

the late John Fitzgerald Kennedy. Today our sad duty is to place on record our profound regret at the passing of the man who commanded the allied war effort in the South-West Pacific from 1942 until 1945, when victory was finally won under his inspired and brilliant leadership. It is not possible for the Australian Parliament or the American Congress to express the thoughts of those who held with such great fervour their esteem and admiration for General MacArthur.

General of the Army, Douglas Arthur MacArthur was already a legendary figure when he came among us in March, 1942, at the command of President Roosevelt and at the earnest solicitation of Australia's great war-time Prime Minister, the late John Curtin. What followed is history. It is a story of continuous victories and, of course, of sad and inevitable losses of young lives. From the battles on the Kokoda Trail, at Milne Bay, in the Coral Sea, and at Guadalcanal, until the surrender of the bomb-shattered Japanese homeland and its isolated famished outposts—some of which were perilously close to our shores—MacArthur was the conqueror of the Pacific in a campaign that lasted three years and in which there were no defeats but only victories.

If I might be permitted to hazard an opinion—one which is not contrary to the opinions of many great British and American soldiers—MacArthur established himself by what he did, with what he had—and that was not always sufficient—as the greatest general in World War II on any side. History may easily establish him as the greatest general in American history. Perhaps my thoughts are coloured by the deep sense of gratitude which I feel and which I think all Australians feel for what General MacArthur and those he commanded—the three-quarters of a million men and women, brave young Australians and Americans did to save this country from invasion and capture by the Japanese.

It is literally true to say that there were few trained soldiers and very little equipment in Australia when MacArthur arrived. The Sixth, Seventh and Ninth Australian Infantry Divisions, our only battle-trained troops, were still in North Africa, our air force and navy were serving outside our shores, and the ill-fated Eighth Division had been forced to surrender at Singapore. Our plight at that time was grim and foreboding, but the tide of battle began to turn once the great American general arrived. He had only a small staff and some units of American troops already in this country with which to start to roll back the tide. The invasion estimated to occur within three or four weeks of his arrival never eventuated.

With the powerful aid of the Sixth and Seventh Australian Infantry Divisions and the militia division, and his own American troops, General MacArthur took the war into New Guinea and into the Solomons. The Japanese soon lost the initiative and never regained it. Not only did MacArthur never lose a battle, but he himself never hesitated to go into any engagement whether the attacking forces were Americans or Australians; he always went in with the first supporting wave of troops. His great contribution to victory and his tremendous influence on the morale of all those who were associated with him in the Australian War Cabinet and in the administration of this nation or on the battlefield, not only established his indomitable figure as a part of our legend, but made it always so obvious that his genius was indisputable.

April 1964

In his retirement, twice within six months he was visited by Presidents of his own great nation. The first was President Kennedy who was destined to die tragically so soon thereafter. The second was President Johnson. Each President thanked him for his services to the cause of freedom. Singularly enough, both Presidents had served in the United States Navy in the Pacific where MacArthur triumphed.

The words that General MacArthur spoke in this Parliament on 17th March, 1944, may well serve as his epitaph. He said on that occasion—On such an occasion as this, my thoughts go back to those men who went on their last crusade in the jungle thickness to the north, where they made the fight that saved this continent. With faith in their hearts, and hope on their lips, they passed beyond the mists that blind us here. Their yesteryear makes possible our tomorrow. They came from the four quarters of the globe, but whatever the land that gave them birth, under their stark white crosses they belong to Australia.

Now he is dead. There is neither rank nor station nor prerogative in the democracy of the dead or the republic of the grave. For us, however, Douglas Arthur MacArthur belongs to the immortal dead. But he belongs forever in the hearts and history of the Australian people. In the words of the poet, this country, as does his own, owes him "the debt immense of endless gratitude".

South-East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) Council Meeting

STATEMENT BY THE MINISTER FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
ON 8TH APRIL

ON 8th April, the Minister for External Affairs announced that as Australian Council Member he would attend the ninth meeting of the SEATO Council to be held in Manila from 13th-15th April, 1964.

The Delegation will, in addition, comprise:

Sir Arthur Tange, CBE	..	Secretary of the Department of External Affairs
Mr A. H. Loomes, OBE	..	Australian Ambassador to Thailand and SEATO Council Representative
Mr T. W. Cutts	..	Australian Ambassador to the Philippines
Mr A. P. Renouf	..	Minister, Australian Embassy, Washington
Mr R. A. Woolcott	..	Public Information Officer, Department of External Affairs
Mr R. A. Walker	..	Second Secretary, Australian Embassy, Manila

Military Representatives:

Air Marshall Sir Frederick Scherger, KBE, CB, DSO, AFC	Military Adviser
Captain B. S. Murray, RAN	.. Director of Plans

STATEMENT BY THE MINISTER FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, ON
ARRIVAL AT MANILA FOR THE SEATO COUNCIL MEETING,
ON 11TH APRIL

I AM glad to arrive in Manila to represent Australia at the council meeting of SEATO members.

It is fitting that the council should meet this year in Manila where ten years ago the treaty was signed. Throughout this time the Philippines has been a staunch supporter of the organisation and has played an active part in its many activities.

As democratic countries committed to the economic and social advancement of their peoples, I believe Australia and the Philippines hold to the view that regional stability assured by sound defences is indispensable to progress. Aggression, threat of aggression and the spreading of doctrines which advocate militant revolution and insurgency, produce only that instability and conflict in which the prospects for economic development and a richer and more satisfying life for the peoples of the region are sacrificed whilst political forces destructive of democracy flourish.

We therefore need adequate defences, both individual and collective, maintained in a state of readiness. Our response to threats and potential threats, can then be affective, graduated and controlled. It is a fact of life that for a long time to come security in the area will depend on co-operation between the Manila Treaty partners, and others in the area, to ensure that the response can be speedy and flexible. It is equally plain that the partners who are outside the area must have available to them adequate facilities within the region if, in the case of need, they are to bring their strength to bear in the common cause. One measure of the worth of these facilities is shown by the efforts the Communist powers make to have them removed, or to create difficulties about their use.

Australia sees her treaty responsibilities in this light. Accepting the need to contribute towards the security of the area, we have, for example, an army and an air-force unit in Thailand; a training team for countering guerilla warfare in Viet Nam; substantial army, navy and air forces with the Commonwealth Strategic Reserve in Malaysia; and we shall have forces from Australia participating in the SEATO operation "LIGITAS" in this country in May and June. A programme for the considerable expansion of the Australian defence forces has been undertaken, and advanced technological equipment ordered abroad.

Mirage fighter aircraft from France, supersonic bombers and modern naval ships from the United States are being added to our own production of weapons and equipment. Moreover, while Australia is not physically contiguous to the potential threat from Communist China, our geographic location, and our industrial capacity, is such that we can provide facilities whose use by our allies can materially assist the security of the area in general.

Our contribution of Australian equipment to the SEATO defence aid programme has continued on a substantial scale. I am glad to say that the second survey vessel wholly built and equipped in Australia for the Philippines Bureau of Coast and Geodetic Survey will be handed over to the Philippines authorities in a ceremony next month.

We are also contributing resources of military equipment and training to the expansion of the defence forces of Malaysia under a programme of defence aid for that country.

I look forward to a constructive meeting of the council. I also hope to have the opportunity to renew my personal contacts with your President and other distinguished leaders of the Philippines.

STATEMENT BY THE MINISTER FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AT-
THE OPENING SESSION OF THE SEATO COUNCIL MEETING,
MANILA, ON 13TH APRIL

IT is a great pleasure for me to find myself in Manila once again.

I feel at home here.

I think this stems not only from our association in SEATO, not only from the close and very cordial relations which our countries enjoy, not only from the democratic institutions we share, indeed it stems not only from the desire we share to secure this region of the world from the threat of Communist aggression and the reality of Communist subversion, but it stems from our mutual interest in establishing our own particular Philippine and Australian identities and from our joint interest in the peace, prosperity and stability of this area.

Mr Chairman, at the outset of my remarks allow me to congratulate you on your election as our chairman. I am sure our deliberations will be the smoother for your chairmanship.

Then let me thank you, the President and the government of the Philippines for your very generous hospitality and the gracious welcome we have received.

I would like to express also the gratitude of my delegation to your distinguished President for agreeing to open this important meeting and for the valuable address to which we have recently listened.

The present meeting is significant. Our last meeting was in Europe—in Paris. Our present meeting is in Asia—in Manila. This is appropriate because it emphasises the global nature of the Communist threat.

Moreover, it is most timely that we should meet again now in Manila, the city in which nearly ten years ago the Manila Treaty was drawn up and signed.

The threat which gave rise to SEATO has not diminished, a constant and overriding factor in South-East Asia is the threatening propinquity of China.

Our task is to deter the extension of Communist imperialism in South-East Asia.

The continuing support of the Philippines for the South-East Asia Treaty is encouraging to us and the support for the organisation which, over the years, the Philippines has so willingly given, has been an important factor contributing to the stability of the organisation.

At the end of last year the Australian government sought and won a national election one year before its term of office would normally expire. In explanation of the government's decision to seek a further mandate from the people of Australia, the Prime Minister stressed the view that critical problems in Australia's near neighbourhood demanded certainty in our national policy and determination in Australians to help to solve them.

The response of the Australian people (the government being re-elected with a dramatically increased majority), demonstrated that they, the people of Australia, wish the Australian government to concern itself closely with the problems of security and stability in the Asian and Pacific region. The Australian government will continue to respond in this respect to the wishes of the Australian people.

Since the last meeting of the SEATO council of Ministers, Australia has added new dimensions to its international responsibilities in relation to the Asian and Pacific region. In particular, the government pledges to come to the defence of Malaysia in certain defined contingencies and has already provided some concrete evidence of the determination to implement this pledge.

We recognise that this is a most serious national decision but it arises out of our careful and sober judgment as to the responsibilities which Australia must incur in the interests of peace and security in South-East Asia.

In addition, the Australian government has taken a series of decisions for the expansion of the Australian Military Forces and the introduction of the most modern equipment, such as guided missile destroyers and supersonic aircraft. This programme of expansion will enable us not only to service our commitments to SEATO but to bring greater capacity into operation in the region should the need arise.

SEATO has been variously described in Moscow and Peking either as a "paper tiger" or alternatively as "an aggressive military bloc". In point of fact it is neither of these things. It is very far from being a paper tiger. Its plans for distribution of armed forces for the defence of the area are extensive—and anchored on the overwhelming industrial strength of the economically developed countries who are members of the alliance. Its purpose is clearly defensive—a treaty of collective security without any aggressive intent.

Modern warfare is increasingly dependent on an industrial base to support it. Aggressive countries which lack this base must move cautiously. They can indulge in subversion, infiltration, guerilla activities and various forms of limited war. They may even be able to pick off individual weak nations one by one if they are permitted to do so.

But if faced by a resolute alliance such as SEATO represents, their freedom of manoeuvre becomes limited.

On our side, the allied governments have ultimate deterrent power and, also, the means of deploying conventional forces in a controlled and graduated response in full awareness of the heavy weight of responsibility that falls upon us to deal with aggression commensurately yet adequately while avoiding the risks of global conflict.

SEATO is a framework for an exchange of obligations. Without SEATO there would be no formal obligations falling upon Australia to come to the aid of Asian countries who are members of it. However, SEATO provides Australia with the basis for military obligations towards them. This is the value of SEATO. Together, we are well able to resist the threat and indeed to come to the assistance, if asked, of those who prefer to follow a policy of non-alignment.

But we must maintain our readiness to resist aggression and counteract subversion; we must concurrently and unremittingly make our several contributions to assist the nations of the region to raise standards of living and improve social justice for their people.

This we can do through SEATO, or through other relationships, or bilaterally, and by liberalised trade as much as by aid and technical assistance, for the ultimate stability of the region depends on the will of free and independent people, for whom life has meaning and promise, to resist the encroachment of Communism in whatever form and by whatever means it presents itself.

This gathering of ministers from many parts of the world is an invaluable occasion for searching discussions of the problems of the treaty area.

For my part, I look forward to frank, wide-ranging and searching discussions.

We must expect a variety of points of view—for wisdom grows from shared judgment and experience.

We shall undoubtedly be animated by a sense of mutual trust and partnership, which I feel sure will carry the meeting to a harmonious, constructive and useful conclusion.

STATEMENT BY THE MINISTER FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ON 21st APRIL

I ASK leave of the House to make a statement about the recent meeting of the Council of Ministers of the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO) which was held in Manila in the first three days of last week.

I have said on various occasions—most recently in my opening statement to the Council of Ministers last Monday—that the ultimate answer to Communism must be found in the will of people for whom, by reason of their social or economic advancement, life has meaning and promise. But peace and stability are indispensable conditions for such advancement.

This the Communist in Asia so well understands that, by subversion and terror and if need be, by armed intervention he seeks to promote instability and political and administrative chaos. Having done that, he condemns the regime which he is seeking to undermine for its failure to provide for the well-being and the progress of its people. I say the Communist in Asia. I am not talking about peaceful co-existence in which Communism seeks to demonstrate its superiority and inevitability through economic competitiveness. I am talking about the Communist who believes that power grows out of the gun barrel. Well aware of the inevitable slowness of the tempo of economic development and growth among the under-developed regions of the world even in the best of conditions, these Communists are taking the long view, and by forcefully denying the opportunity for steady progress, hope to cause the people to despair of the certainty of any amelioration of their condition by the new governments and administrations of the region. It is the work of a generation or more in these countries to introduce modern techniques and to create a broadly based administration devoted to the progress of the community at large. If we are to ensure the benefits of a free way of life, in under-developed countries, there must be peaceful and stable conditions of an enduring character; in short freedom itself must be ensured. This is the task of collective security in South-East Asia, to halt aggression and subversion in order to secure peaceful stability and the climate for that economic and social progress of which free societies have shown themselves capable.

A current illustration of Communist technique is South Viet Nam. Here the Communists held their hand for five years from 1954 onwards, not expecting the government to cope with its great internal residual problems. However, it became apparent that South Viet Nam was overcoming its problems and rapidly adding to its economic strength. For example, the annual rice production not only attained the pre-war average of 3.5 million tons but advanced to 5 million tons in 1960. There followed the decision of the Communists to terrorise the population and subvert the country.

It is with these introductory remarks, valid for all our efforts, whether covering the fields of security, diplomacy or economic aid in South-East Asia, that I proceed to speak of the meeting of the SEATO Council of Ministers.

The Council of Ministers

The annual meeting of ministers deals with the regular business of the organisation and provides the occasion for a political and security review of the situation and of the problems of the SEATO area. This year no less than six of the eight member nations were represented by their foreign ministers and many hours of close and searching discussion were held,

some in closed sessions of which a record was taken and some in restricted sessions with no record being taken.

The formal conclusions of the meeting are published in a communique. I ask leave of the House to incorporate the text of the communique in Hansard as an attachment to this statement. I shall not deal here with the decisions of the council about the continuing work of military planning, programmes of military exercises, or the civil projects for economic, medical and cultural co-operation. It is sufficient for me to say that this basic programme of work and activity is continuing satisfactorily.

Without in any way detracting from the importance of that work, I wish rather to address my remarks tonight to the great issues which were before the Council of Ministers, and which directly bear upon the peace and security of the Region and upon the direction of vital national policies by the countries concerned; they are issues, indeed, which before this meeting gave rise to the expression in some public comment to doubts as to whether in face of them SEATO could maintain its cohesion and its purpose.

I might say that there have been doubts in some people's minds about SEATO's continued existence since the inception of the Manila Treaty. In some minds, these doubts arose because of a failure to recognise that a system of collective security was necessary for this region if orderly economic and social progress were to be possible; in others these doubts sprang, I think, from a despair that an answer could be found to Communist aggression, that it could be contained and from a belief that it must be bought off by concessions; in others, the expressed doubts were but a cloak for a Communist will to destroy the organisation.

In the light of these doubts, it is worth recalling that September next will see the tenth anniversary of the Manila Treaty; that none of the signatories of the treaty has been the object of Communist aggression during the existence of the treaty and none of the countries within its protocol, or for that matter within South-East Asia, has been subverted to Communist domination, even though as yet we may not have found the ideal methods for repelling subversion and terrorism and making them too costly for their designers.

My own view is that SEATO has proved to be markedly successful. It has progressively gained in strength, both in terms of its own effectiveness and in terms of international acceptance and support. That this should be so is a considerable achievement. The members are diverse in many respects; their historical and political backgrounds are widely different and they include both developed and under-developed countries. Moreover, the principles on which SEATO is based, the principles of interdependence and of collective security, scarcely carried automatic conviction in the early post-war history of South-East Asia.

Bearing in mind these things I would suggest to the professional critics of SEATO, if I may call them so, that it is time to take a fresh look at the position. I commend to them words President Macapagal used when

he opened the recent meeting in Manila. He declared that SEATO should be cherished as symbolizing the readiness of the sovereign nations of the Eastern and Western hemispheres to come to terms with each other for the purpose of mutual well-being. SEATO, he said, and I quote, could "not now abdicate its primary responsibility towards its Asian members without creating a power vacuum in South-East Asia".

Reaffirmation of the Purposes of SEATO

The apprehensions to which I referred about the current meeting related to the French pronouncement as to neutralisation in South-East Asia. It was thought that this attitude must lead to a fracture of the organisation. But the meeting afforded the opportunity, of which ministers fully availed themselves, to discuss frankly and to explore carefully French views concerning the situation in Viet Nam. These discussions led ministers back to a review of the basis, the effectiveness and the purpose of SEATO. This review resulted in an important reaffirmation of that basis and purpose and to the declaration in the communique, to which the French Foreign Minister subscribed that "SEATO has had, and continues to have, a most important stabilising influence in South-East Asia". Thus, whatever differences of approach on individual matters there might be, no member of SEATO entertains a reservation as to the value of the organisation.

Again in the communique the council reaffirmed that "material support and encouragement should be given by members of the treaty organisation to those nations which, in defending themselves, need and request such support". France subscribed to this important statement of principle, thereby demonstrating the unanimous view that aggression must be resisted and that the provision of assistance for self defence on request is a proper performance of the obligations of SEATO members. It should clearly be understood that it is accepted within the SEATO community of countries that no one nation exercises a veto on what other members may do in discharge of the SEATO obligations that they are prepared to undertake. It is essential that this point should be understood as it gives great flexibility and strength to SEATO.

Thus, whilst unanimity on all points was not attained, the continued utility and significance of SEATO was affirmed and its resilient strength, so far from being fractured, was demonstrated.

Members will recall that, on 14th March, 1963, I drew the attention of the House to a joint statement issued by the Thai and United States governments. This stated plainly that responsibilities under the treaty could be carried out collectively or individually. The United States affirmed that its treaty obligation to Thailand did not depend upon the prior agreement of all the other parties to the treaty "since this treaty obligation is individual as well as collective". The Australian government welcomed this declaration and stated that it placed the same interpretation upon the Manila Treaty. This flexibility extends still further into the area of collective responsibilities. Not only, as I have explained, does no member hold a veto over the actions of the other member pursuant to their discharge of their treaty

obligations but no member can be coerced by the decision of the majority into collective action. For example, Australia alone decides what units of the Australian armed forces shall be offered for purposes of the preparation of SEATO military plans and Australia reserves to itself the decision as to whether such forces would participate in action.

Thailand

I have quoted the United States declaration in respect of its defence commitment to Thailand. It would be in point for me to refer to the practical achievements in Thailand under the joint and several efforts of SEATO members in association with the government of Thailand.

Thailand is one of the critical land areas of the treaty area. Through the efforts of the Thai government and the contributions of the SEATO partners the security of Thailand and its defence capabilities have been greatly enhanced. Substantial allied forces can now be rapidly deployed into Thailand at a high level of operational readiness.

Behind this state of affairs lies years of painstaking and concrete work. Highways, bridges, fuel pipelines, modern communications, wharf and harbour facilities have been developed through a programme of logistic support which is based on the coordinated, bilateral contributions of SEATO members. Australia supports this effort with its own substantial programme of aid for feeder roads. To give a precise example of work in the logistics field, Australian, New Zealand and British army engineers (some 400 personnel in all) are at present establishing a modern airfield in Northern Thailand with all the complicated supporting equipment and stores that such an airfield requires in order to service modern aircraft.

The demonstrated capacity of all this infrastructure was proven in May, 1962, when a great air lift of 3,000 American marines were flown into Thailand in the space of 24 hours and rapidly deployed in defence of the Mekong frontier. Allied military exercises in Thailand have involved as many as 25,000 men at the one time. Australian, British and American squadrons have flown in on station at operational readiness.

These defensive facilities, of great strategic significance, are not established to the detriment in any respect of the Thai economy or the Thai people. On the contrary they are an important contribution to the capital structure of that country; they help to open up rural areas and to knit the country together administratively. Related training programmes are also helping to raise the limit of technical proficiency in the country. Through a system of on the job training under the feeder road scheme and through the Australian equipped and staffed military technical training school in Bangkok, Australia alone is helping to produce between 150 and 200 technicians, skilled tradesmen and operators each year.

Much of the SEATO effort, as I have stated, contributes materially to the economic resources of Thailand. Indeed, the very existence of SEATO, as well as its activities of the kind I have mentioned, helps to keep down

the domestic military and budgetary costs of the members who are least able to afford a large defence establishment. SEATO works from the principle that the main strength of the organisation must derive from the industrial strength and resources of its economically developed members. Thailand in actual fact is experiencing a marked rate of economic growth. Throughout the last decade national income has increased at an average annual rate of 5.5 per cent. Electric power, a key indicator of economic advance, has increased by 400 per cent over this period.

South Viet Nam

The situation in South Viet Nam commanded the most earnest attention of the SEATO Council which expressed its grave concern about continuing Communist aggression, organised, directed, supplied and supported by the Communist régime in North Viet Nam. The council agreed that the members of SEATO should remain prepared, if necessary, to take further concrete steps to support the government of the people of South Viet Nam in their fight for their country.

The continued independence of South Viet Nam is a matter of high importance to us all, on moral, political and strategic grounds alike. The efforts to form a domestically stable government have had their difficulties, but despite the years of struggle it has already endured, South Viet Nam retains the will and the resolve to resist Communist subversion.

The South Vietnamese are fighting their own war, a grim war of survival. Communist forces have mounted a campaign of widespread terrorism aimed to undermine the authority of the Vietnamese government at all possible levels—as I have said to prevent that economic growth and social betterment which would follow stability and peace. Their tactics include, kidnapping, coercion and blackmail, ambush and the cold assassination of picked leaders such as province and village chiefs and individual commanders. The extent of their civil outrage and treachery is that in 1960 and 1961 almost 3,000 civilians were assassinated and 2,500 kidnapped.

The representative of the United States, Mr Dean Rusk, reaffirmed plainly that United States aims were to answer the call of the South Vietnamese to help them save their country for themselves; secondly, to help prevent the strategic danger which would exist if Communism absorbed South-East Asia's peoples and resources; and, third, to meet the challenge of the Communist so-called wars of liberation, carefully scaled down to avoid the risk of a global conflict. On behalf of Australia I welcomed and supported this great statement of policy.

General Khanh has not had long to reverse the trends of 1963, but it is heartening to see the way in which he is rebuilding the machinery of government and taking active steps to restore hope and confidence in the people.

But there is no disguising the serious and critical nature of the task ahead. There are 20,000 to 25,000 "hard core" Viet Cong guerillas, ruthless and indoctrinated, with locally recruited part-time supporters about three times that number, operating in difficult terrain often under the cover which intimidated people are driven to afford them.

The French delegation abstained on the Viet Nam paragraphs in the communique stating that "under the present serious circumstances it was wise to abstain from any declaration". The French Foreign Minister took the view that apart from the military effort there should be a concurrent attempt to reach a political settlement. The views of the other members, however, were that apart from the serious effect on morale that such an attempt would produce, a sound political settlement could not be envisaged before every effort had been made to help the South Vietnamese government to deal with and overcome Communist insurgency and South Viet Nam had achieved a position of security in relation to the north.

North Viet Nam, Communist China and the Soviet Union all urge the neutralisation in Viet Nam in their propaganda. Honorable members, however, should clearly understand that they are referring only to South Viet Nam. What they mean by neutralisation of the south I shall explain in a moment. So far as North Viet Nam is concerned, its neutralisation would involve a tremendous ideological retreat within Communist doctrine. It has in fact been made clear by the Communists that North Viet Nam is a member of the "socialist camp" and no other status could be entertained. There is no glimmer of a suggestion that North Viet Nam, within a reunified Viet Nam, would accept an internationally arranged and supervised status of neutralisation. Nor is there reason to suppose that its huge Communist neighbour would be a party to such an arrangement. In this connection it is as well to recall that Hungary's aspirations towards neutrality were quickly extinguished by the Soviet Union.

This reduces the issue to that of the neutralisation of South Viet Nam only. What the Chinese and the North Vietnamese mean by neutralisation of the south is, first, the withdrawal of foreign military aid, that is the American forces, and, secondly, the replacement of the present anti-Communist government by a neutral coalition government which would include elements of the present Communist insurgent movement at all levels, political, administrative and military. Politically and militarily the south would then be paralysed in the face of a determined Communist regime in the north which held overwhelming military preponderance.

If it could be supposed that these steps were all accepted what could SEATO or for that matter any of its members do to prevent a neutralised South Viet Nam being rapidly absorbed into a Communist Viet Nam? It would be difficult indeed to visualise a practicable basis on which action could be taken to preserve the independence of South Viet Nam.

This leads me to speak generally, not only in relation to Viet Nam, about some of the implications of ideas of neutralisation in South-East Asia. Some of these views were developed in my statement to the House of 11th March, but I here wish to relate those views specifically to SEATO. Under SEATO and other complementary arrangements there have been established forward bases and facilities and logistics which are a great part of the backbone of the security of South-East Asia. There is no room to think that the countries of the region can produce as of this time a stable, secure region on their own strengths separately or collectively.

Modern warfare is increasingly dependent on an industrial base to support it. Aggressive countries which lack this base must move cautiously.

They can indulge in subversion, infiltration, guerilla activities and various forms of limited war. They may even be able to pick off individual weak nations one by one if they are permitted to do so.

But if faced by a resolute alliance such as SEATO represents, their freedom of manoeuvre becomes limited; and on the other hand the alliance brings the needed industrial strength to the support of the countries of the treaty area.

On our side, the allied governments have ultimate deterrent power and, also, through the system of logistics and facilities now available the means of deploying conventional forces in a controlled and graduated response, in full awareness of the heavy weight of responsibility that falls upon us to deal with aggression commensurately yet adequately while avoiding the risks of global conflict.

Laos

Events in the last few days in Laos have caused the government much concern. The rapid deterioration of the situation, which at first seemed possible, has fortunately not taken place, but the episode—if it is no more than that—is another reminder of the fragile governmental structure of that small country. Australia fully supports the continuation in office of the Neutralist Prime Minister, Prince Souvanna Phouma and deplores attempts to undermine his position whether they come from Communist or Right Wing forces. We have conveyed these views vigorously and urgently in the last few days in Vientiane. Our policy—and it is the view expressed in the SEATO communique—is to support the achievement of a neutral and independent government of Laos in accord with the Geneva Agreements of 1962.

Indonesia/Malaysia

The seriousness of the presence of Indonesian armed and directed groups in Malaysia was fully brought home to members of the council during its review of the international situation. This state of affairs could lead not only to a serious deterioration of military security, but, could provoke further instability in the region if a neighbouring country could introduce troops into the territory of another and then demand political discussions and concessions.

Since my statement to the House on 11th March, there has been no concrete progress towards a settlement of the problems created by Indonesia's hostility towards Malaysia. In diplomatic exchanges Indonesia has continued to maintain that any withdrawal of Indonesian-controlled forces from Malaysian territory should be linked with discussion, and commensurate to progress on, the settlement of political questions. In addition, Indonesia has continued to intrude regulars and irregulars into Malaysian territory and is maintaining and strengthening in areas adjacent to the Malaysian borders its organisation and training for guerilla activity. The Malaysian government has fully documented these matters in its communications to the United Nations Secretary-General. Malaysia has properly maintained its desire for a peaceful solution of the situation which has been created and has indicated its willingness to contribute to that end.

Since my statement, my colleague, the Minister for Defence, has announced two important decisions of the government, arising from our

pledge to come to the defence of Malaysia in certain defined contingencies, namely his statement on 17th March on Australian defence aid for Malaysia in the fields of equipment and training and his statement of 16th April on the commitment of certain military forces.

These necessary developments do not of course in any sense reduce our determination to support efforts for a peaceful settlement. But all the small and middle powers of South-East Asia have, with Australia, a vital interest in upholding the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of another country and the principle of respect for the political and territorial integrity of other nations.

The extent to which Australia is involved now and, in addition, such developments that may occur in the future in fact depend entirely upon the courses of action which Indonesia chooses to adopt. Our view has been and remains that Indonesia cannot be permitted to crush Malaysia. Australia's own decisions are governed by the principles to which I have referred and not by any intrinsic hostility to Indonesia or its peoples.

SEATO's Contribution to Stability

Finally, I should like to underline the immense indirect contribution which SEATO makes to economic progress.

It has been urged by some members of the Opposition that SEATO should be primarily concerned with advancing the economic and social welfare of the people of Asia as the true foundation for peace in the area. So to state the matter seems to me to overlook some basic considerations. The fact is that security and defence arrangements are indispensable in creating and guaranteeing the conditions of order and stability within which economic programmes, both domestic and international in character, can be formulated and brought to successful fruition. This cannot be done in conditions of chaos and fear. In turn, as life takes on more promise for the peoples of the area so will their resolve grow to maintain by their own efforts their freedom and independence. So, also, will their will and capacity grow to forge new and additional defensive links.

The past decade has already seen encouraging growth in some countries, despite the background of war devastation and internal Communist insurrection in the region. A continuing period of stability and constructive co-operation can carry this growth much further. We in Australia have our own evidence of what can be achieved under conditions of stability as compared with the long years of the depression and the war.

The concept of stability which I hold is not a concept which is resistant to change and progress. The countries of South-East Asia have in fact been through a period of sweeping change in the transition to independence and self-governing institutions, a process which Australia has consistently supported. But where is the real evidence of progress in South-East Asia today? Development, change, and modernisation are strikingly apparent in those countries which have attained stability, which offer expanding opportunities to their people, and which have entered into co-operative relationships in a variety of fields with each other and with countries outside the region. None of this is incompatible with their national aspirations or the preservation of their own identity.

I should like to illustrate what I am saying by referring to the Philippines from which I have just returned. The Philippines has achieved its national independence and it enjoys stable institutions. Its leaders are conscious of the challenges which accompany national independence.

President Macapagal said in his last Independence Day address that it is not enough to regard the achievements of national liberation and independence as an end in itself. He deplored situations—and I use his words—“where the political power wrested from the hands of the alien ruler is merely transferred to native hands while it is not used to free the people from their continuing bondage, poverty, ignorance and disease. Until that power is so used, true freedom is denied to the people”.

The Philippines is a country with a population touching on 30 million people and with a rate of increase in the growth of population of well over 3 per cent a year, one of the highest in the world. It has its serious economic problems, but it is grappling with them strenuously. Practical problems affecting the lives and the welfare of the people—economic development, employment and rural progress—are now in the foreground of Philippines national life. Impressive progress is being made. Significant elements of industrialisation are entering the economy with manufacturing output now making up about 20 per cent of the national income. Given the rising national income, the relatively high level of domestic capital formation and the prevalence of educational and modern technical training facilities, further economic development and growth is assured so long as international stability and security are preserved.

The government firmly supports SEATO as an effective instrument for collective security in South-East Asia. This does not mean of course that the government rests exclusively on SEATO nor that other valuable groupings of countries in the defense and security fields are not possible and should not be sought. The search for a valid and enduring system of security in South-East Asia has far from ended and I am convinced that successive Australian governments have a significant part to play in exploring and promoting suitable arrangements. In the field of security, Australia's associations in the region are of proven value and worth. In economic, technical and social fields our contacts and links have multiplied rapidly.

In my view genuine and lasting stability and with it economic and social advancement will grow from this strengthening fabric of these interacting treaties and associations. Australia does not shrink from appropriate and constructive participation in them; and in these SEATO is the instance to which I have particularly addressed myself.

NINTH COUNCIL MEETING OF SEATO: FINAL COMMUNIQUE

THE Council of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization held its ninth meeting in Manila from 13th to 15th April, 1964, under the chairmanship of the Honourable Salvador P. Lopez, Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Philippines. The inaugural address was delivered by the Honourable Diosdado Macapagal, President of the Republic of the Philippines.

General Observations

The council discussed the international situation with particular attention to the conditions existing in the treaty area at the close of SEATO's first decade. It was agreed that SEATO has had, and continues to have, a most important stabilizing influence in South-East Asia.

The council noted that, while the member nations of the alliance have continued over the past year to enjoy peaceful progress and national security, the Communist threat remains. The council studied the various manifestations of this threat in the treaty area and the means required to combat them. Despite the sharpening of the Sino-Soviet dispute, world domination remains the aim of Communism and thus vigilance must not be relaxed. In addition to measures to deter overt aggression and active insurgency, there should continue to be emphasis on the development of economic and social conditions which strengthen national resistance to subversion.

Re-affirming that the determination of national policy rests with individual governments, the council declared that material support and encouragement should be given to those nations which, in defending themselves, need and request such support.

Republic of Viet Nam

The council surveyed with special attention the situation in Viet Nam. It noted the efforts made there to check increasing subversive and aggressive activities and expressed its continuing deep interest and sympathy for the Government and people of Viet Nam in their struggle.

The council expressed grave concern about the continuing Communist aggression against the Republic of Viet Nam, a protocol state under the terms of the Manila Pact. Documentary and material evidence continues to show that this organized campaign is directed, supplied and supported by the Communist regime in North Viet Nam, in flagrant violation of the Geneva Accords in 1954 and 1962.

The government and people of the Republic of Viet Nam have given eloquent testimony to their determination to fight for their country. The council affirmed its confidence that the program of political and administrative reform, military action, pacification, and economic and social development recently instituted by the government of the Republic of Viet Nam, together with the support it is receiving from member nations of SEATO and from other nations in the Free World, will greatly enhance the ability of the Vietnamese people to defeat the Communist campaign and will at the same time improve their prospects for a better life.

The council agreed that the members of SEATO should remain prepared, if necessary, to take further concrete steps within their respective capabilities in fulfilment of their obligations under the treaty.

The council agreed that the defeat of the Communist campaign is essential not only to the security of the Republic of Viet Nam, but to that of South-East Asia. It will also be convincing proof that Communist expansion by such tactics will not be permitted.

The French council member, while expressing the sympathy and friendship of France for the Vietnamese people, who for such a long time have been undergoing such severe trials and who aspire towards real independence, stated that under the present serious circumstances it was wise to abstain from any declaration.

Laos

The council expressed concern that the achievement of a neutral and independent Government of National Union in Laos is being jeopardized by repeated violations of the Geneva Agreement of 1962, particularly by North Vietnamese military assistance and intervention and by repeated Pathet Lao attacks. It is urged that the International Control Commission be accorded the necessary facilities to fulfill its duty, under the provisions of that agreement, of investigating violations in all parts of the kingdom. It is agreed to keep the situation under close scrutiny.

Counter-Subversion

The council noted that regional members of the alliance continue to be prime targets for Communist subversion, but that effective counter-measures are being taken by the respective governments to prevent the exploitation of vulnerable areas. SEATO has assisted in the co-ordination of material and other aid provided at the request of member countries.

Interests of Member States

The council noted the anxiety expressed by certain member countries for due consideration of their individual problems in the context of the region as a whole, keeping in view the provisions of the Manila Pact. In this connexion, the council noted the observation of the President of the Philippines that the interests of member states should not be placed at a disadvantage in relation to those of non-member states.

The council heard full reports from its various members about problems of interest to members involving their relations with non-member states.

Economic, Medical and Cultural Co-operation

The council reviewed the progress made by existing SEATO civil projects, and agreed that other proposals should be examined through which SEATO might make similar contributions to the welfare of the region.

The SEATO General Medical Research Laboratory in Bangkok, the SEATO Clinical Research Centre in Bangkok, and the SEATO Cholera Research Laboratory in Dacca are investigating and publishing the causes, treatment and control of diseases.

The SEATO Regional Community Development Technical Assistance Centre in Ubol, Thailand, is developing techniques and disseminating information on economic self-help and local development.

The SEATO Graduate School of Engineering in Bangkok, plays an important part in the development of trained personnel needed in the region. The council directed that a study should be made of the financing of the school so as to ensure its future as a regional institution of higher learning.

The skilled labour projects in the Asian member countries are helping to provide skilled manpower for the developing industrial plants of the Asian member nations.

The council also reviewed the program for cultural co-operation and agreed that the established practice of awarding research fellowships, post-graduate and undergraduate scholarships and professorships is contributing to the advancement of knowledge and to international cultural relations.

Military Planning and Exercises

The council recorded its conviction that adequate defences, individual and collective, are essential to the maintenance of security. The experience gained from regular and systematic military planning among the eight member nations and from the conduct of military exercises, of which 25 have been held to date, is one of the most important and valuable assets of the alliance.

The council commended the conduct of the military defence exercises held during the past year, including the civic action programs which were of direct benefit to the local population.

The council approved the report of the military advisers, and noted with satisfaction that the Military Planning Office had revised and refined defence plans in the light of changing or anticipated situations.

Staff Changes

The council expressed its deep appreciation to His Excellency Mr Pote Sarasin, who served as Secretary-General from the creation of that position in 1957 until his resignation in December, 1963, upon his appointment as a member of the cabinet of Thailand. The council took especial recognition of his skill and untiring efforts in improving and strengthening the organization and of the eminent contribution he made to the cause of collective security.

The council conveyed its gratitude to Mr William Worth, whose tenure of office as Deputy Secretary-General and chairman of the permanent working group ends shortly after the conclusion of the council meeting. It commended him for his outstanding and dedicated service during the seven years he has held those positions.

The council welcomed the incumbent Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr Konthi Suphamongkhon, who was appointed in February of this year. It also welcomed Mr David Wraight, who has been appointed to succeed Mr Worth.

Secretariat-General

The council expressed its warm appreciation to the staff of the organization for their valuable services.

Next Meeting

The council accepted with pleasure the invitation of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom to hold its next meeting in London in 1965.