

GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC  
OF VIETNAM

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SECOND WHITE BOOK

**VIOLATIONS  
OF THE  
GENEVA AGREEMENTS  
BY THE  
VIET-MINH COMMUNISTS**

*From July 1959 to June 1960*

*Saigon, July 1960*

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*In a recent declaration to the press, the Communist authorities of Hanoi have once more falsely claimed that the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam has violated the provisions of the Geneva Agreements.*

*Contrary to these slanderous accusations to which the Viet-Minh are accustomed to making, the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam, though not a signatory to the Geneva Agreements, has always observed a policy of peace and has given the International Commission an effective cooperation in order to facilitate the fulfilment of its mission.*

*The authorities of Hanoi on the other hand, ignoring the fact that they are signatories to Geneva Agreements, have systematically violated them in both the spirit and the letter.*

*In order to inform the world of these deeds, the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam published, in July 1959, a White Paper on the « Violations of the Geneva Agreements by the Viet-Minh Communists ». During the period between that date and the month of June 1960, while the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam followed its policy of peace and economic reconstruction, and continued to respect the implementation of the Geneva Agreements in accordance with its declaration of April 6, 1956, the Viet-Minh communists have incessantly perpetrated new and serious violations of the said Agreements in pursuit of their policy of expansion and aggression.*

*It seems, then, fitting to examine anew the subjects which were dealt with in the White Paper of 1959, taking as the starting point July 1959.*

TITLE I

VIOLATIONS OF PROVISIONS  
OF MILITARY ORDER

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## CHAPTER I

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### **TRANSFER AND REGROUPING OF FORCES**

In defiance of the Geneva Agreements, the Viet-Minh have continued to send into and maintain in South Vietnam important armed agents. Their mission is to attack our isolated military posts and to engage in terrorist activities of all kinds among the population and against the national administration.

These activities — assassinations, kidnappings, attacks under arms, extortion of funds and threats, — have been brought to the attention of the International Commission as have many other violations of Articles 1, 10 and 24 of the Geneva Agreements. However, because these activities involve much more than simple violations of the military provisions of the Geneva Agreements and have become a part of a general policy of aggression sponsored by International Communism for whom the Viet-Minh became the agents, they will be treated with much more detail in Title III entitled : « the problem of subversion ».

## CHAPTER II

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### WAR POTENTIAL

The Viet-Minh communists have lately launched a violent propaganda campaign against a so-called increase of war potential in South Vietnam and protested against the presence and the activities of the MAAG and TERM missions. In order to have an accurate idea about the situation, it is fitting, then, to provide some explanations on the questions relative to the MAAG and TERM missions before approaching the violations of Articles 16, 17, 18 and 19 perpetrated by the Viet-Minh.

#### 1. — MAAG mission

(Military Assistance Advisory Group)

By the memorandum of February 23, 1960, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Viet-Nam officially informed the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Viet-Nam that, in order to replace a certain number of French military instructors who had been sent home at the time of the withdrawal of the French expeditionary Corps in 1956, « steps have been taken by the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam with the Government of the United States of America in order to increase American military instructors of MAAG from the actual number of 342 to 685 ».

This memorandum throws into relief the sort of rotation of personnel provided for and allowed by article 16 of the Geneva Agreements. It affects in no wise the policy of peace of the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam.

The International Commission for Supervision and Control in Viet-Nam, in its letter of April 29, 1960, replied that it had taken note of the steps made by the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam regarding this increase. It added that it agreed, nevertheless, that the American additional military instructors would

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be introduced only in conformity with the procedure provided for in article 16 (f) and (g) of the Geneva Agreements.

The Communist authorities, through their message of April 25, 1960, addressed to the Chairman of the International Commission, have protested against the so-called illegal introduction of American military personnel in Viet-Nam as a replacement for the French military instructors. They have also insisted that the Commission should disregard the request of the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam.

On May 5, 1960, the Commission answered them that it had not received from the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam any request for bringing in armament or American military personnel into Viet-Nam, as a replacement for the French Expeditionary Corps.

Thus, the International Commission for Supervision and Control has conceded the well-grounded request of the Vietnamese Government, for, even brought to 685, the effective of MAAG — organism functioning since 1950, i.e. long before the Geneva Agreements — remained inferior to its initial limit which was increased, at the time of the armistice, to 888 foreign military instructors, 342 of whom belonged to MAAG and the rest to the former French Military Mission.

The Viet-Minh have persisted, however, to lead a violent and injurious campaign of protestation against the decision of the International Commission for Supervision and Control. The Hanoi press openly criticized the International Commission, accusing it of connivance with the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam (*The people*, No 2274 of June 10, 1960).

## 2. — **TERM Mission**

### (Temporary Equipment Recovery Mission)

It is appropriate to recall that this organism is only in charge of recovering the military material which had been handed over as aid by the United States to the French Expeditionary Corps, prior to the signing of the Geneva Agreements.

The International Commission for Supervision and Control has estimated that this organism would not be able to fulfil its mission before December 31, 1960.

Being faithful to its policy of cooperation with the International Commission for Supervision and Control, the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam has made all arrangements so that the TERM Mission may leave Viet-Nam at that date.

### 3. — Increase of Viet-Minh war potential

Since July 1959, the Mission in charge of relations with the International Commission for Supervision and Control has repeatedly protested against the repeated violations of Articles 16, 17, 18 and 19 of the Geneva Agreements by the Viet-Minh. These violations have assumed the following forms :

a) the Viet-Minh continued to receive a steadily growing number of Russian and Chinese military advisors. Their presence has been attested in many places and in particular in the demilitarized zone.

b) the Viet-Minh have illegally brought into North Vietnam :

- Trener fighter-planes
- MIG-15's
- Ilyouchines, Antonovs
- helicopters
- anti-tank and anti-aircraft arms
- tractors
- gun-boats

c) the Viet-Minh have established after the cease-fire :

- units of marines which did not exist at the time of the Geneva Accords ;
- forces of self-defence of the enterprises ;
- the Popular Security Army.

d) the Viet-Minh have negotiated military agreements in violation of Article 19 of the Geneva Accord. The *Times*, published in Hongkong on October 10, 1959, reported that, according to the Chinese-Russian agency, a treaty of military alliance among Communist China, North Korea and North Vietnam was being negotiated.

The military delegation of North Korea and North Vietnam, while visiting Peking on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the foundation of the Popular Republic of China, took advantage of this trip to enter into conversation on this subject with the military authorities of Communist China.

Furthermore, a Viet-Minh delegation led by TRUONG-CHINH, a member of the Central committee of the Viet-Minh Communist party, arrived in Moscow on February 3, 1960, to take part as observers in the meeting of the political advisory committee of

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the Warsaw Treaty held in that city on February 4, 1960. An increasingly intimate military collusion between the authorities of North Vietnam and the military block of the Warsaw Treaty organization was thereby established and the TASS agency announced that a Russian military mission was designated to supervise the reinforcement of the Viet-Minh military bases.

e) The Viet-Minh have maintained and strengthened the strategic value of the airports of Gia-Lam, Cat-Bi, Huu-Cung, Vinh, Ha-Co, Na-San, Muong-Thanh, Thai-Nguyen, Lang-Son, Phu-Tho, Lao-Kay. In spite of the repeated complaints of the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam against these war efforts, the P.A.V.N. (1) has always opposed the control of these airports by the International Commission.

f) The Viet-Minh have reinforced the armaments of Do-Son port with a great many modern devices, including rockets. They have installed anti-aircraft weapons at Hoi-Xuan (Thanh-Hoa) and along the following roads : Hanoi-Haiphong, Hoi-Xuan — Son-Tay, at the rate of one for every 5 or 10 kilometers.

The fire-power of regiment 270, stationed near the demilitarized zone, has been reinforced with batteries of anti-aircraft weapons established on the mountains of Linh-Son, Du-Linh, and Cap-Lay. These weapons are placed under the direction of Chinese Communist advisors.

g) The Viet-Minh have systematically refused to let the International Commission for Supervision and Control install a team of control at Phuoc-Hoa, situated on the Chinese-Vietnamese border in the North. They have, on the other hand, persistently refused to provide the means of transportation asked by the Commission for the control of the coastal islands, of the region of Moncay and of the South coast of Haiphong.

h) Finally, important military installations were established a year ago by the Viet-Minh on the island of Con-Co (Tiger Island), situated adjacent to the demilitarized zone, aimed at making it a military base. This island overlooks the mouth of the Ben-Hai River and directly threatens the demilitarized zone. A great number of movements of battleships between this island and the coast of North Vietnam have been noted and brought to the attention of the I.C.C.

The clandestine importation of war material, the establishment of new military units and bases, the strengthening of airports, the negotiation of military alliances leave no doubt as to the

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(1) Popular Army of Viet-Nam (P.A.V.N.): Name given by the Viet-Minh to their army.

aggressive intentions of the Viet-Minh. The latter have openly pursued their war efforts, in spite of the Geneva Accords and regardless of the presence of the I.C.C.

It is, however, fitting to stress that in spite of the complaints of the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam concerning the reinforcing of war potential of the P.A.V.N., the I.C.C. has not, up to the present moment, been able to undertake any action or inquiry on this subject, because of all sorts of impediments and the bad faith shown by the Hanoi authorities.

It must be believed that these very difficulties have led the I.C.C. to ignore these problems in its 10th interim report, though they are crucial to the maintenance of peace in Viet-Nam.

## CHAPTER III

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### WAR PRISONERS

No progress could be realized last year concerning the numerous complaints of the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam which requested the release of war prisoners illegally detained by the P.A.V.N. in North Viet-Nam, 5 years after the cease-fire.

By its letter No 5686/PDVN/CT/TD/3 on October 21, 1959, the Mission in charge of relations with the I.C.C. again brought to the attention of the Commission this important question and requested the beginning of an inquiry in order :

— to force the P.A.V.N. to produce before the I.C.C. all the claimed prisoners whose addresses were known and had been communicated ;

— to force the P.A.V.N. to submit to a hearing of the I.C.C. all the so-called converted prisoners freed before the cease-fire ;

— to perform investigations in the camps and penitentiaries of North-Vietnam, a list of which had been furnished ;

— to request the P.A.V.N. to bring forth the 89 war prisoners whose right of choosing the zone of their residence had been recognized by team 80 and particularly to allow Lieutenant Nguyễn-van-Phong and Captain Huynh-ba-Xuan to go South.

No decision has yet been reached for these claims and it is astonishing that, in its 10th interim report, the Commission saw fit only to stress a minor case in which the P.A.V.N. falsely claimed groundlessly the handing over of 5 of our military veterans condemned for treason.

## CHAPTER IV

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### DEMILITARIZED ZONE

The Viet-Minh pursued its policy of provocation in the demilitarized zone. In addition to a campaign of mendacious propaganda against the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam, conducted daily on the other side of the Ben Hai River, the Viet-Minh continued to send a great number of clandestine agents across the demarcation line and established armed elements in the Demilitarized zone in violation of articles 5 and 7 of the Geneva Accord and of § 2 of Decision No 11.

Here are, for example, some evident facts :

1. A part of engineering battalion 22, billeted in the village of Tan-Yen-Ha, has been installed at So-Cu (YD. 127-774) while an other part has been stationed at Ben-Than.
2. The company 193 had for its zone of action North of the demilitarized zone and for its mission the control of Catholics.
3. The regional company called Trieu-Phong was established in the hamlet of A-Choc (South demilitarized zone) with battalion III of newly enlisted men.
4. The regional company of Gio-Linh was stationed at Ben-Than.

The Mission in charge of relations with the I.C.C. has energetically protested against this policy of provocation and especially against the presence of Viet-Minh armed units in the demilitarized zone. It has requested that the Commission lead an investigation on the spot. The Commission, arguing on the fact that there had been reciprocal complaints, agreed that an inquiry would be made by Team 76 in the localities of A-Choc (South demilitarized zone)