

for a framework that will give assurance to all the inhabitants and harness their energies and their loyalties in the best interests of the new state.

GREECE AND TURKEY INVOLVED

Inevitably, the interests of Greece and Turkey are engaged in the course of events in Cyprus. Both are our partners in NATO, and the strain in their relations arising from their differences over Cyprus has been a matter of grave concern to the Alliance. On the basis of my conversations with the Greek and Turkish Foreign Ministers at the NATO meetings last week, I can say that both countries are aware of their responsibilities in this situation and that they are prepared to play their part in facilitating a long-term solution of the problem in Cyprus....

VIETNAM SITUATION

If I am moderately encouraged by the recent trend of developments in Cyprus, I can see no prospect of early improvement in the situation in Vietnam.

In that part of the world, too, there has been an international presence. In this case, it took the form of a commission of which Canada, India and Poland are members. The task assigned to that commission was to supervise the implementation of a cease-fire agreement. It was hoped, at the time the agreement was concluded in 1954, that peace would be restored to the area. In the event, that has not proved to be the case. On the contrary, the situation in Vietnam today is probably more serious than it has been at any time in the past 11 years.

...When all is said and done, there is one central fact that stands out in this situation and it is this: what we are faced with in Vietnam is a case of covert aggression being conducted by the North against the South. And the ultimate aim of that aggression is nothing less than the overthrow of the government and administration of South Vietnam.

The justification being given to that aggression by the authorities in Hanoi and Peking is that it represents a "war of national liberation". This is a claim which we cannot and do not accept.

CHANGE IN SOUTH VIETNAM

Of course, there are many situations all over the world where people are looking for change—political, economic and social change. No doubt, elements of such a desire for change are present in the situation in South Vietnam. This is part of the process of transformation of a traditional into a modern society which it is in our interest to encourage and support.

We cannot expect that process to be accomplished without some measure of unrest and instability. And when we see one government succeeding another in the South, we should not throw up our hands in despair. We should recognize that, after centuries of mandarin authority, after 100 years of colonial administration, and after ten years of attempts at self-rule, a new political pattern is in the process of working itself out in Saigon. And that is happening in the most difficult circumstances of aggression abetted and directed from without....

FIGHTING COVERT AGGRESSION

If this covert aggression is not met — if it is not shown to be unprofitable — in Vietnam, then there is no doubt in my mind that it will have to be met elsewhere. At the same time I am aware of the very serious risk of escalation and wider involvement if the conflict in Vietnam were to be prolonged. To minimize that risk we have repeatedly appealed to all concerned for the exercise of restraint. The fact remains that the situation carries a real threat to world peace and that it must be brought under early and effective control.

We do not believe there is any alternative to a peaceful, negotiated solution to the conflict that is being waged in Vietnam. That is why we have welcomed the readiness of the United States, as expressed by President Johnson on April 7 and reiterated on a number of occasions since then, to enter into negotiations without preconditions. I deeply regret that there has been no positive response to that declaration from the other side so far.

The first priority now is to bring the two sides to the negotiating table. We and others have made suggestions with the object of facilitating progress towards a negotiation. I am bound to say, however, that all these suggestions are predicated on a willingness on both sides to contemplate the possibility of a negotiated solution. And of that there is as yet no evidence on the part of the authorities in either Hanoi or Peking.

NEED FOR A NEW SOLUTION

I speak of a negotiation because it now seems obvious that a new solution will have to be found in that area. While one may return to the principles of the original cease-fire agreement of 1954, there will have to be some form of negotiation to work out a formulation of those principles which can be applied in present circumstances. And there will certainly have to be some credible arrangements to guarantee the right of all peoples in the area to live at peace under governments of their own choice and free from outside interference or fear of aggression. That is why we have expressed the view that it would probably be desirable, when the time comes, to build some form of international mechanism into the terms of any ultimate settlement.

The element of free choice seems to me an indispensable part of any such settlement. It is inherent in "the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples" to which we have subscribed in the United Nations Charter. A negotiation cannot simply be used to cover up the take-over of one part of Vietnam by the other. That would not be a negotiation. It would be a capitulation. And it is wholly unrealistic to think that either side would accept such a conclusion to the present conflict....

NEED FOR THE UN INTERVENTION

It has been a matter of regret to us, in this situation, the United Nations has not been able to exert its influence for peace. We have established the United Nations as an instrument of peace and good order

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