attempted to justify himself on Aug. 6: his worn-out trick was but homage paid by vice to virtue. That is why we shall leave it to the American president to draw this appropriate conclusion from those events:

"Aggression unchallenged is aggression unleashed. There shall be no win for aggression in our times."

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THIS month, I travelled over the length and breadth of the country. I first visited the markets. I had lived a long time abroad and I know that in many countries, the least menace of war would send prices skyrocketing. Here nothing of that sort happened. Prices remained stable, and nobody sought to hoard rice or sugar... Here and there, people were digging trenches and shelters, especially around schools and kindergartens, but there was not the least sign of panic. Peasants were going to the fields with rifles slung over their shoulders, but work was going on without a hitch. Whoever knew how to feel the pulse of the country was aware of a new rising ardour: more people turned out in the fields to destroy weeds and pests, and in factories and on construction sites, work was going on at a quicker pace. Everybody knew that to produce an extra ton of rice or a certain quantity of metres of fabric above target means also to deal a blow at the aggressors. In those early days of September, people were busy buying books and copy-books for
the children. Four million children were going to kindergartens, infant classes and general education schools. This year, the re-opening of schools after the summer holidays coincided with the Mid-Autumn Festival, the children's festival. The kiddies were given lanterns and unicorn heads, and in the evening there was a great deal of merry-making in the streets. In the various quarters of Hanoi, and in many villages of Thanh Hoa, Hung Yen, Cao Bang, etc. the roofs of newly-built schools made big splashes of red amidst the green of vegetation. When evening came, in the streets of the cities and on village commons, young men and women learned to handle weapons: the whole nation was getting ready to give an appropriate reply to the aggressors, if the need should arise. In the windows of book-shops, new books attracted the attention of passers-by: poems, novels, science books.

One feeling prevails: confidence. One knows that should the Yankee imperialists be rash enough to extend the war here, the struggle would be hard, but there is not the slightest doubt as to what the outcome would be. The spirit of Dien Bien Phu, and that of Ap Bac, is there. On this land, everyone is convinced that there shall be no win for any aggressor.

_Hanoi, September 20, 1964_

NGUYEN NGHE
ANNEXES
STATEMENT

BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM CONCERNING THE U.S. GOVERNMENT'S BRAZEN AIR STRAFING AND BOMBING AGAINST THE TERRITORY OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

On August 5, 1964, many waves of jet planes taking off from the U.S. Seventh Fleet in the Pacific strafed and bombed a number of places in the Vinh-Ben Thuy area, near the Gianh River mouth and in the close vicinity of Hong Gai city, causing losses and damages to the local population.

What is extremely serious is that orders for the attack were given to the U.S. Air Force by U.S. President L. Johnson himself.

As is known, the U.S. imperialists are being defeated and bogged down in their war of aggression in South Vietnam. To extricate themselves from this situation, on the one hand, they are frantically engaging in provocation and sabotage activities against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and threatening to extend the war to the North. At the same time, they are intensifying their intervention in Laos and endangering the independence and neutrality of Cambodia.
Over the recent days, aircraft of the U.S. aggressors taking off from airfields in Thailand and Laos have twice strafed and bombed Nam Can and Noong De, two points in the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam near the Vietnam-Laos border. At the same time, they have sent their naval craft to repeatedly intrude into the territorial waters of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and shell Hon Ngù and Hon Me Islands and other places along the coast of North Vietnam.

The August 5, 1964 air strafing and bombing are obviously a premeditated act of war within the U.S. Government's plan for intensified provocation and sabotage against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. To cover up its dark scheme, the United States has circulated the cock-and-bull story of an alleged second attack on two U.S. destroyers in the Gulf of North Vietnam. But this perfidious manoeuvre will deceive no one. The August 5, 1964 air attack on the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has further exposed the U.S. rulers' repeatedly stated aggressive designs and scheme to extend the war to North Vietnam.

This is an extremely serious act of war of the U.S. Government towards the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, an act which constitutes a blatant violation of international law and the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indochina, and adds to the danger of extended war in Indochina and South-East Asia.

The U.S. Government has defied the opposition of the U.S. people and the peace-loving peoples of the world to its policy of aggression and war in Indochina.
The more truculent and reckless the U.S. imperialists turn out to be, the more the people all over Vietnam will close their ranks and show determination to defeat them. The more the peoples of Laos, Cambodia and other South-East Asian countries realize their cruel features, the more they are filled with hatred and the more vigorously they will combat them.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam strongly exposes before world opinion the above acts of war by the U.S. Government, and demands that the latter stops forthwith all acts of provocation and sabotage against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, puts an end to the war of aggression against South Vietnam, and correctly implements the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, deeply attached to peace, has always respected and scrupulously implemented the 1954 Agreements on Vietnam, but it is firmly resolved not to allow the U.S. imperialists and their agents to violate its sovereignty and territory, and destroy the peaceful labour of the people in North Vietnam. Any acts of provocation and aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are doomed to failure in the face of the strength of the entire Vietnamese people. The U.S. Government and its agents must bear full responsibility for all grave consequences arising out of their bellicose acts in this part of the world.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam earnestly calls upon the participants in the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indochina, the socialist
countries and other peace-loving countries in the world to pay particular attention to the extremely grave situation now being created in Vietnam and Indochina by the U.S. imperialists, and to take timely and positive steps with a view to staying the U.S. warmongers' hands, safeguarding peace in Indochina and South-East Asia, and contributing to the maintenance of world peace.

Hanoi, August 6, 1964
On September 17 and 18 a number of U.S. warships sneaked into the Gulf of North Vietnam close to the territorial waters of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. On the night of September 18 two U.S. destroyers came close to the D.R.V. waters in Nghe An province and fired shots and flares. At the same time U.S. aircraft circled over the sea off the Nghe An coast. Afterwards, Washington spread slanderous reports, alleging that patrol boats of the D.R.V. had attacked U.S. vessels and it threatened to take retaliatory actions. The September 18 “incident” is the exact repetition of the “Second Gulf of North Vietnam incident” staged by the U.S. on the night of August 4 as a pretext to bomb and strafe the D.R.V. territory on August 5.

Like the imaginary sea battle on the night of August 4 the “incident” staged by the U.S. on the night of September 18 was a pre-arranged but very awkward farce. The Foreign Ministry of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the High Command of the Vietnam People's Army have issued statements
pointing out that there was no patrol vessel of the D.R.V. Navy off the coast of North Vietnam on the night of September 18. The fallacy of this “new incident” is manifest in the embarrassing, contradictory reports from Washington. For all its most up-to-date telecommunication equipment the U.S. Defence Department was unable to produce evidence of how the “incident” had taken place. McNamara himself could not locate the place and time of the event, nor could he tell the number of U.S. and “adversary” vessels taking part in this imaginary battle. He also could not say whether there was shooting or not; instead contented himself with stating vaguely that “no damage or casualties were reported on the American side”. A dozen hours after the alleged “incident” the U.S. Defence Department still could not tell what had happened.

The “Second Gulf of Tonkin incident” on August 4 concocted by the U.S. has been plainly exposed and strongly condemned by world opinion. Less can the U.S. hope to deceive anybody with its myth of the “new Gulf of Tonkin incident”. Once again one should ask for what purpose did the U.S. 7th Fleet enter the Gulf of North Vietnam. Why did the U.S. send its warships to the gate of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the People’s Republic of China in the late hours of the night when a storm was raging in the South China Sea and the weather in the gulf was very foul to invent the story of American ships being attacked? The U.S. which just sought a quarrel with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on August 5 now again comes here to plot
a new military adventure. It is clear that the U.S. is deliberately creating tension in South-East Asia and deliberately carrying out provocations and war-seeking acts, threatening the security of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Like their previous actions on August 4 and 5, the recent move lies in a long set plan of the U.S. imperialists. After bombing and strafing the D.R.V. territory on August 5, the U.S. ruling circles and press have on many occasions revealed the U.S. plot to continue provocative and war-seeking acts against North Vietnam. On August 15, William P. Bundy, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State, said the U.S. did not exclude the possibility of wider action against North Vietnam. James Daniel, Chief-of-Staff of the Seventh Fleet shock forces, said the U.S. action on August 5, was an “example” which might be “repeated”. On September 9, Washington made public a secret report by McNamara at the close-door meeting of the Senate Appropriations Committee in which the U.S. Secretary of Defence declared the U.S. will “do whatever is required” to check what he called “aggression by Communist China”. At a press conference following Maxwell Taylor’s return to the United States to report on the South Vietnam situation, Rusk bluntly declared that stronger military actions such as the bombing of targets in North Vietnam and Laos continue to be taken in the future.

By concocting the “Tonkin Gulf incident” of September 18, the U.S. imperialists plot to create tension and seek a pretext for new war-seeking acts against
the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The Johnson clique has ordered the U.S. 7th Fleet to stand on the alert. The U.S. and its henchmen in Saigon have also ordered the South Vietnam air force and army corps to stand on the alert. They are preparing new war provocative acts against North Vietnam. By so doing, the Johnson clique aims at the following targets:

First, to calm down its henchmen in Saigon who are bewildered in the extreme, to press scrambling groups of their henchmen to make speedy arrangement among themselves so as to save the puppet administration and army from total disintegration and at the same time to divert public opinion from the recent big failures of the U.S. in the political and military fields in South Vietnam.

Secondly, to secure an advantageous position for Johnson in scrambling for the presidential chair. In face of the strong criticisms by Goldwater's party, the Johnson clique has once more intended to use the blood of the Vietnamese people in both zones and that of the American youth to increase its political assets and to avert the pinpoint of the Goldwater clique.

Thirdly, in face of the serious stalemate of the U.S. and its henchmen in South Vietnam, the Johnson clique wants to seek a quarrel with North Vietnam in order to have a pretext to step up its aggressive war in South Vietnam. Previously, the U.S. had availed itself of its war-seeking acts against North Vietnam on August 5 to proclaim the "state of emergency" in South Vietnam, intensify persecution...
and massacre and bring more planes, weapons and troops there, and at the same time to impose Nguyen Khanh's military dictatorship over the South Vietnamese people. The U.S. and its followers will also take advantage of the tension created by themselves to carry out their aggressive schemes against Cambodia and undermine the negotiations between the three Laotian parties.

But once again they have miscalculated. They are playing a dangerous game. Their new adventurous acts can in no way save their failures in South Vietnam. Their war-seeking acts against North Vietnam on August 5 were for them a heavy defeat in the military and political fields. This failure has aggravated their situation in South Vietnam. The Republican party will also avail itself of this setback of the Johnson clique to criticize it even more strongly. If the Johnson clique is rash enough to take new adventurous acts it will certainly meet with heavier failures.

The U.S. imperialists are threatening the security of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The situation in Indochina and South-East Asia is very tense. The Vietnamese people urgently call on the world's people, the peace-loving governments and countries, the socialist countries and the countries participating in the 1954 Geneva Conference to strongly condemn this scheme of the U.S. ruling circles, to resolutely check in time their dangerous acts.

If the U.S. imperialists have not drawn a lesson from the August 5 event and recklessly attack North
Vietnam, the Vietnamese people and army are ready to deal harder blows at them. While calmly attending to their daily jobs, the Vietnamese people and army are always ready to defeat anyone who dares attack North Vietnam. Anti-aircraft units and other branches of the army, the militia, self-defence forces and armed police, be ready!
On Aug. 5, at 12:00 (local time) McNamara tried to justify before the press the act of piracy he had just ordered.
The route of the “Maddox”, as revealed by Newsweek.

What business had it got to be there?
Alvarez’s identification card.

Wrecks of the planes which had crashed into the sea: the Yankee pilots had certainly not expected their raids to have ended in such fashion.
Identification plates of some of the planes shot down
Gunners...

Workers, peasants in arms, ready to wage a resolute riposte.
A whole people determined to drive away the aggressors: miners, railway workers, religious people, etc...
The whole people of Peking were there, shouting their indignation and their hatred of the aggressor.

In the streets of Peking resounded the cry: "To attack the D.R.V. means to attack China!"
In the Great Theatre in Pyong-Yang: delegates of the brother Korean people demand an end to the Yankee imperialists' aggression on the D.R.V.
Albania, small in area but great in revolutionary spirit, shows whole-hearted support to the Vietnamese people.
Havana: here, everyone knows to what extent the “vile” Yankee imperialism can carry its cynicism and ferocity.
In Cambodia: Yankee aggression upon the D.R.V. revolted even the most peaceful bonzes.
In Tokyo, before the American embassy, many Japanese eloquently expressed what they thought of the Yankee aggression upon the D.R.V.

The people of Pakistan know what to think about Yankee imperialism.
In Djakarta: Complete solidarity of the Indonesian people with the Vietnamese people in their struggle against American imperialism.
The British government seeks to whitewash Washington but the Londoners show their indignation.
In Paris, at the "Alhambra" theatre: the reaction of the Paris people was quick and explicit.
A partner of whom Messrs Johnson and McNamara are often oblivious: the American people, whose opposition to the dirty war in South Vietnam has been growing ever more active. Demonstration held in San Francisco on Aug.8 against the Aug.5 aggression.
打击美国的“空中袭击者”