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LETTER DATED 15 NOVEMBER 1966 FROM THE REPRESENTATIVES OF AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, THE PHILIPPINES, THAILAND AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AND FROM THE PERMANENT OBSERVERS OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA AND THE REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM, ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

Conscious of the deep desire which you and Members of the United Nations have to bring about a settlement of the conflict in Viet-Nam, we - representatives of the seven Governments which participated in the Manila Summit Conference - are transmitting herewith the texts of the three statements issued at that Conference on 25 October 1966: the Goals of Freedom, the Joint Communiqué and the Declaration of Peace and Progress in Asia and the Pacific.

These documents attest, inter alia, to the joint determination of our Governments to secure the freedom of South Viet-Nam, to pursue any avenue which could lead to a just peace, and to ensure that the people of South Viet-Nam shall, in the words of the Joint Communiqué, "enjoy the inherent right to choose their own way of life and their own form of government". They attest further to the unity of purpose of our Governments in looking to a peaceful and prosperous future for all of Asia and the Pacific.

Having in mind that the Security Council remains seized of the situation in Viet-Nam, we request that this letter and its enclosures be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

On behalf of the Host Government and
Chairman of the Manila Summit
Conference

(Signed) Salvador P. Lopez
Permanent Representative of the Philippines
to the United Nations

On behalf of the other participants
in the Manila Summit Conference

(Signed) Patrick Shaw
Permanent Representative of Australia
to the United Nations

(Signed) Frank Corner
Permanent Representative of New Zealand
to the United Nations

(Signed) Yong Shik Kim
Permanent Observer of the Republic of Korea
to the United Nations

(Signed) Nguyen-Duy-Lien
Permanent Observer of the Republic of Viet-Nam
to the United Nations

(Signed) Anand Panyarachun
Chargé d'Affaires a.i., Permanent Mission of
Thailand to the United Nations

(Signed) Arthur J. Goldberg
Permanent Representative of the
United States of America
to the United Nations

Enclosures:

1. Goals of Freedom
2. Joint Communiqué
3. Declaration of Peace and Progress
in Asia and the Pacific

TEXT OF STATEMENT "GOALS OF FREEDOM" ISSUED AT THE MANILA SUMMIT CONFERENCE
(on 25 October 1966)

We, the seven nations gathered in Manila, declare our unity, our resolve, and our purpose in seeking together the goals of freedom in Viet-Nam and in the Asian and Pacific areas. They are:

1. To be free from aggression.
2. To conquer hunger, illiteracy, and disease.
3. To build a region of security, order, and progress.
4. To seek reconciliation and peace throughout Asia and the Pacific.

TEXT OF THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AT THE MANILA SUMMIT CONFERENCE,
MANILA, THE PHILIPPINES
(on 25 October 1966)

Introduction

1. In response to an invitation from the President of the Republic of the Philippines, after consultations with the President of the Republic of Korea and the Prime Ministers of Thailand and the Republic of Viet-Nam, the leaders of seven nations in the Asian and Pacific region held a summit conference in Manila on 24 and 25 October 1966, to consider the conflict in South Viet-Nam and to review their wider purposes in Asia and the Pacific. The participants were Prime Minister Harold Holt of Australia, President Park Chung Hee of the Republic of Korea, Prime Minister Keith Holyoake of New Zealand, President Ferdinand E. Marcos of the Philippines, Prime Minister Thanom Kittikachorn of Thailand, President Lyndon B. Johnson of the United States of America, and Chairman Nguyen Van Thieu and Prime Minister Nguyen Cao Ky of the Republic of Viet-Nam.

Basic Policy

2. The nations represented at this conference are united in their determination that the freedom of South Viet-nam be secured, in their resolve for peace, and in their deep concern for the future of Asia and the Pacific. Some of us are now close to the actual danger, while others have learned to know its significance through bitter past experience. This conference symbolizes our common purposes and high hopes.

3. We are united in our determination that the South Viet-Namese people shall not be conquered by aggressive force and shall enjoy the inherent right to choose their own way of life and their own form of Government. We shall continue our military and all other efforts, as firmly and as long as may be necessary, in close consultation among ourselves until the aggression is ended.

4. At the same time our united purpose is peace - peace in South Viet-Nam and in the rest of Asia and the Pacific. Our common commitment is to the defence of the South Viet-Namese people. Our sole demand on the leaders of North Viet-Nam is that they abandon their aggression. We are prepared to pursue any avenue which could lead to a secure and just peace, whether through discussion and negotiation or through reciprocal actions by both sides to reduce the violence.

5. We are united in looking to a peaceful and prosperous future for all of Asia and the Pacific. We have therefore set forth in a separate declaration a statement of the principles that guide our common actions in this wider sphere.
6. Actions taken in pursuance of the policies herein stated shall be in accordance with our respective constitutional processes.

Progress and Programmes in South Viet-Nam
The Military Effort

7. The Government of Viet-Nam described the significant military progress being made against aggression. It noted with particular gratitude the substantial contribution being made by free world force.
8. None the less, the leaders noted that the movement of forces from North Viet-Nam continues at a high rate and that firm military action and free world support continue to be required to meet the threat. The necessity for such military action and support must depend for its size and duration on the intensity and duration of the communist aggression itself.
9. In their discussion, the leaders reviewed the problem of prisoners of war. The participants observed that Hanoi has consistently refused to co-operate with the International Committee of the Red Cross in the application of the Geneva Conventions, and called on Hanoi to do so. They reaffirmed their determination to comply fully with the Geneva Conventions of 1949 for the Protection of War Victims, and welcomed the resolution adopted by the Executive Committee of the League of Red Cross Societies on 8 October 1966, calling for compliance with the Geneva Conventions in the Viet-Nam conflict, full support for the International Committee of the Red Cross, and immediate action to repatriate seriously sick and wounded prisoners of war. They agreed to work toward the fulfilment of this resolution, in co-operation with the International Committee of the Red Cross, and indicated their willingness to meet under the auspices of the ICRC or in any appropriate forum to discuss the immediate exchange of prisoners.

Pacification and Revolutionary Development

10. The participating Governments concentrated particular attention on the accelerating efforts of the Government of Viet-Nam to forge a social revolution of hope and progress. Even as the conflict continues, the effort goes forward to overcome the tyranny of poverty, disease, illiteracy and social injustice.
11. The Viet-Nameese leaders stated their intent to train and assign a substantial share of the armed forces to clear-and-hold actions in order to provide a shield behind which a new society can be built.
12. In the field of revolutionary development, measures along the lines developed in the past year and a half will be expanded and intensified. The training of revolutionary development cadres will be improved. More electricity and good water will be provided. More and better schools will be built and staffed. Refugees will be taught new skills. Health and medical facilities will be expanded.
13. The Viet-Nameese Government declared that it is working out a series of measures to modernize agriculture and to assure the cultivator the fruits of his labours. Land reform and tenure provisions will be granted top priority. Agricultural credit will be expanded. Crops will be improved and diversified.
14. The Viet-Nameese leaders emphasized that underlying these measures to build confidence and co-operation among the people there must be popular conviction that honesty, efficiency and social justice form solid corner-stones of the Viet-Nameese Government's programmes.
15. This is a programme each of the conferring Governments has reason to applaud recognizing that it opens a brighter hope for the people of Viet-Nam. Each pledged its continuing assistance according to its means, whether in funds or skilled technicians or equipment. They noted also the help in non-military fields being given by other countries and expressed the hope that this help will be substantially increased.

Economic Stability and Progress

16. The Conference was told of the success of the Government of Viet-Nam in controlling the inflation which, if unchecked, could undercut all efforts to bring a more fulfilling life to the Viet-Nameese people. However, the Viet-Nameese

leaders reaffirmed that only by constant effort could inflation be kept under control. They described their intention to enforce a vigorous stabilization programme, to control spending, increase revenues, and seek to promote savings in order to hold the 1967 inflationary gap to the minimum practicable level. They also plan to take further measures to insure maximum utilization of the port of Saigon, so that imports urgently needed to fuel the military effort and buttress the civil economy can flow rapidly into Viet-Nam.

17. Looking to the long-term future of their richly endowed country, the Viet-Nameese representatives described their views and plans for the building of an expanded post-war economy.

18. Military installations where appropriate will be converted to this purpose, and plans for this will be included.

19. The conferring nations reaffirmed their continuing support for Viet-Nameese efforts to achieve economic stability and progress. Thailand specifically noted its readiness to extend substantial new credit assistance for the purchase of rice and the other nations present reported a number of plans for the supply of food or other actions related to the economic situation. At the same time the participants agreed to appeal to other nations and to international organizations committed to the full and free development of every nation, for further assistance to the Republic of Viet-Nam.

Political Evolution

20. The representative of Viet-Nam noted that, even as the conference met, steps were being taken to establish a new constitutional system for the Republic of Viet-Nam through the work of the Constituent Assembly, chosen by so large a proportion of the electorate last month.

21. The Viet-Nameese representatives stated their expectation that work on the constitution would go forward rapidly and could be completed before the deadline of March 1967. The constitution will then be promulgated and elections will be held within six months to select a representative government.

22. The Viet-Nameese Government believes that the democratic process must be strengthened at the local as well as the national level. The Government of Viet-Nam announced that to this end it will begin holding village and hamlet elections at the beginning of 1967.

23. The Government of Viet-Nam announced that it is preparing a programme of national reconciliation. It declared its determination to open all doors to those Viet-Nameese who have been misled or coerced into casting their lot with the Viet-Cong. The Government seeks to bring them back to participate as free men in national life under amnesty and other measures. Former enemies are asked only to lay down their weapons and bring their skills to the service of the South Viet-Nameese people.

24. The other participating nations welcomed the stated expectation of the Viet-Nameese representatives that work on the constitution will proceed on schedule, and concurred in the conviction of the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam that building representative, constitutional government and opening the way for national reconciliation are indispensable to the future of a free Viet-Nam.

The Search for Peace

25. The participants devoted a major share of their deliberations to peace objectives and the search for a peaceful settlement in South Viet-Nam. They reviewed in detail the many efforts for peace that have been undertaken, by themselves and other nations, and the actions of the United Nations and of His Holiness the Pope. It was clearly understood that the settlement of the war in Viet-Nam depends on the readiness and willingness of the parties concerned to explore and work out together a just and reasonable solution. They noted that Hanoi still showed no sign of taking any step toward peace, either by action or by entering into discussions or negotiations. Nevertheless, the participants agreed that the search for peace must continue.

26. The Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam declared that the Viet-Nameese people, having suffered the ravages of war for more than two decades, were second to none in their desire for peace. It welcomes any initiative that will lead to an end to hostilities, preserve the independence of South Viet-Nam and protect the right to choose their own way of life.

27. So that their aspirations and position would be clear to their allies at Manila and friends everywhere, the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam solemnly stated its views as to the essential elements of peace in Viet-Nam as follows:

(1) Cessation of Aggression. At issue in Viet-Nam is a struggle for the preservation of values which people everywhere have cherished since the dawn of history: the independence of peoples and the freedom of individuals. The people of South Viet-Nam ask only that the aggression that threatens their independence and the externally supported terror that threatens their freedom be halted. No self-respecting people can ask for less. No peace-loving nation should ask for more.

(2) Preservation of the Territorial Integrity of South Viet-Nam. The people of South Viet-Nam are defending their own territory against those seeking to obtain by force and terror what they have been unable to accomplish by peaceful means. While sympathizing with the plight of their brothers in the North and while disdaining the régime in the North, the South Viet-Namese people have no desire to threaten or harm the people of the North or invade their country.

(3) Reunification of Viet-Nam. The Government and people of South Viet-Nam deplore the partition of Viet-Nam into North and South. But this partition brought about by the Geneva Agreements of 1954, however unfortunate and regrettable, will be respected until, by the free choice of all Viet-Namese, reunification is achieved.

(4) Resolution of Internal Problems. The people of South Viet-Nam seek to resolve their own internal differences and to this end are prepared to engage in a programme of national reconciliation. When the aggression has stopped, the people of South Viet-Nam will move more rapidly toward reconciliation of all elements in the society and will move forward, through the democratic process, toward human dignity, prosperity and lasting peace.

(5) Removal of Allied Military Forces. The people of South Viet-Nam will ask their allies to remove their forces and evacuate their installations as the military and subversive forces of North Viet-Nam are withdrawn, infiltration ceases, and the level of violence thus subsides.

(6) Effective Guarantees. The people of South Viet-Nam, mindful of their experience since 1954, insist that any negotiations leading to the end of hostilities incorporate effective international guarantees. They are open-minded as to how such guarantees can be applied and made effective.

28. The other participating Governments reviewed and endorsed these as essential elements of peace and agreed they would act on this basis in close consultation among themselves in regard to settlement of the conflict.

29. In particular, they declared that allied forces are in the Republic of Viet-Nam because that country is the object of aggression and its Government requested support in the resistance of its people to aggression. They shall be withdrawn, after close consultation, as the other side withdraws its forces to the North, ceases infiltration, and the level of violence thus subsides. Those forces will be withdrawn as soon as possible and not later than six months after the above conditions have been fulfilled.

Continuing Consultation Among the Participating
Nations

30. All the participants agreed that the value of a meeting among the seven nations had been abundantly demonstrated by the candid and thorough discussions held. It was further agreed that, in addition to the close consultation already maintained through diplomatic channels, there should be regular meetings among their Ambassadors in Saigon in association with the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam. Meetings of their Foreign Ministers and Heads of Government will also be held as required.

31. At the close of the meeting, all the visiting participants expressed their deep gratitude to President Marcos and to the Government of the Republic of the Philippines for offering Manila as the conference site, and expressed their appreciation for the highly efficient arrangements.

TEXT OF THE DECLARATION OF PEACE AND PROGRESS IN ASIA AND THE
PACIFIC ISSUED AT THE MANILA CONFERENCE
(on 25 October 1966)

We the leaders of the seven nations gathered in Manila:
desiring peace and progress in the Asian-Pacific region;
having faith in the purposes and principles of the United Nations which
call for the suppression of acts of aggression and respect for the principle
of equal rights and self-determination of peoples;
determined that aggression should not be rewarded;
respecting the right of all peoples to choose and maintain their own forms
of government;
seeking a peaceful settlement of the war in Viet-Nam; and
being greatly encouraged by the growing regional understanding and regional
co-operation among the free nations of Asia and the Pacific

hereby proclaim this declaration of principles on which we base our hopes
for future peace and progress in the Asian and Pacific region:

I. Aggression must not succeed.

The peace and security of Asia and the Pacific and, indeed, of the entire
world, are indivisible. The nations of the Asian and Pacific region shall enjoy
their independence and sovereignty free from aggression, outside interference,
or the domination of any nation. Accepting the hard-won lessons of history that
successful aggression anywhere endangers the peace, we are determined to fulfil
our several commitments under the United Nations Charter and various mutual
security treaties so that aggression in the region of Asia and the Pacific
shall not succeed.

II. We must break the bonds of poverty, illiteracy and disease.

In the region of Asia and the Pacific, where there is a rich heritage of the
intrinsic worth and dignity of every man, we recognize the responsibility of
every nation to join in an expanding offensive against poverty, illiteracy and
disease. For these bind men to lives of hopelessness and despair; these are the
roots of violence and war. It is when men know that progress is possible and is
being achieved, when they are convinced that their children will lead better,
fuller, richer lives, that men lift up their heads in hope and pride. Only thus
can there be lasting national stability and international order.

III. We must strengthen economic, social and cultural co-operation within the Asian and Pacific region.

Together with our other partners of Asia and the Pacific, we will develop the institutions and practice of regional co-operation. Through sustained effort we aim to build in this vast area, where almost two-thirds of humanity live, a region of security and order and progress, realizing its common destiny in the light of its own traditions and aspirations. The peoples of this region have the right as well as the primary responsibility to deal with their own problems and to shape their own future in terms of their own wisdom and experience. Economic and cultural co-operation for regional development should be open to all countries in the region, irrespective of creed or ideology, which genuinely follow a policy of peace and harmony among all nations. Nations outside the region will be welcomed as partners working for the common benefit and their co-operation will be sought in forms consonant with the independence and dignity of the Asian and Pacific nations.

A peaceful and progressive Asia, in which nations are able to work together for the common good, will be a major factor in establishing peace and prosperity throughout the world and improving the prospects of international co-operation and a better life for all mankind.

IV. We must seek reconciliation and peace throughout Asia.

We do not threaten the sovereignty or territorial integrity of our neighbours, whatever their ideological alignment. We ask only that this be reciprocated. The quarrels and ambitions of ideology and the painful frictions arising from national fears and grievances should belong to the past. Aggression rooted in them must not succeed. We shall play our full part in creating an environment in which reconciliation becomes possible, for in the modern world men and nations have no choice but to learn to live together as brothers.

