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TELEGRAM DATED 19 AUGUST 1964 FROM THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN
AFFAIRS OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM ADDRESSED TO
THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your telegram dated 7 August 1964 concerning the consideration of the "complaint" by the Government of the United States of America against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam considers that the "complaint" by the United States Government to the United Nations Security Council is a slander, that it is contrary to the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet-Nam and that it should be rejected. The incidents recently provoked by the United States Government in the Gulf of Bac Bo (Gulf of Tonkin) form part of a manoeuvre planned in advance. Since the end of July 1964, the United States Government has repeatedly dispatched its aircraft and warships to violate the air space and territorial waters of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam from the direction of the Viet-Nam-Laos frontier. On 1 and 2 August, from the direction of the sea, United States aircraft bombed and strafed Nam Can and Moong De, which lie deep inside Vietnamese territory. On 30 July, American warships shelled the islands of Hon Me (Province of Thanh Hoa) and Hon Ngu (Province of Nghe An). On the afternoon of 2 August, the United States destroyer Maddox, which had been pursuing its mission of provocation along the North Vietnamese coast since the night of 31 July, opened fire inside Vietnamese territorial waters on patrol boats belonging to the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, which were thus obliged to defend themselves immediately. Later, the United States Government sent further units of the Seventh Fleet to the Gulf of Bac Bo. During the night of 3 August, United States and South Vietnamese warships, resuming their provocations, bombarded the region of Ron and Deo Ngang (Province of Quang Binh). Subsequently, Washington concocted the myth of a "second deliberate attack ... made ... by an undetermined number of North Vietnamese PT boats on the U.S.S. Maddox and the

U.S.S. C. Turner Joy" in international waters in the Gulf of Bac Bo during the night of 4 August. President Johnson took this as a pretext to order aircraft of the Seventh Fleet to bomb and strafe several areas in the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam during the day of 5 August, causing losses and damage amongst the local population. Exercising its sacred right of self-defence, the Vietnamese people inflicted well-deserved blows on the United States aggressors.

The acts of war committed by the Government of the United States of America against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam have stirred up a powerful wave of indignation throughout the world and continue to arouse vehement protests and stern condemnation on the part of peace-loving international opinion, including progressive opinion in the United States. It is in vain that the United States Government sets its whole propaganda machine to work on the subject of the so-called "second Tonkin Gulf incident"; world opinion, and this includes the Western countries, has shown itself sceptical and cast doubt on the United States allegations. The Washington authorities, growing increasingly embarrassed, are unable to hide a truth which is only too obvious. The ultimate origin and the immediate causes of these surprise acts of aggression perpetrated by the United States Government on 5 August 1964 against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam should be accentuated. For ten years the United States Government has pursued a policy of intervention and aggression in Indo-China with the idea of transforming (?) this zone into a United States military base, thereby seriously and systematically violating the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indo-China. It has launched a war of aggression in South Viet-Nam and increased its provocative and undermining acts against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, while at the same time intervening in the internal affairs of the Kingdom of Laos and violating the frontiers and territory of the Kingdom of Cambodia. Since 1961, it has used every possible means to step up the war in South Viet-Nam, but has not been able to turn the tables and is moving further and further into a blind alley in order to extricate itself from its defeats and involvement in South Viet-Nam. Since the beginning of 1964, United States Government circles have repeatedly and openly announced their intention of "taking the war to North Viet-Nam". At the Honolulu Conference held on 1 June 1964, they adopted measures to step up the war of aggression in South Viet-Nam and extend it to North Viet-Nam. There is no doubt that the act of war of 5 August 1964 against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam has its place in the fulfilment of the American plan to extend the war to North

Viet-Nam. As everyone knows, the United States policy of aggression in South Viet-Nam, as in other countries in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, has been roundly condemned by world opinion. The Heads of Government of many countries and distinguished world political figures have called for a political settlement of the problems of Indo-China and the convening of the Geneva Conferences on Cambodia, Laos and Viet-Nam. However, the United States Government has always been against that and persists in stepping up and extending the war in Indo-China, this time by submitting a "complaint" to the Security Council. Its aim is precisely to misuse the name of the United Nations in order to draw other countries into its war of aggression in Indo-China and thereby to tear up the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet-Nam. The Press and political circles in the United States, as in other countries, have also dwelt on the fact that the act of war of 5 August 1964 ordered by President Johnson against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam is a move in the United States election campaign. This insolent and odious manoeuvre by the President of the United States has been severely condemned by the Vietnamese people, as it has by the United States people and world opinion. At the present time, the situation remains extremely serious. The United States Government is still working to carry out its plan of provocation with the aim of resuming its surprise attacks on the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, stepping up the war of aggression in South Viet-Nam and extending the war in Indo-China.

Mr. President,

In its slanderous accusations against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and in its complaint against that country to the Security Council, the United States Government has acted exactly like the thief crying "stop thief!", a tactic dear to the United States imperialists. By means of this fraudulent game, it aims at disguising its aggressive and warlike intrigues and also at misusing the name of the United Nations to step up intervention and armed aggression in the countries of Indo-China and make a further advance in its attempts to tear up the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indo-China. The 1954 Geneva Conference on Indo-China, as you well know, put an end to war and restored peace in Indo-China on the basis of an undertaking by the participating countries to respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial unity and integrity of Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia and to refrain from all interference in their internal affairs. The Geneva Agreements also contained concrete provisions with a view to maintaining and

strengthening peace and security in Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia and preventing a resumption of hostilities. The representative of the United States Government himself stated at the closing meeting of the Conference that his Government would refrain from derogating from the provisions of the Agreement by resorting to the threat or use of force. The Geneva Agreements also set up competent bodies to consider violations and seek appropriate measures in order to ensure the application of the Agreements. That competence lies with the countries taking part in the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indo-China and with the International Commissions for Supervision and Control in Indo-China, consisting of the delegates of India, Canada and Poland. The 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indo-China form a solid basis in international law for the settlement of the problems of Indo-China as a whole and an international document of such legal force that not only are the countries taking part in the Geneva Conference bound to comply strictly with it and carry it out correctly, but the United Nations itself should respect and support it in order not to fall short of its obligations. The 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indo-China showed the way to a peaceful settlement of the problem of Indo-China. Tearing up the Geneva Agreements would result in furthering the United States policy of aggression and intervention towards the countries of Indo-China and aggravating the threat of war in Indo-China and South East Asia.

In their concern for the maintenance of peace in that part of the world, and aware of the full meaning of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indo-China, many countries which were signatories to those Agreements, many Members of the United Nations and wide sections of public opinion have long since called for that Conference to be reconvened with a view to seeking appropriate measures to stay the hand of the United States war-mongers, safeguard the national rights of the peoples of Indo-China and preserve peace in that region. The Vietnamese people yearns for peace, independence, unity and democracy. It wishes to maintain friendly relations with all the countries in the world on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam is deeply devoted to peace and constantly scrupulous in complying with and carrying out correctly the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet-Nam, but it is determined to oppose any attempt by the United States imperialists and their agents to violate its sovereignty and territory and to destroy the peaceful achievements of the

population of North Viet-Nam. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam demands from the United States Government the immediate cessation of acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the immediate cessation of the war of aggression in South Viet-Nam, the complete withdrawal from South Viet-Nam of United States troops, military personnel, arms and war equipment, and respect for the right of the people of South Viet-Nam to settle their own affairs themselves in the spirit of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet-Nam.

Our Government hopes that the countries which are devoted to peace and justice in the Security Council will understand its just position, reject the illegal "complaint" by the United States Government and assist in securing respect for, and the correct application of, the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indo-China.

Once again the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam solemnly declares that:

- The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam categorically rejects all the slanders and the "complaint" by the United States Government against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to the Security Council;
- The consideration of the problem of the acts of war by the United States Government against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and of the problem of the United States war of aggression in South Viet-Nam lies within the competence of the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indo-China, and not of the Security Council;
- Should the Council take an illegal decision on the basis of the United States "complaint", the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam would regretfully find itself obliged to consider that decision null and void.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam has requested and continues to request the Co-Chairmen of the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indo-China and the countries which took part in it to consult one another in accordance with paragraph 13 of the final Declaration of that Conference "to study such measures as prove necessary to ensure that the agreements on the cessation of hostilities in ... Viet-Nam are respected" and to induce the Government of the United States of America to cease immediately all acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the war of aggression in South Viet-Nam.

I have the honour to be, etc.

(Signed) XUAN THUY
Minister for Foreign Affairs of the
Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam

