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LETTER DATED 15 AUGUST 1964 FROM THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS
OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE
SECURITY COUNCIL

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of the invitation addressed by you to my Government to furnish any information relating to the complaint referred to in the letter dated 4 August 1964 from the Permanent Representative of the United States against the "Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam".

In the above-mentioned invitation, you explicitly stated that my Government could take part in the discussion of the complaint in the Council or make its contribution in any other form which it might prefer.

The incidents which took place in the Gulf of Tonkin on 2 and 4 August 1964 are indeed not the concern of the United States and the Viet-Cong alone. From the beginning, the Viet-Cong have never refrained from using every means at their disposal to carry out their plans of aggression, subversion, provocation ..., against South Viet-Nam. Through the United States, the Viet-Cong were aiming their attacks at South Viet-Nam, and it is on that basis that I have the honour to address this letter to you.

For the moment and by way of a beginning, I am taking the liberty of transmitting to you two pamphlets, in English,* entitled respectively:

- A danger for world peace - the aggression against South Viet-Nam (period from June 1962 to July 1963; Saigon, July 1963).
- Communist aggression against the Republic of Viet-Nam (Saigon, July 1964).

Basing themselves on pieces of evidence or unpublished documents seized during the mopping-up operation in South Viet-Nam, press reports, statements of political figures or resolutions of political congresses in North Viet-Nam, whether it be the "Lao-Dong Party", the "National Front for the Liberation of South Viet-Nam" or the "People's Revolutionary Party", the editors of these historical documents have

* In view of the limited number of copies available, these publications have been circulated to the members of the Security Council only.

made it their special object to furnish even the least well-informed readers with an over-all picture of what we can only call "the Communist Viet-Cong aggression against the Republic of Viet-Nam".

Exchanges of official correspondence, diagrams, tables and photographs taken on the spot provide an aid to the understanding of the drama now taking place in Viet-Nam. In particular, thirty-four documents relating to the period from July 1963 to June 1964 have been assembled under one heading in order to furnish evidence of the terrorist acts and atrocities committed by the Viet-Cong in South Viet-Nam, Communist aggressive policy, the illegal introduction into South Viet-Nam of arms and war material and of specialized cadres of the Communist army of North Viet-Nam, some of which have infiltrated into South Viet-Nam by sea and others by land, through Laos and Cambodia.

In its Special Report of 2 June 1962, the International Control Commission in Viet-Nam spoke the same language as that used by the editors of the two pamphlets referred to:

(a) "... armed and unarmed personnel, arms, munitions and other supplies have been sent from the Zone in the North to the Zone in the South with the object of supporting, organizing and carrying out hostile activities, including armed attacks, directed against the Armed Forces and Administration of the Zone in the South. These acts are in violation of articles 10, 19, 24 and 27 of the Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in Viet-Nam.

(b) "... the Peoples' Army of Viet-Nam has allowed the Zone in the North to be used for inciting, encouraging and supporting hostile activities in the Zone in the South, aimed at the overthrow of the Administration in the South. The use of the Zone in the North for such activities is in violation of articles 19, 24 and 27 of the Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in Viet-Nam."

Since 1954, hostilities have never ceased in Viet-Nam, and my Government solemnly reaffirms its determination to fight against Communist aggression and safeguard the independence and freedom of the Vietnamese people.

I enclose twelve sets of these pamphlets and would be obliged if you would arrange for their circulation, together with this letter, to the other members of the Council, as official working documents. The Permanent Observer of the Republic

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of Viet-Nam to the United Nations is, moreover, at the disposal of the Security Council to co-operate with it in whatever form you desire.

Should discussions be held, my Government will accredit a delegation to the Council to make its contribution to the consideration of the complaint in question.

I have the honour to be, etc.

(Signed) Phan HUY QUAT

