

U.S. and Vietnamese Leaders Confer at Guam

BACKGROUND

President Johnson left Washington on March 19 for Guam, where on March 20-21 he conferred with top Vietnamese and U.S. officials on the situation in South Viet-Nam. Nguyen Van Thieu, Chairman of the National Leadership Committee of the Republic of Viet-Nam, and South Vietnamese Prime Minister Nguyen Cao Ky, who attended the conference at the President's invitation, brought with them a copy of the new Vietnamese Constitution adopted by the Constituent Assembly. The leaders of the two Governments exchanged views on military, political, and economic developments in South Viet-Nam. A joint communique was issued at the close of the meeting on March 21.

Included in the U.S. delegation were Secretary of State Dean Rusk; Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara; Director of the Agency for International Development William S. Gaud; Ambassador at Large W. Averell Harriman; Ambassador at Large Ellsworth Bunker, Ambassador-designate to Viet-Nam; Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen. Earle G. Wheeler; Director of the Central Intelligence Agency Richard M. Helms; Ambassador to Viet-Nam Henry Cabot Lodge; Ambassador to Pakistan Eugene M. Locke, Deputy-Ambassador-designate to Viet-Nam; Special Assistant to the President Robert W. Komer; Special Assistant to the President W. W. Rostow; Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs John T. McNaughton; Consultant to the President on Viet-Nam,

Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor; the U.S. commander in Viet-Nam, Gen. William C. Westmoreland; the commander of U.S. forces in the Pacific, Adm. U. S. Grant Sharp; Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Leonard C. Unger, Coordinator of the Interagency Viet-Nam Task Force; and David E. Lilienthal, president of the Development and Research Corp., New York, N.Y.

ARRIVAL CEREMONIES, GUAM INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT, MARCH 20

Arrival of President Johnson

White House press release (Guam) dated March 20

REMARKS BY GOV. MANUEL F. L. GUERRERO

Mr. President, your staff members, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen: For Guam today is a moment of history. This is an historic occasion, another milestone in the annals of the history of Guam.

Mr. President, we are very proud and deeply honored that you have selected the Territory of Guam as the site for this important conference.

Mr. President, we want you to know that the people of Guam are 100 percent behind your Viet-Nam policy.

Mr. President, we want you to know that we are loyal and patriotic citizens. We cherish and endear your leadership. We want you to live long, for you have worked hard for peace.

We welcome you to Guam, and we hope that during your sojourn your stay will be pleasant. Thank you.

RESPONSE BY PRESIDENT JOHNSON

We have come to Guam to confer with our military commanders, our diplomatic representatives, and with those who are helping to wage the peaceful campaign against poverty and want in Viet-Nam.

We have come to meet once again the leaders of South Viet-Nam, whose people continue to bear the great burdens of a war that they did not invite but which was thrust upon them by Communist terror.

We will discuss the progress and the future course of our military effort. We will review our diplomatic initiatives. We will try to estimate the chances of bringing peace to Viet-Nam through an honorable settlement.

Our new team of representatives in Saigon—Ambassador Bunker, Ambassador Locke, Mr. Komer—will be here with us, as will the great patriot whom Mr. Bunker will succeed, Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge.

We chose Guam as the site of our meeting for its convenience to those who are conducting the military and peaceful development campaign in Viet-Nam. But beyond that consideration, there is a historical significance to this island that stirs the memories of those who remember the dark hours of World War II and which strengthens our determination to persevere in Viet-Nam today.

Guam knows a war in a way that no other part of America knows it. It was the only inhabited part of our nation to be occupied by hostile forces during the Second World War.

That war, and all of its anguish, changed forever the world as we had known it. It taught us lessons that we shall never forget—most important, that the peace of all the world is threatened when aggressors are encouraged to feed on any part of it.

America, which lost Guam and then freed it again with blood that now stains this ground, has not forgotten that lesson. American boys in Viet-Nam are once again carrying the American commitment to resist ag-

gression and to make possible the sacred work of peace among men.

We are grateful to you—all of you—for coming out here to welcome us. Pray that our work here will bear fruit, for we labor for you, for your fellow Americans, for the people of Viet-Nam, and for all of those who love peace and freedom throughout the world.

I should like to address a very special word to my Guamanian friends.

I am proud of the distinction which this trip gives me of being the first American President to come here while in office. I am very proud of Guam. All America is proud of the progress that it has made toward self-government in the short time since civil administration came to this island in 1950.

We are proud of the strides that you have taken under a very fine public servant, Governor Guerrero. His first term of office is now ending.

It gives me real pleasure to tell you that just before we landed I signed a nomination to go to the United States Senate giving my recommendation that the Honorable Manuel Guerrero be appointed to a second term as the Governor of Guam.

I hope that Governor Guerrero will be the last Governor to be appointed by a President. If the Congress acts favorably on legislation that I have proposed, he will be. That legislation will give the American citizens of Guam, along with your fellow citizens in other parts of the United States, the right to elect your own Governor.

Then all of you who are already contributing so much to the efforts of your country and the effort that your country is making in Viet-Nam will at long last have one of the great rights of the American democracy. I look forward to the day when I may sign that bill that is now pending into the law of our lands.

Thank you, my friends, for this warm welcome. I know that I shall enjoy spending the next few days with you.

Arrival of Vietnamese Leaders

White House press release (Guam) dated March 20

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT JOHNSON

Chairman Thieu, Prime Minister Ky, most distinguished officials from the Republic of Viet-Nam and the United States of America, ladies and gentlemen: Once again I am very pleased to welcome two brave Vietnamese leaders to American soil.

We met in Hawaii a little over a year ago.¹ Then, our talks were of plans and hopes. Today, we meet in a time of progress. It is our common task to extend that progress in the days ahead.

Ever since our conference last fall in Manila,² your country has traveled far on the road to democracy. Your Assembly has hammered out a new Constitution. I am informed that I will see a copy of that Constitution during our meeting here.

It is the foundation stone of a freely and popularly elected government. You are the leaders of 16 million courageous and dedicated people who are determined to forge a free nation from the fires of war.

Your people look to a Viet-Nam that is unencumbered by a foreign presence on its soil, unhindered by acts of terror and aggression, free to determine its own destiny.

I hope that this conference will be of value to both of us in charting the course for the future of the struggle for freedom in Viet-Nam.

I am also delighted and particularly anxious for you to get to know Ambassador Bunker, who will shortly succeed Ambassador Lodge in Saigon. I know that you will find him an able and understanding Ambassador, as you will his associate, Mr. Locke. I know you will find him a worthy successor to a very brave and distinguished patriot.

Last week I reassured my own people that America is committed to the defense of South

¹ For background, see BULLETIN of Feb. 28, 1966, p. 302.

² For background, see *ibid.*, Nov. 14, 1966, p. 730.

Viet-Nam until an honorable peace can be negotiated.³

I renew that pledge to you today.

Thank you very much.

RESPONSE BY CHAIRMAN THIEU

Mr. President, thank you very much for your kind words of welcome. I am happy to set foot again on American soil in the midst of the Pacific and have this opportunity to meet again with you, Mr. President, and the distinguished members of your Government.

As we pointed out last year following our meeting in Honolulu, we must maintain close contact. There is no adequate substitute for exchanging ideas than face to face across a table.

At that Manila Conference last October we had again agreed upon the principle of close consultation for review of what we have done and for candid and thorough discussions of the various problems confronting us in the defense of freedom in Viet-Nam.

I am grateful that you have found it possible to cross the major part of the Pacific Ocean for this meeting to be had, an important juncture in our effort in Viet-Nam to stem off the Communist aggression from the North and to give substance and solid foundations to democracy in the Republic of Viet-Nam.

Thanks to your help, we are now throwing a line against Communist aggression in Southeast Asia. The Vietnamese people will long remember that at this crucial moment of their history, their freedom is preserved, thanks to the solidarity of millions of people around this Pacific Ocean.

Vietnamese soldiers are especially proud to fight side by side with valiant soldiers of the United States of America in this great struggle to defend freedom and to secure a long-lasting peace in this part of this world.

The Republic of Viet-Nam will do her best

³ For President Johnson's address before the Tennessee State Legislature on Mar. 15, see *ibid.*, Apr. 3, 1967, p. 534.

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so that all the brave soldiers who have made the supreme sacrifices in the defense of freedom will not have given their lives in vain.

Viet-Nam is the crucial test case on which will hinge not only the fate of Southeast Asia but also of many other areas in the world, where newly independent nations are groping for a path toward the future.

Together we will win this war, not only against the Communist aggression but also against the immemorial enemies of mankind—hunger, disease, and ignorance—to launch a society in which everyone will find a rightful place in establishing a meaningful democracy under the sign of progress and social justice.

In the spirit of the Manila Conference, the Republic of Viet-Nam spares no effort to explore all possible avenues which may lead us to a just and honorable peace.

When such a peace is restored, a general reconciliation among all Vietnamese will be possible, to put an end to the sufferings and ravages of the war and open a new era in which all Vietnamese of good will can participate in the building of a free and peaceful nation.

With these hopes, I look forward to fruitful discussions at this meeting.

Thank you very much.

STATEMENTS BY PRESIDENT JOHNSON

Opening Statement at Conference, March 20

White House press release (Guam) dated March 20

I shall make my opening remarks very short. We are old friends and comrades in arms. We do not need to elaborate on preliminaries before getting down to work.

Our two Governments have developed methods of regular consultation that have served us well in the critical days in which we've been associated. I am confident this will continue.

Today I am introducing to you our new Ambassador, Ellsworth Bunker, and his deputy, Eugene Locke. He has served our country—and the cause of freedom—on three

continents. It is typical of him that he is ready to serve in this struggle as well. His distinguished talents give us full confidence for the future.

Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge has represented the United States in Saigon with great dedication and ability. One measure of our appreciation for his splendid service is the caliber of the man we have chosen as his successor.

We meet at an auspicious time. The task of drafting a Constitution for South Viet-Nam, I am informed, has been completed. The drafters were elected by people in every section of the country—except where they were prevented from voting by pressures of the Viet Cong. I know you regret, as I do, that the Viet Cong succeeded in preventing anyone from voting. We believe that a system which stands in the way of democratic process in this fashion cannot survive very long among the people—even when it uses terror and assassination to achieve its ends.

Now your great task is to conduct a national election for a new government. The success of that election is as important as any of the military operations we shall conduct in the months ahead.

There are many signs that we are at a favorable turning point. Your fighting men, aided by your allies, now hold the initiative and are striking heavy blows against the strongholds and refuges of the Viet Cong and their North Vietnamese masters. And in the villages the medicine of the revolutionary development program is already beginning to take effect. The Viet Cong are turning sharply against that program's administration. I think that is very solid tribute to its effectiveness.

There are many other things I could cite that give us encouragement. But Viet-Nam is still a land of war and suffering, where the danger of inflation and epidemics and political conflict lie just beneath the surface. So let us turn today to see again what we can do to make our joint efforts even more effective.

**Statement on New Vietnamese Constitution,
March 20⁴**

I am deeply pleased to hear from Prime Minister Ky that the Directorate has agreed to the new Constitution just adopted by the Constituent Assembly of the Republic of Viet-Nam.

The Constitution marks the most important step in Viet-Nam's progress toward representative government. It is the fruit of 6 months of labor by delegates whose very elections demonstrated the ability of the people of South Viet-Nam to move forward toward democracy in the midst of war and despite the savage opposition of the Viet Cong.

Many of the provisions of the Constitution were actively debated during 6 months of consideration by the Assembly. But when agreement was finally reached, the Constitution was approved by the unanimous vote of the Assembly.

Like the U. S. Constitution, the Vietnamese Constitution has been written by the democratically chosen representatives of the people. And like the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia two centuries ago, the Assembly in Saigon included many men in their late twenties or early thirties.

The Constitution secures freedom of speech and freedom of religion. It guarantees civil rights and due process of law and provides for free political expression by the press, political parties, and trade unions, as well as by individuals.

It establishes an executive branch and endows it with wide powers, but subjects it, at the same time, to strong measures of control by the Legislature. The Legislature will enjoy wide authority, perhaps wider than that of the U. S. Congress.

Three times in less than 2 years South Viet-Nam has moved closer toward establishing a government fully responsive to the people. The first of these steps was the provincial elections held in May 1965; the sec-

⁴ Read to news correspondents by Secretary Rusk at a news conference on Mar. 20 (White House press release (Guam)).

ond step was the election, last September 11, of the members of the Constituent Assembly; now a democratic Constitution has been adopted.

There will be other steps on the road to more representative government in Viet-Nam during the coming months. A new round of village and hamlet elections will begin in April, when over 900 village councils will be elected. In May and June nearly 5,000 hamlet chiefs will be chosen. Then, the election of a President and the Senate, provided for in the new Constitution, is planned for late summer. Finally, the election of the House of Representatives will come within a month after the election of a President.

All those who have thoughtfully studied the modern history of Viet-Nam know that military power alone cannot secure the peace and insure the progress of that nation, nor of any other. Free political institutions are indispensable to the success of South Viet-Nam's long struggle against terror, and those who support her in that struggle rejoice in the success of this past week.

EXCHANGE OF TOASTS, MARCH 20⁵

President Johnson

White House press release (Guam) dated March 20

In 1873, when Viet-Nam was disputing the right of France to extend control over the whole country, a scholar named Bui Vien was sent by the Emperor to enlist the help of the United States. He was received by President Grant.

On his way home he was informed of President Grant's decision that, because of unforeseen circumstances, the United States would be unable to assist Viet-Nam.

He stopped in Japan to see an old friend, the American Consul in Yokohama. As people did in those days in Asia, the two men exchanged poems. Here is what Bui Vien wrote:

⁵ At a dinner for U.S. and Vietnamese officials.

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We pour out wine into glasses at Yokohama in the ninth month—in autumn.

Turning my head towards the clouds of Vietnam, I am anxious about my country.

Sea and land—memory and emotion—remind me of my former journey.

Enjoying myself with you, I regret all the more that we must part.

Spiritual companion, in what year will we be together in the same sampan?

Today we know the answer. We are together. And we know our destination. We established it years ago, and affirmed it at Honolulu and Manila. The brave sons of both our nations reaffirm it anew with every day that passes.

The trip is not yet over. The waters ahead may be rough. But together, with courage and unflagging devotion to the duty we share, we will make it.

Gentlemen, to the free peoples of Viet-Nam and the United States, who love their liberty and fight to preserve it.

Chairman Thieu

White House press release (Guam) dated March 20

Mr. President, gentlemen: I would like to thank you most sincerely for making this gathering not only an opportunity for the leaders of both Governments to exchange views on common problems but also a family affair in which protocol yields to informality and cordiality.

I am deeply touched by your evocation of the historical diplomatic mission. In the last century, Vietnamese Ambassador Bui Vien went on a good-will mission to the United States, a great country from across the Pacific Ocean, in what was for us, may I say, the Far East.

What I would like to add in recalling the history of Vietnamese-American friendship is that, almost a century and a half ago, an American Ambassador of good will, named John White, also came to Viet-Nam. He was a well-respected citizen of Boston, a businessman and traveler. History did not record his poems, but he wrote memoirs about his influences in our exotic land.

Today we have had the privilege and the

great pleasure to have in Ambassador Lodge a much more illustrious Ambassador from Boston. We are sad to see him leaving, but the years he spent in Viet-Nam will long be remembered.

We know that with Ambassador Bunker another page of cordial and constructive friendship will be opened.

In this spirit may I ask you, Mr. President and gentlemen, to join me in a toast to the everlasting friendship and solidarity between our two nations, for freedom, peace, and progress.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE, MARCH 21

White House press release (Guam) dated March 21

The President of the United States and the Chief of State and the Prime Minister of Viet-Nam completed their discussions in Guam. These talks have demonstrated again their joint determination with their allies, to defend freedom in South Viet-Nam and at the same time to continue the earnest search for an honorable peace.

President Johnson took this occasion to present to Chairman Thieu, Prime Minister Ky and their party the new leadership of the U.S. Mission in Saigon. Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker will take up from Ambassador Lodge the maintenance and strengthening of close relations with the Government of Viet-Nam. He will be working with that Government in its struggle to preserve the nation's freedom, in its steady progress toward economic and social development, and in the new political chapter now opening of constitutional and representative government under elected leaders. President Johnson introduced Ambassador Eugene Locke, who will take Ambassador Porter's place as Deputy Chief of the U.S. Mission, and he also explained that his Special Assistant, Mr. Robert Komer, would be in Saigon giving his attention to Pacification/RD matters.

Meeting with their advisors, President Johnson and Chairman Thieu and Prime Minister Ky reviewed the encouraging progress on the various programs of the Vietnam-

ese Government which had been discussed at Honolulu early in 1966 and were outlined in the Communique of the Seven Allied Nations meeting in Manila last October.

Discussion covered the military front, where the initiative lies increasingly with the allied forces and where the leaders of North Viet-Nam must recognize the futility of their effort to seize control of South Viet-Nam by force.

The meeting also reviewed those programs of the Vietnamese Government to which the United States is providing assistance. They found that, a solid foundation having been laid, the pacification and revolutionary development program was now beginning to show encouraging results, despite Viet Cong efforts to disrupt it by terror and intimidation. They noted the successful maintenance of financial stability while recognizing the need for continued vigilance on this front. They heard from Dr. Vu Quoc Thuc and Mr. David Lilienthal of the long-range economic planning now getting underway. Plans for continued efforts in the fields of national reconciliation and reform of land policies and tenure provisions were described by the Vietnamese leaders.

They also outlined the provisions of the Constitution drafted by the Constituent Assembly elected last September 11 and agreed by the Assembly and approved by the Directorate in the last few days. This instrument provides for the principal organs of a representative government and assures to the people civil and economic rights and social justice. The Constitution offers full civil rights to those who respect its provisions and the world looks forward to the day when the Viet Cong will take advantage of this offer, abandon the course of terror and violence and join in making a free, modern society in South Viet-Nam.

It was also announced that elections for a president will be held under the Constitution within 4 to 5 months and the elections for a legislature shortly thereafter. Meanwhile a major forward step will be made toward the restoration of democratic local

government when village hamlet elections take place, starting in April.

The numerous and varied efforts made in recent months to bring about a peaceful settlement were reviewed by the heads of both delegations. Thus far, they noted regretfully, North Viet-Nam has failed to respond to all such efforts. However, Chairman Thieu, Prime Minister Ky and President Johnson reaffirmed their undertakings at Manila and Honolulu and pledged themselves anew to the diligent pursuit of peace. Continuing consultations about the search for peace will be maintained among the nations whose forces are now fighting against aggression in South Viet-Nam.

The Vietnamese and American leaders also took note of the forthcoming meetings in Washington of SEATO on April 18-20 and of the Foreign Ministers of nations having troops in Viet-Nam on April 20-21. The latter will bring together again the Governments which met at Manila last October and provide an opportunity for them to review progress and programs in Viet-Nam and consult on future courses of action.

The Vietnamese leaders are leaving Guam for Saigon this morning and President Johnson is expected to depart at the end of the day.

RETURN TO WASHINGTON

Statement by President Johnson, Andersen Air Force Base, Guam, March 21

White House press release dated March 21

Before I returned to Washington, I wanted to come here to see some of the men and their families who are carrying the burdens of this war, as I did last fall when I went to Cam Ranh Bay.⁶

In some respects our engagement in Viet-Nam is familiar to America.

In World War II and in Korea, as in Viet-Nam, there was a conflict of ideology

⁶ For background, see *ibid.*, Nov. 14, 1966, p. 735.

between ourselves and our adversaries. But the struggle is not limited to one of ideology.

Force had to be met with force. Americans had to shoulder rifles, man tanks and warships, and take bombers into the air, all at great risk to their lives and at a great distance from their homelands.

The ideological debates continued over the wisdom of involvement or noninvolvement:

The "America Firsters" had their say, but the aggressor could not be stopped by argument.

People who desired to live in freedom could not be protected by debating points.

The defense of freedom required then, as it requires now, the willingness of brave men to face danger, to risk death, and to live with their fears for months and years on end.

Today we are here to decorate 12 men, all of whom risked their lives many times in the air over Viet-Nam. As their Commander in Chief and the representative of the people whom they have so gallantly served, I salute them with all my heart.

There are some respects, as professional soldiers know, in which this war is different from the others that we have waged. There are no sharply defined battle lines. The random terror of the subversive, not the mythical power of a conventional army in the field, is the enemy's main weapon.

Political and social forces are at work which complicate the struggle and which make it necessary to do far more than wage a traditional military campaign.

We met these past 2 days here with leaders, Vietnamese and Americans, to discuss some of the elements of this different kind of war in Viet-Nam.

We have brought the new team of American representatives to Viet-Nam: Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker, who has served his country with great distinction in the Dominican crisis, in India, in Italy, and many other posts of the highest responsibility; Ambassador Eugene Locke, who now represents us in Pakistan; and Robert Komer, who until now has been in the

White House as my counselor on the civil side of the Vietnamese war.

We wanted these distinguished Americans to meet the leaders of Viet-Nam with whom they will be working in the months ahead.

We came here to discuss seven of our major concerns in Viet-Nam today:

First, the military progress of the war, both in the South and in the North.

Second, the political progress that is being made in South Viet-Nam. Prime Minister Ky gave me a copy of the new Constitution which the freely elected Constituent Assembly had just adopted in South Viet-Nam and which the Directory had just approved. This is the third and the most significant step that South Viet-Nam has taken toward granting its people the fundamental rights of democracy.

Third, we discussed in some detail the morale, the health, the training, the food, the clothing, and the equipment of our superb young fighting men. I questioned General Westmoreland closely on all of these matters, and his response was deeply gratifying to me.

Fourth, the national reconciliation program in Viet-Nam.

Fifth, the land reform program, which is moving steadily forward.

Sixth, the extent of civilian casualties and what is being done to help those who are injured or who are wounded by the war.

Seventh, the possibilities of bringing an end to this conflict at as early a date as possible by an honorable settlement.

We did not adopt any spectacular, new programs at this meeting. We said in advance that that was not our plan. The nature of this war is not amenable to spectacular programs or to easy solutions. It requires courage, perseverance, and dedication—exactly the qualities that men such as you are providing today.

So to all of the men of this command, and their families who so loyally stand by them in this hour of trial, let me say as we leave Guam that all America honors you and is grateful to you.

We feel refreshed by the conviction that on several fronts—military, political, and social—we and our allies are making substantial progress. When the inevitability of that progress finally gets through and becomes clear to Hanoi, we shall then arrive at what Churchill would have called “the beginning of the end.”

I leave you today with pride—great pride—in what you are doing and great confidence for the country that you serve.

I do not want to let this occasion go by without presenting to you some of the great public servants who lead this nation in this critical period.

I want to introduce your Secretary of State—Dean Rusk.

Next I want to introduce your Secretary of Defense—Robert McNamara.

Ambassador Bunker and Ambassador Lodge.

The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Wheeler; Admiral Sharp; General Maxwell Taylor; General Westmoreland; and your distinguished Governor of Guam.

Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen.

**Statement by President Johnson, Andrews
Air Force Base, Washington, March 21**

White House press release dated March 21

Good evening, ladies and gentlemen.

As I said upon my departure from Guam, we discussed seven of our major concerns at our meeting there.

First, the military progress of the war, both in the South and in the North.

Second, the political progress that is being made now in South Viet-Nam. Prime Minister Ky gave me a copy of the new Constitution which the freely elected Constituent Assembly has adopted and which the Direc-

tory has just approved. This is the third and most significant step that South Viet-Nam has taken toward granting its people the fundamental rights of democracy.

Third, we discussed the morale, the health, the training, the food, the clothing, and equipment of our superb young fighting men. I questioned General Westmoreland very closely on these matters. His response was extremely gratifying to me.

Fourth, the national reconciliation program in Viet-Nam.

Fifth, the land reform program, which is moving steadily forward. Premier Ky told me that he had distributed 27,000 titles just recently.

Sixth, the extent of civilian casualties and what is being done to help those who are injured or who are wounded by the war.

Seventh, the possibilities of bringing an end to this conflict by an honorable settlement.

We did not adopt any specific or spectacular new programs at this meeting. The nature of this war is not amenable to spectacular programs or easy solutions. It requires courage, perseverance, and dedication.

During my flight home I learned that Hanoi had made public an exchange of letters between me and Ho Chi Minh.⁷ His reply to me of mid-February and his earlier public reply to His Holiness the Pope were regrettable rebuffs to a genuine effort to move toward peace. This has been the consistent attitude of Hanoi to many efforts by us, by other governments, by groups of governments, and by leading personalities throughout the world. Nevertheless, we shall persevere in our efforts to find an honorable peace. Until that is achieved, of course, we shall continue to do our duty in Viet-Nam.

⁷ See p. 595.