

*Supply—External Affairs*

now because the only result would be that the Viet Cong would win, or the neutralists would win and neither one is acceptable to us. The Americans backed him up.

I want to know what is the American policy. We have heard the puppet premier of South Viet Nam, backed by American power and kept in power by American arms, saying that the neutralists would not be acceptable. The Americans have said they went in to stabilize the situation, to advise the neutralists so that elections could be held and these people could choose the type of government they wanted. The actual fact is that those elections have not been held, that in fact the objective is to make sure they do not have freedom of choice. The objective is that they will have the anti-communist government that the Americans insist upon because apparently this is the only way we can stop the tide of communism from taking over all of the Far East. What nonsense.

I do not know where the silly idea started that communism is like a battlefield with the battle lines drawn and a line marking the danger area wherein communism must be contained. I always thought communism was a sort of insidious thing that creeps into a country and feeds on the false and the corrupt. I have always thought communism did not need any help from outside, that it fattens on the stupidity, arrogance, cruelty and incompetence of governments. It is the sort of thing that is fed and fattened by our failure to have faith in our democratic system, by our own failure to really use and practise those ideals on which our democratic system is based.

Communism can creep into any country where democracy is based on sham and hypocrisy, where we say we have respect for the people's right of self-determination but what we mean is that they will have self-determination as long as they do what we say. Communism can creep into any country where we say we have faith in a system of justice which eschews justice and where we resort to force to enforce our will. This is the stuff on which communism feeds.

I do not know where this so-called battlefield is and just why a neighbour of a communist country must of necessity be in greater danger of communism than any other country. Every country is in danger of communism; it does not matter whether its next door neighbour is communist or whether communism is three states away. What will

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assist communism is the sort of stupidity that says that so long as we tell everybody that the horrible things we do are in the name of anti-communism it must be right and this is the way to stop communism. Then communism will grow.

I suggest that the greatest ally communism has—and it is a system with so many faults that I do not know why we fear it so much—is our failure to criticize ourselves. Indeed, people should realize that the essence of our democratic system, the very fibre and strength of our system, is self-criticism. The only reason democracy can afford the luxury of freedom of speech, which allows anyone to tear it apart as much as they can, is that this is its greatest strength. Because we do tear it apart and thereby reveal our weaknesses we make it stronger as it is supposed to be. Yet what do we get from tearing ourselves apart and trying to improve? We get this nonsense about how bad the communists are instead of realizing how we are failing to practise what we preach, how little we really are doing to bring to others the benefits of this great system we enjoy, under which we live and to which we pay only lip service.

I suggest that the situation in South Viet Nam is such that there is now no hope that in that country there will be anything but a communist government, no matter what happens. If the Americans had never gone in there I think the odds are that the revolutionary government would probably have been dominated by the communists, if not a completely communist government. But after all these years of fighting there is no doubt in the world that there will be no hope of anything but a communist government there because of American intervention.

As I say, Mr. Chairman, the longer the war goes on the more will faith in democracy be destroyed in those struggling nations around the world which we would like to help and the greater will become the chance that communism will spread because those countries will have no faith in democracy. The American action in South Viet Nam is a denial of everything in which we believe in a democracy. It is a denial of everything we have subscribed to in the United Nations charter. It is going to be a complete failure in South Viet Nam. I say "we" because our friends and allies are murdering many people every day, causing untold suffering every day by following a policy which can have no military success, a