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THE UNITED NATIONS—THE U.S.
RESOLUTION ON VIETNAM

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, press reports on yesterday indicate that the executive branch is giving "serious consideration" to calling up the U.S. resolution on Vietnam which has been in a limbo at the Security Council since the beginning of the year. I am delighted that the Departments are thinking of the possibility because I know and can assert that the administration is most vitally interested in the approach at the U.N. which was discussed the other day by the distinguished Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] and myself.

I should like at this point to clarify what is involved in this approach, inasmuch as there are indications on the basis of press reports from Moscow and other sources that some sort of miracle or instant U.N. solution is expected by the Senator from Kentucky and myself. That is the last thing that is anticipated. What is expected, however, is an end to the head-in-the-sand official position which has been taken by the U.N. from the outset. What is expected is a formal effort by the U.N. Security Council to create at least a small opening to peace, a small crack in the wall of war.

Reports from the Soviet Union indicate doubt in that nation as to the usefulness of the U.N. and a preference for a Geneva conference, yet the Soviet Union has not moved to convene a meeting of the Geneva conference—even though it is a cochairman, and even though Great Britain, the other chairman, has indicated time and time again its willingness to join with Moscow to call for a reconvening of that conference.

U Thant has reiterated that he is doubtful that any useful contribution can be made by the Security Council; yet he is not pursuing any unilateral efforts at this time and has announced that he has no intention of doing so.

I am impelled, therefore, to reiterate, that the potential of the U.N., to contribute to peace in Vietnam has not been explored, much less utilized. The U.N. is not a one-man show or a one-nation show. It is an organization with a charter and procedures for moving in the kind of situation which exists in Vietnam.

This Nation should welcome help from third parties, Mr. President, but we cannot and should not wait for them to pursue our diplomacy for us. We do not have

to appeal to others to take an initiative on behalf of peace; we can take the initiative ourselves. The procedures of the Security Council are open to this Nation as they are to any other to act on behalf of its own interests in the restoration of peace.

This Nation can move, in effect, to call up the resolution which we introduced and see to it, if necessary, that the question of taking it up is voted. The motion is procedural and not subject to the veto. And if the resolution is taken up, this Nation can move to see to it that all who might be directly or indirectly involved in the restoration of peace in Vietnam are asked to appear before the Security Council in a discussion of this question—if not in New York, then somewhere else, perhaps in Geneva, in open session, face-to-face meeting.

The invitation, moreover, can include not only China and Hanoi but the NLF or any other relevant party as well. The motion to invite, too, on the basis of precedent is procedural and not subject to veto.

At this late date I think it is essential that the world know where every member of the U.N. Security Council stands—where we stand, where the Soviet Union, China, Hanoi, and all others stand—on the readiness to come to grips in preliminary open discussions of the problems of restoring peace in Vietnam, to the end that we may begin to find some basis for the restoration of peace.

Again, Mr. President, I compliment the executive branch and the Department of State for giving serious consideration to this matter, and I express the hope that this Nation will take the lead in calling up its own resolution on Vietnam at the Security Council in the near future. If we are compelled to insist upon votes on preliminary and procedural questions, then I believe votes are in order, indeed, long overdue. In my judgment, win or lose, the effort to open discussions on peace in Vietnam at the U.N. Security Council is properly made and should be made at this time. Indeed, this Nation has everything to gain and nothing to lose by making the effort.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, again, as I have in the past, I support the call of the distinguished majority leader to our Government to ask that it take the initiative, without any reservation, to bring the matter of Vietnam before the Security Council of the United Nations. I agree with him that whatever may be the disposition of other members of the Security Council, and notwithstanding statements of U Thant that it might not be the most favorable time, one never knows what is the most favorable time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Montana has expired.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senator from Kentucky be recognized for 3 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. COOPER. Now is the most favorable time to do what is right and neces-

sary. I remember 1950, when I had the honor of serving in the United Nations as a representative of the U.S. Government with the distinguished majority leader. It was during the Korean war; and while the circumstances then were certainly more favorable for action of the Security Council, nevertheless, the Security Council took jurisdiction. We both remember that when the hearings were held, representatives of all the nations involved were there—from Communist China, North Korea, and South Korea—and all had their opportunity to be heard before that body.

As the war goes on, more and more troops are being sent to South Vietnam. There are more and more casualties and deaths. I again join with the distinguished majority leader to urge the United States to make the great effort necessary on its part to move toward negotiations and toward peace.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I appreciate the remarks of the distinguished Senator from Kentucky. I note in this morning's newspaper that the Soviet Union's view is against the idea of a Security Council meeting, because the Soviet Union contends that a discussion involving these participants does not require U.N. auspices.

The appropriate forum, it says, would be a reconvened Geneva Conference, since any settlement would have to proceed from the basis of the 1954 Geneva accords.

Mr. President, the Soviet Union, together with the United Kingdom, is one of the two cochairman of the Geneva Conference, and can at any time, on its own initiative or in agreement with the United Kingdom, reconvene the Geneva Conference.

It is easy to talk about peace. It is easy to find fault with proposals. But I would suggest to the Soviet Union that in this respect, because of its position as one of the two cochairmen of the Geneva Conferences, it take the initiative rather than find fault with efforts which seek to bring about an amelioration of the present bitter and difficult situation in South Vietnam.

After all, there is such an entity as man, and responsible people must consider the future of man, whether he is American or European, Vietnamese, Chinese, Russian, or whatever.

I think this is one valid way in which to face up to the matter. Perhaps nothing could be gained by it, but certainly nothing would be lost by trying.