

achieved as a result of that effort. It was spurned by Hanoi and perhaps by some of those who are behind Hanoi; I do not know.

...We took the position at that time, and I believe it is the American position now—perhaps it was also at that time, though it was a little unclear to some of us—that, in the negotiations which will have to take place, the North Vietnamese Government, as the other government of Vietnam, should bring to the negotiations anyone it wished, including the Viet Cong, as part of its delegation. There were some members of the Commonwealth mission who certainly would have gone further than that.

However, there has been no positive response from Hanoi on this present occasion, and there was no positive response on that earlier occasion either. So far as one can gather from any statement of their position, they have made it clear, at least publicly, that there can be no negotiations without the United States withdrawing and without the Viet Cong being considered as the only legitimate representatives of the South Vietnamese people. That is a very difficult position for anyone else to accept.

Nevertheless, the United States has suspended air-bombing and I hope it will be able to maintain that suspension as long as possible. I also hope that with patience, as well as determination, this effort by the Americans for negotiations will have some success.

I should like to read just one sentence from the President's Congressional address, to which I think considerable importance should be attached but to which not very much publicity has been given. I quote from his address as follows:

"We will respond if others reduce their use of force; and we will withdraw our soldiers once South Vietnam is securely guaranteed the right to shape its own future."

Perhaps progress would be possible if the North Vietnamese even accepted the idea of negotiations. Once that acceptance has been given by both sides (and it has already been given by the United States), it might be possible, on the acceptance of negotiations, to begin a process of withdrawal. Perhaps that is what the President was hinting at as a possibility in that sentence. I do not know. However... in my view it is perfectly clear that military force alone will not settle this problem, will not resolve this issue either by toppling the regime in the North or by permitting the Communists to absorb the South.

Perhaps the result—and it is not one that anyone can get any particular satisfaction out of—perhaps the ultimate solution will have to be, as it has been in other cases since World War II, the acceptance of two Vietnamese communities, neutralized, with other countries staying out. So long as the problem is approached in terms of "puppet regimes" or "national liberation struggles", we run the risk of obscuring the basic