

by human society as a permissible form of state action.

We have to scotch this dangerous illusion. Assistance given across frontiers in support of local revolts is as great a violation of the basic rights of nations and the basic concepts of international law as invasion by any other means. Every form of outside interference by force is aggressive. Unchecked, it will lead by escalation to general war. Today, we cannot afford any "permissible" kinds of international violence. All must be outlawed.

As I see it, the struggle in Southeast Asia today is basically an attempt to establish the principle that armed assistance from outside to "wars of national liberation" constitutes aggression and must be checked.

How to do this is the concern of the whole international community. It follows, therefore, that the whole community has a responsibility to see that such situations are brought under control. If a single power has to undertake this task, there arises the danger of widening the struggle into general war. So the nations of the world must be ready to produce an alternative.

Such an alternative could lie in the international community itself taking over the responsibility of sealing off frontiers against guerilla infiltration and massively and effectively - and I mean effectively - policing and enforcing international agreements that aim to check and control local hostilities. If the Geneva agreements of 1954 had provided for supervision and policing and enforcement in this way, infiltration of Laos and South Vietnam from outside could have been checked in time.

Today, therefore, the aim of the international community must be to secure conditions in Southeast Asia in which, under international control and international supervision and effective international policing, the states in that area can work out their own affairs and conduct their own policies without interference from any neighbour or any outside power.

If, out of the present awful risk of escalation, we can move to such an international settlement, then the United States can be spared the onerous and ungrateful task of acting alone against aggression, and the world will have taken one more step towards the effective and impartial organization of international peace.

If diplomatic negotiations could be held on the basis I have just outlined, then the resumption of the Geneva Conference of 1954 would be well worth while.

We must seize this opportunity, from the danger we face, before it is too late.

Mr. Chairman, speaking to this Society on March 7, 1952, as Secretary of State for External Affairs of my country, and when the Korean situation seemed dark and dangerous, I said this:

"It would be a great tragedy if our policies should diverge on these Asian questions. It is as important to work together in the Pacific