

could not thwart deliberate and well-planned policy of this kind. It could make open violations of the 1954 agreement somewhat more difficult but it could not make them difficult enough.

The Vietnam Commission, therefore, became virtually powerless.

The problem became not one of peace-keeping by an International Commission, but of peace-making by warring states. Unless that peace-making takes place, a war in Vietnam might well become a far wider and more terrible conflict.

Obviously the situation cannot be expected to improve until North Vietnam becomes convinced that aggression, in whatever guise, for whatever reason, is inadmissible and will not succeed. I hope that this conviction is growing in Hanoi. I hope they also realize that the only alternative to a cease-fire and a mutually acceptable settlement is chaos and disaster, and that North Vietnam would be a primary and tragic victim.

The universal concern which is being expressed about the tragedy of Vietnam is a reflection both of this fearful possibility and of that sense of world community to which I have referred. All nations watch with deep anxiety the quickening march of events in Vietnam toward a climax which is unknown but menacing. All are seeking solutions to the dilemma confronting us, because all would be involved in the spread of the war.

The dilemma is acute and seems intractable. On the one hand, no nation - and particularly no newly-independent nation - could ever feel secure if capitulation in Vietnam led to the sanctification of aggression through subversion and spurious "wars of national liberation".

On the other hand, the progressive application of military sanctions can encourage stubborn resistance; rather than a willingness to negotiate. Continued intensification of hostilities in Vietnam could lead to uncontrollable escalation.

SETTLEMENT IMPERATIVE

A settlement is hard to envisage in the heat of battle, but it is now imperative to seek one.

What are the conditions for such a settlement. First, a cease-fire, then negotiation?