

relating to allegations of armed and unarmed intervention in South Vietnam over a number of years. In the special report, the Commission undertook to take action on the basis of a fuller report to be prepared by its legal committee. Faced since then with the unwillingness of our Commission colleagues to act on these promises, we have decided that it was necessary to go ahead on our own to fulfil these obligations.

The most significant conclusions of this legal study have, therefore, been quoted in Paragraph 3 of the Canadian statement of February 13. These indicate quite clearly that the so-called South Vietnam Liberation Front, of which the Viet Cong are, in effect, the armed forces, is a creature of the ruling party of North Vietnam, that it is their common aim to bring about the violent overthrow of the South Vietnamese administration, and that the ruling party in North Vietnam has assisted its agents in South Vietnam in attempting to attain this objective. I think I hardly need underline what these conclusions mean for the theory one often hears developed that the war in South Vietnam is essentially an internal revolt.

Both the Indian and Polish representatives on the Commission have questioned the status of the extracts of the legal committee's report quoted in the Canadian statement. I cannot agree that a document which has been carefully prepared by a properly constituted committee of the Commission, acting on a majority basis, in pursuance of Commission instructions and on the basis of material referred to it by the Commission, has no status.

The Polish representative has also questioned our right to quote from and append some recent South Vietnamese allegations, which were directed in the normal manner to the Commission for consideration. The allegations concerned do not, of course, pretend to be Commission conclusions. According to these complaints, however, large quantities of arms, munitions and supplies of Communist origin, and large numbers of military personnel, have been steadily infiltrated into South Vietnam from the north by land and sea, and secret base and related installations have been established by the Viet Cong with the support of North Vietnam. To omit reference to them in current Commission reports would imply that the Commission had not been apprised of them or that it was totally ignoring the major complaints of one of the two parties to the Geneva agreement. The Commission's silence since 1962 on the problem of subversion does not mean there has been any change for the better. On the contrary, judging by the evidence presented to the Commission (and there is a large quantity of material of more recent origin now being reviewed by the Commission's legal experts), it seems obvious that the hostile activities of the Hanoi regime have been steadily increasing.

Our independent observer position in Vietnam has brought us face to face with an insidious form of aggression, with which the free world has yet to devise adequate means of dealing. We have seen a new political entity emerge from colonial status only to be forced into a cruel struggle for survival against hostile pressures beyond its control. In whatever form aggression manifests itself, it must be recognized as such and it must be stopped, not least because we cannot afford to let the practitioners of this technique come to the conclusion that it pays dividends.