PRESS STATEMENT:
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NUCLEAR TEST BAN TREATY. — MALAYSIA.

During the winter recess two major events have occurred, both of which are of great significance to Australia. The first of these was the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty agreed to and signed by the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union. It is important to understand what this Treaty is and what it is not.

It bans the testing of nuclear weapons on the water, in the atmosphere or in outer space. These are the forms of test that pollute the earth's atmosphere with radioactive fallout. Scientific detection is now sufficiently accurate for the United States to know if the Russians are breaking this Treaty or for the Russians to know if the United States are breaking it without having observers on the spot. The Treaty does not ban underground tests. These do not involve radioactive fallout. Underground tests were excluded because it was not possible to identify them from minor earthquakes without having on-site inspections. The Soviet Union was not willing to accept on-site inspections at this stage.

Either country can withdraw from the Treaty under a major threat to its security. This is probably meant to cover the case in which one party breaks the Treaty in some way or another.

While in force this Treaty will effectively prevent the pollution of the atmosphere by nuclear explosions undertaken by the two great powers. More important than this, it is the first time that the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union have been able to agree on a major event that contributes to world peace. Thus, this Nuclear Test Ban Treaty should be regarded as a stepping-stone from which the great powers will try and do something further to lessen world tensions. This is essential because the Test Ban Treaty does not destroy stockpiles of atomic nuclear weapons. It does nothing to reduce the tremendous size of conventional arms. In itself it does nothing to solve the ideological problems and difficulties that lie between the East and the West. In addition, it should be recalled that this Treaty is not binding on other countries. France, seeking an independent nuclear deterrent of her own and Communist China, have both condemned this Treaty for differing reasons. That is because they are both determined to become nuclear powers.

Apart from the three negotiators — the United Kingdom, the United States and Soviet Russia — Australia has been the first country to add her signature to the Treaty. This shows the importance with which the Australian Government regards this whole question.

The Treaty is available for signature by any country wishing to keep to its terms. I understand 104 countries have indicated support for the Treaty so far.

There is no doubt that the main event which has moved Russia to come to this agreement with the Western countries has been the growing bitterness of the Soviet's quarrel with Communist China. It is important for us to understand the nature of this quarrel. The Soviet Union has, to all intents, given up the doctrine of the inevitability of war. Originally, the Communist doctrine held that war between the Communist countries and the democracies would one day be inevitable before Communism ruled the world. The Soviet Union now realises that too much is at stake — that her civilization and standard of life would be destroyed by another war as would the West's. Therefore, under Mr. Krushchev, the Soviet Union has come to adopt the view that the Soviet Union can overcome
the West, using all means short of war. This includes using trade as a political weapon and subversion. However, from the West's point of view, this is a situation that can be dealt with. The Communist Chinese have always condemned this change in the Russian attitude. They still say that war with the Western countries, with the democracies, is inevitable and that the Communists will win such a war. The Chinese may be clinging to this belief because even though they might lose over 300 million people in such a war they would have over 300 million left. Indeed, a third world war conducted in nuclear terms could make the Chinese the inheritors of the earth. It is to the West's advantage that this argument between the Russians and the Chinese continue, not only because it tends to drive a wedge between these two great Communist powers, but also because it divides Communist parties right round the world. The resignations from the Australian Communist Party that you will have seen reported in the press a couple of months ago had their cause in this conflict between the Russians and the Chinese.

However, no matter what the cause and what the reason, the West should welcome every move by the Russians which makes it possible to reach some agreement and thus reduce world tensions. The Nuclear Test Ban Treaty is a first step - in itself a small one - but if a little understanding and trust between the major powers result from this agreement, then other more positive steps towards more permanent peace may follow.

MALAYSIA

The other event which occurred and in which Australia is vitally interested concerns the formation of the new Malaysia. You will recall from the press reports that agreement was finally reached in Great Britain between Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and North Borneo over the terms of the new Federation of Malaysia. It is important to understand that the reason for this Federation is to weld these small countries together into a stronger Federation so that they may develop more rapidly and lead to a greater measure of security in this region.

For various reasons, earlier this year Indonesia's President spoke out very strongly against Malaysia. There were then discussions and extreme diplomatic activity which seemed to reduce the tension for a while, and it seemed as though Malaysia would be launched on the due date, August 31st, without further opposition from her giant neighbour Indonesia. However, these hopes were short-lived. Shortly after the final agreement had been announced between Britain, Malaya, Singapore and the present colonies of Sarawak and North Borneo, President Soekarno renewed his attack on Malaysia, accused the Tunku of breaking his word, and said that Indonesia would conduct her confrontation policy with vigour. Incidentally, this word "confrontation" is a useful one because nobody knows what it means. A conference was scheduled between the Prime Minister of Malaya, Tunku Abdul Rahman, President Soekarno of Indonesia and the Prime Minister of the Philippines. The three leaders attended this conference. As a result, we have some kind of hazy agreement under which it appears that Tunku Abdul Rahman has agreed to allow the United Nations to test public opinion in Sarawak and North Borneo before Malaysia is launched. There also seem to have been far-reaching agreements concerning possible confederation of the whole region. It is difficult to see what the effect of these will ultimately be.

If the agreement about United Nations' assessment of public opinion is undertaken quickly and if Malaysia is formed quickly thereafter, then no great harm may have been done. However, if the delay caused by this assessment gives rise to further delaying or confrontation tactics by Indonesia, it may well bode ill for Malaysia and for the whole region.
As I have said, quite frankly, I have had some sympathy for Indonesia over the West New Guinea issue because of past history and because of the behaviour of the Dutch. I have no sympathy, however, for any moves that might cause delay in the Malaysian Federation and it would be a tragedy for the stability of the whole region and for Australia if this is allowed to occur.
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