of the western calendar (i.e., the seventh month of the Lao is the eighth month of the western calendar). Therefore, I calculated that the vector did not specify by which calendar he was referring. Therefore, I would ask, "Do you mean Lao calendar or Western calendar (saw kon) for?"
a. "big, big bombs" or 500kg bombs.

b. smaller or "regular" bombs which apparently were in the 150-250kg class.

Anti-personnel bombs were what the refugees called "bomb." These were evidently of two different types. The most commonly described type was round, roughly 8-10cm in diameter. The other, less frequently described variety, was larger and rested on a set of "legs." See pictures number 1 and 2 which contain drawings by refugees of one of these two types to anti-personnel weapons. Picture number 3 shows pellets which reportedly came from one of the "bomb." Refugees had gathered these pellets to use in their homemade muskets.

d. Napalm referred to by refugees as bom napan or bom fall (fire bomb.) The 54 incidents of aerial bombardment involving 185 casualties were described to me as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of incidents</th>
<th>Number of casualties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. No PL or NVN soldiers present at time of incident</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. PL soldiers present at time of incident</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Presence or absence of soldiers not noted in the interview</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In two of the incidents in the first category it was reported that Pathet Lao soldiers had been present in the village but had just left before the bombing. One of the incidents in the second category, involving two deaths, was that of the prison bombing described in the next section.

2. Bombing of Pathet Lao Prison.

While I was interviewing refugees in the Dongkaleum refugee camp, three incidents of a type commonly described to me by the local population. I visited Pathet Lao prison in 1968. The first time I heard of the incident, the description was very vague. The man told me that sixty prisoners of the "Lao Issara" (Pathet Lao) had been killed when the planes bombed a prison in the forest near Ban Sang. The other two descriptions were much more explicit. (See Dongkaleum, Pictures No. VIII 13 and VIII 16.) Both of these reports told me that the bombing of the jungle prison occurred on July 5, 1968. Of the more than 100 prisoners in the jail, sixty-three died. The prison was reportedly bombed by F-24s and jets. Ironically, these prisoners were evidently political, i.e. anti-Pathet Lao. These stories were corroborated in an informal conversation which I had with a refugee from the Ban Ilay refugee camp. However, this individual said that of the sixty-three fatalities from the prison bombing, sixty were prisoners and three were Pathet Lao guards.

3. "Poison" dropped by aircraft.

As I mentioned earlier, I stumbled on to an account of civilian deaths due to "poison" quite by accident. When I first heard the account of the children's deaths. I was not quite sure whether the refugees were simply using the word "poison" to describe napalm which had not ignited. Only after I had returned to get details of the "poison" did I really comprehend that they were describing something quite distinct from napalm. (See Nakhon Phanom, Pictures VIII 19 and VIII 20.) After this first story about the poison, I began to make gentle inquiries about it in other refugee camps. Altogether, I heard first hand accounts of the poison in three camps, of the last four camps which I visited; Nong Vang Peung, Nakhon and Thoun Loam. Refugees in the Ban Nan Nan camp had never seen any of the "poison." I had visited and our other refugee camps prior to first hearing about the "poison" and so had made no inquiries about it in the majority of the villages which I visited. Two types of "poison" were described to me.

The second type of "poison" (Mong Vang Peung, Nakhon, and Thoun Loam) looked like paper. In two cases (Nakhon and Mong Vang Peung) refugees described it as being long strips of silver colored paper. Some refugees compared it to the small thin noodles in Chinese soup. One man commented on the smell of the silver watch and others said that it was the color of the foil papers from a cigarette package. Evidently this paper was dropped in long tangled masses. According to the refugees it killed both plants and animals. A paper sort of "poison" was also described to me in the Thoun Loam camp but here the refugees described it as sheets rather than strips. Further, I have received reports that the refugees to the Veun Kham camp and the Ban Ilay camp both talk about this paper "poison." In both cases the refugees reportedly describe it as looking like long strips of silver.
TABLE I—CIVILIAN CASUALTIES: REFUGEE CAMP VERSUS CAUSE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Refugee camp</th>
<th>Aerial bombardment</th>
<th>Mines</th>
<th>Artillery</th>
<th>RLG (res) forces</th>
<th>PL-NVN forces</th>
<th>Casualties unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vam Chau</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ban Pho</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vam Khoong</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nang Nong</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don Tai</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nong Ngeu</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dongphala</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vung Phong</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mek Nen</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Sum total 189. In tabulating these figures for civilian casualties, I have attempted to avoid listing multiple descriptions of the same event, e.g., interviews 1, 4, 5, and 7 and the most described bombing incident in Ban Mak Phung (sections I) more than once. Also, in order to insure against any duplications in the tabulation I have not listed any casualties which were described only in vague terms, without any specific description of name or relationship to the narrator (e.g., the "other villages are killed" in interview 1, 5, 15, 16, 17, 19, and 20).
2 The unusual high number of deaths caused by artillery and by mines reported in the Don Tai refugee camp may be partially explained by the origin of these refugees. They came from Tasseng Seng, south of the Plain of Jars just south of the line of mountains occupied by RLG forces. The RLG forces, evidently used these positions to shell Pathet Lao positions to the south. Thus, the majority of villages in Tasseng Seng received more than their fair share of stray artillery shells. (See map of the Plain of Jars.)
3 Disease.
4 The total of 108 casualties due to bombing includes the 6 deaths attributed to villagers by poison dropped by airplanes (interviews 1, 9, 10, 12, 17, 19, and 20) and 1 death reported due to a smoke bomb (interview 19).
5 Of the 22 casualties by mines, 8 civilians were killed in connection with portage, 6 while portaging, and 2 while returning from portaging.

TABLE II—CIVILIAN CASUALTIES: CAUSE VERSUS YEAR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aerial bombardment by</th>
<th>Pre-1966</th>
<th>1966-67</th>
<th>1968-69</th>
<th>Year not given</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jets</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T-28’s</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both or aircraft unidentified</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mines</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artillery</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small arms</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cause unidentified</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Sum total 189. This figure substantiates allegations by refugees that bombing by jet aircraft was relatively light prior to 1966 but became heavy in 1968 and 1969.
2 The figure includes aircraft identified by refugees as "A-4", as well as other propeller driven planes.
3 This figure of 22 includes 5 civilian deaths reported from Ban Mak Phung. It was reported that these 5 individuals died during a bombing raid by 2 T-28’s and 19 jets.

D. Conclusion

This survey was by no means a complete survey of all of the civilian war casualties among refugees from the Plain of Jars. Nor was it a complete survey of all of the civilian war casualties from any of the refugee villages which I visited. Rather it was a random sampling comprised of all those cases histories of civilian war victims which I could gather in the time available to me. The villages which I visited contain approximately 8000 of the 25,000 refugees from the Plain of Jars now residing on the Vientiane Plain.

If the sampling in this survey is representative of the experiences of the refugees from the Plain of Jars as a whole, then the following conclusions may be drawn:

1. Aerial bombardment was the primary cause of civilian war casualties among refugees from the Plain of Jars while under Pathet Lao control 1963-1967.
2. Contrary to the policy statements of American officials, bombardment of the civilian population of the Plain of Jars by aircraft, including large numbers of American jets, was extensive and caused large numbers of civilian casualties.

APPENDIX A

The following account of the "Former Life of the Refugees in Ban Veun Kham" was written for me by a student participant in the 1970 IVS Student Summer Work Experience Program. I have omitted the name of the student since he was fearful of personal repercussions. However, let me give the following biographical information. The boy is a student at one of the higher educational institutions in Laos. I have known him for more than a year. He came to the summer program recommended by both Lao and American teachers.

He wrote the following article at my request. He wrote it originally in Lao and I translated it into English. The English translation was reviewed and approved by the student, who reads but does not write English.

FORMER LIFE OF THE REFUGEES IN BAN VEUN KHAM

In this village there live 223 families containing 2219 people. These refugees came from the province of Klang Moua which is presently controlled by the Neo Lao Hak Sat.

Before 1964 (according to the refugees) in the region of Tasseng Phan and Tasseng Leng there was only prosperity in the ricefield and fish in the plentiful waters. There were no floods and no droughts because the rain which fed the rice plants came from the mountains and not simply from rainfall as in our part of the Our animals were raised very comfortably. Each family had not less than 29 cows and numerous pigs, dogs, ducks, and chickens.

After 1964 the conditions of the area changed greatly in many different ways. Sometimes the administration of the area belonged to the Royal Lao Government and sometimes the area was under Pathet Lao administration. But more often the Neutralist Lao (NALS) controlled the area. At this time began the bombing increasing the misery of the people until finally it became impossible to live in the region.

LIFE UNDER THE PATHET LAO CADATA

When the bombing became heavy with T-28 airplanes and many kinds of jets bombing the forests in the vicinity of the villages, it was necessary to go live in the forest and to dig holes in which many families lived together. For food it was necessary to work together in teams when the planes were not bombing. When the airplanes came over a lot it meant that there wouldn't be enough rice for everyone.

The holes had to be dug very deeply and on top it was necessary to cut a hole and put open tree branches.

If the branches were already dry it was necessary to remove them and put on fresh branches. And on the paths in the area it was necessary to place grass after traveling back and forth. If that wasn't enough they would go to the fields which were already harvested.

During the war the refugees sheltered in the mountains and trees but they saw some animals or people, they were simply.drop the bombs on them. This was the primary reason why the refugees fled from the homes of their birth to other areas.

Life with the Pathet Lao was difficult because they always accused people of holding allegiance to the Royal Lao Government (RLG). People were always being taken for interrogation. Young men and women were drafted into working for the army, into being soldiers or carrying supplies and weapons for the army. Girls 13 years old and older had to work for the army. What made it especially oppressive for the refugees was when they were ordered to move. Sometimes they heard news that the position of their tunnel homes had been revealed. Then a company of Neo Lao soldiers would come and order the people to move. Always they moved at night. Sometimes they were not able to sleep all night. Whenever they stopped they had to dig holes in which to hide. Sometimes they tunneled into the hills, sometimes they tunneled into the tops of mountains. They had to carry all their food and belongings with them. Sometimes they all gone they had to return to their old homes to pick up rice which they buried in barrels. The constant moving created many problems for the refugees. They grew sick and tired of working that way, until finally they decided not to move anymore and they fled to the region controlled by our government for freedom.

This was the second reason which forced my friends to flee and come here. The living had been very oppressive on account of the moving, on account of the moving.
living in holes eating in the holes and sleeping in the holes this way. We could say that the emigration was necessitated equally in these two ways.

The reason why they do not dare to be done at night is that, in their hearts with their spirits, there is a fear that the (the Pa) object of worship during the time of battle is the rain. If the rain fails they will have good opportunity to win easily because the weapons are most effective when the rain falls.

All of this is from the real lives of the refugees as related by them. Up until 1-5-66 the refugees said that they were fleeing from hell. Then they came out of their holes to the region of freedom.

The poverty of living, eating and sleeping in the holes, the fear of all the different kinds of bombs dropped by the airplanes, the fatigue of constantly being ordered to move, the consumption into working, the conscription of all food by the Neo Lao, all added to the sorrow of these fellow Laotians, who had done no evil but still reaped such misfortune.

Catching fish seems very difficult because the refugees are not used to such large bodies of water. They cannot swim or sail boats. Also, they cannot raise animals with much success because their houses were built too close together. There are many diseases which easily kill the animals. Equipment for living and cooking is sufficient, but there is great lack of kerosene. The thing that interested the refugees are far beneath the dignity and concerns of the local villagers. In response to my questions the refugees said that they regard themselves as having a very low status.

The houses where they had always lived and always slept, and the land on which they had always planted their crops, the land where they had spent all of their days, all of the animals which they used to sell to earn profit for their homes were completely bombed. From this damage there remained only many poles, two that is a man's height in height. Of trees there were only a few mango trees and coconut trees. There was left only the remains of the earth which had lost its fertility for growing crops. This, like the ruins of the mismanagement of the refugees when the war ended.

PROBLEMS OF THE REFUGEES IN THEIR PRESENT LIVES

As normal, living in a new place, different from that where one had always worked and made a living and spent his life, caused problems. Now the refugees have no jobs or if they do, it is at only very low wages, like 200K per day.

These are the problems of the refugees at the present time.

APENDIX B

Hon. McMurtrie Godsey, U.S. Ambassador to Laos, Embassy, Vientiane, Laos

DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR: During the summer of 1970, I helped organize a program for Laos students to work during their school vacations. The program was funded by USAID and organized by International Voluntary Services, Inc., Laos, working together with the Lao Ministry of Youth and Sports.

During the program I became especially involved with students who were teaching children in four refugee villages near Vientiane. These refugees were part of the reported 15,000 who were evacuated from the Plain of Jars in February 1970. The students in the program taught in the refugee villages for lengths of time varying from four weeks to ten weeks. The variations in program length were necessitated by our limited budget. The program was not only successful, but that is not what concerns me here. Rather, I would like to relate some of the profoundly disturbing stories of the refugees' lives prior to their evacuation from the Plain of Jars as told to students in the summer program. I shall omit students' names since they were fearful of personal repercussions.

Refugees in Ban Hay told students of how their houses were burned in 1963 by gunfire from the Pathet Lao. The people were then relocated by the Pathet Lao. Jets started bombing their village in 1964, and bombed most heavily in 1965. The refugees had to live in holes in the ground. At first they tried cultivat-

1 After translating this paper I asked the author to explain what was meant by the term "bomb." He said he had never heard of it before talking to me. They were heaped metal balls that were dropped by the airplanes. They were roughly 10 cm in diameter. The refugees said that they were everywhere in the forests and in the cities. When the "bomb" was dropped they would explode, sending out many small bullets. The refugees said that the adults and the older children learned to avoid them but that they were very dangerous for the little children who didn't know enough not to touch them. W.H.

2 This is a kind of dance for girls only. W.H.
ing rice at night. But then the planes started bombing at night. If the villagers started even a small fire, they would be bombed and strafed by the planes. Villagers said that they had to live in holes in the ground for three years.

Dan Na Nga

The approximately 2000 refugees in this village came from Ban Lat Seng in Xiang Tan province. They said that the bombing started there in 1967. The bombing was so heavy in the daytime that villagers could work in their rice fields only at night. All of the people's homes were destroyed so they had to live in the forest, or in caves in the mountains. In 1969 the planes started dropping flares at night and bombing by the light of the day. The young people chose to stay with the P.L., but it was because the outlaws (P.L.) lied to them.

I then asked this same student why he thought these villagers had been bombed by the planes. He answered, "Because there were Pathet Lao soldiers in the village."

I enquired further, "Do you mean that Pathet Lao had a camp in the village?"

"No, but some of the boys in the village had joined the Pathet Lao, and they were living and working with their families."

A number of refugees told students that they did not like life in Ban Na Nga. They went there on account of the bombing; and when the bombing stops, they want to go back to their homes.

Ban Nong Sa

Villagers in Ban Nong Sa related to students working there that they had not liked living with the Pathet Lao because the Pathet Lao would often wage night attacks on Nong Sa, and even the children had to worry about flying airplanes and snipers. They would be killed if they were caught by the Pathet Lao. The P.L. would ask them where they got the offerings to waste on the monks. They would suggest that perhaps the offerings came from the government (P.L.), that people still follow such wasteful traditions.

Refugees told how they had to farm at night because if they worked in the fields during the day they would be shot at. Also it was impossible to show any kind of a light at night because the planes would see it and shoot at it. Refugees told how they had to live in holes in the ground or in the forest for two or three years.

Ban Voum Kham

Refugees in this village told students how they had to live in holes in the ground for three years. The planes would bomb or gun any people whom they saw. Sometimes the planes would even bomb the buffalo. Villagers even told how some monks in their orange robes had been strafed by a jet as they came out of their cave. One man told how his wife had gone out to fetch water buffalo and had been strafed by a jet.

The above information comes from the refugees as told to students in the summer work program. The appended article comes from the same source. None of this information has been dug out by a reporter or anyone else with a particular viewpoint to push. It is information which students in the summer program discovered through their work in the refugee villages. Some of their students were quite agitated about what they learned from the refugees. Previous to their summer work experience, they had thought that such stories were merely Pathet Lao propaganda. Some of them now think quite differently.

Undoubtedly, some of the stories were related to me with imperfect accuracy. And after working in Laos for more than two years, I would readily admit that some of the stories may have been embellished by the villagers in their original telling. But out of these stories from four separate villages, one fact seems to emerge incontrovertibly. The United States has been waging an extensive bombing campaign against the civilian populations of portions of Pathet Lao occupied territory.
the war, both those killed by North Vietnamese action, and those whose lives have been lost or disrupted as a consequence of the defense of their country.

If we can be of further assistance on this or any other matter, please do not hesitate to let us know.

Sincerely yours,

DAVID M. ARSHINE,
Assistant Secretary
for Congressional Relations.