

ence, excluding the Secretary-General of the United Nations; and after determining, at the request of any member of the Conference, that a two-thirds majority of the members, excluding the Secretary-General, considered that there was cause to reconvene the Conference.

It soon became clear that few participants at the Conference were prepared to support the type of independent international reporting mechanism, involving the Secretary-General of the United Nations, we had suggested, and some were strongly opposed to the whole conception. I think it is safe to say that it was only because of our insistence on this matter that the Conference addressed itself at all seriously to the matter. What finally emerged in Articles 6 and 7 of the Act was the most that could be obtained. Under these arrangements, the reports and views of the International Commission will at least be transmitted outside the closed circuit of the belligerents, to the Conference participants, and the Conference itself can be recalled.

I made clear to the Conference our disappointment that it could not agree on a more effective arrangement and I questioned whether the mechanism established went far enough and whether it could work. I emphasized to the Conference on March 1 that the arrangements provided in Articles 6 and 7 would be carefully reviewed by the Canadian Government in determining the extent to which our conditions for continued participation in the Commission had been fulfilled.

The Act provided an opportunity for world powers to acknowledge their respect and support for the January 27 agreement in association not only with the parties to that agreement but also with the governments participating in the International Commission established under it. It is also noteworthy that the Conference was conducted in the presence of the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

I signed the Act on behalf of Canada because the spirit of the Act and the goodwill reflected in it were such as to command the support of the Canadian people. The Act welcomes peace

in Vietnam and it calls for the participants to do nothing to jeopardize that peace. It was, therefore, important to have all the participants at the Conference associated with those objectives, and failure to sign could have been open to misinterpretation. Moreover, not to have signed the Act could only have been construed as meaning that one of our *sine qua non* had not been met. We were not in a position at the Conference, nor are we yet in a position, to say whether the machinery provided in Articles 6 and 7 could serve the purpose we have had in mind. We shall look at these arrangements in the light of our experience in the ICCS. This will be one of the prime factors in determining whether the Commission is playing or can play an effective role in restoring peace to Vietnam.

We must now examine very carefully the political authority and the reporting arrangements that have been established to determine whether in our judgment, they have a reasonable prospect of operating effectively. We must also relate these arrangements to the effectiveness of the ICCS on the ground. The Canadian delegation under the direction of Ambassador Gauvin is making a tremendous effort to see that the Commission works. But we cannot do it alone and disturbing developments in Vietnam compel us to question whether the ICCS will be allowed to function in a way that would justify our continued participation. Perhaps — and I cannot say that I am very confident — the discussions in Paris will result in increased support by all the participants at the Conference for the objectives we have in mind. Over the next few weeks therefore we will need to assess the relevant factors very carefully.... I shall report to Cabinet on the results of this assessment and the Government will then be in a position to make its decision.

Perhaps I should again emphasize that the peace in Vietnam depends upon the parties to the peace agreement itself. The ICCS can help by investigation and observation and reporting but it cannot keep the peace. The Commission is not an essential element. It can be of help only if the parties — and that means all of them — wish to see the Commission function....

Reprinted below are Articles 6 and 7 of the Act of the International Conference on Vietnam, referred to by Mr. Sharp:

Article 6

(a) The four parties to the Agreement or the two South Vietnamese parties may, either individually or through joint action, inform the other parties to this Act about the implementation of the Agreement and the Protocols. Since the reports and views submitted by the International Commission of Control and Supervision concerning the control and supervision of the implementation of those provisions of the Agreement and the Protocols which are within the tasks of the Commission will be sent to either the four parties signatory to the Agreement or to the two South Vietnamese parties, those parties shall be responsible either individually or through joint action, for forwarding them promptly to the other parties to this Act.

(b) The four parties to the Agreement or the two South Vietnamese parties shall also, either individually or through joint action, forward this information and these reports and views to the other participant in the International Conference on Vietnam for his information.

Article 7

(a) In the event of a violation of the Agreement or the Protocols which threatens the peace, the independence, sovereignty, unity or territorial integrity of Vietnam, or the right of the South Vietnamese people to self-determination, the parties signatory to the Agreement and the Protocols shall, either individually or jointly, consult with the other parties to this Act with a view to determining necessary remedial measures.

(b) The International Conference on Vietnam shall be reconvened upon a joint request by the Government of the United States of America and Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on behalf of the parties signatory to the Agreement or upon a request by six or more of the parties to this Act.