

which they must not fail to grasp, to search for and achieve an honourable and equitable and lasting settlement.

URGENCY OF LASTING SETTLEMENT

The consequences of failure to find a lasting settlement have never been more clearly evident than during the past few weeks. The Secretary-General stated the dangers starkly when he said:

Inherent in this situation are all of the phenomena — the aroused emotions, misunderstandings, long-pent-up resentments, suspicions, fears, frustrated aspirations and heightened national feelings — which throughout history have led to needless and futile wars.

In its resolution of September 20, the Security Council reaffirmed its responsibility to bring about a settlement of the political problem underlying the dispute. The Council has, of course, made attempts before. Indeed, 16 years ago, the Canadian representative, General MacNaughton, on the Security Council, in his capacity as President of that organ, played a special role in the search for a solution to the Kashmir problem, which was then two years old. The imperatives of the situation demand new efforts which should be pursued not only by the Security Council but also by every member state in a position to make a contribution to a solution....

CANADIAN ASSISTANCE

So far as Canada is concerned, we have, since the establishment of the Observer Group in 1949, provided military officers to serve along the cease-fire line in Kashmir. During the past 48 hours since the cease-fire was agreed on in the Security Council, the Canadian Government has been considering certain additional requests which have been addressed to us by the Secretariat. I have already announced the dispatch of ten additional Canadian observers to the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan itself. We shall also provide 12 observers for service with the new Observer Group and, in addition, a number of aircraft, a senior staff officer, and air crew for service with both observer groups in the region. In undertaking to meet these requests, the Government of Canada expects that the new Observer Group will, of course, be withdrawn as soon as changing circumstances in the area make this possible....

VIETNAM SITUATION

I come now to the situation in Vietnam. This situation has not arisen from any lack of clear international directives for achieving stability. If the cease-fire provisions agreed to in 1954 had been fully observed, the tragedy and danger we now face in that part of the world would not have occurred. But they were not observed.

One of the two basic provisions of the agreement was non-interference between the two zones, and it has been progressively disregarded. The ensuing instability, and the measures introduced to correct it have not resulted in any new and more satisfactory balance. Instead, as we all know, the situation has spiralled upwards, imposing untold suffering on the Vietnamese people and creating an increasing threat to the peace of the region and of the world.

There are obvious reasons why, up to now, the Security Council has been able to act over Kashmir but has been powerless to intervene usefully in Vietnam. Speaking for Canadians, I can say that it is a matter of deep concern that the United Nations has been prevented from effective action in the crisis in Vietnam. This is a test for the General Assembly of the United Nations. We cannot abdicate this responsibility in this grave situation. It is the duty of this Assembly, in our judgement, to express clearly and forcefully the collective conviction of the United Nations that the war in Vietnam must be brought to a negotiated settlement.

There can be no doubt of the right of the people concerned to settle their destiny free of intimidation, subversion and military pressure called liberation. Surely this is a cardinal principle of any settlement.

I can only trust that as the real issues in the Vietnam war become clearer to everyone, and as the realization of the common interest in ending the war grows, there will emerge a desire for compromise and negotiation. The United States response to the appeal of the unaligned nations last April established, in the view of my Government, the willingness of the United States to negotiate without pre-conditions for a settlement.

This Assembly of the United Nations must use whatever influence it has to help to bring about a negotiated settlement. Intransigence must yield to the appeals of justice and humanity. A military solution alone is neither practicable nor desirable. Once that is recognized, we can seek a mutual accommodation of interests and objectives and, above all, a guarantee that the people concerned will be able to proceed with the support and encouragement of the international community to choose for themselves the path they wish to follow....

KEEPING THE PEACE

Let me give you my Government's view on the future of peace keeping, and I think we have a right to give some advice on this matter because we have participated in every one of the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations. First, we cannot accept the proposition that the Charter reserves the preservation of peace and security exclusively to the permanent members of the Security Council, although...we do not for one moment question that co-operation among the great powers is fundamental to the full implementation of the Charter. But, in the absence of such co-operation, the membership as a whole must, in our view, have the opportunity to recommend what is to be done when no other course is open.

The Charter explicitly provides that the maintenance of international peace and security is a collective responsibility. This means that, when the United Nations acts to keep the peace, a general responsibility rests upon the membership to support that action. We have always believed that the logical consequence of this is an equitable system of sharing the financial burden. If it is right and proper for the Security Council to have the primary responsibility for decisions to establish peace-keeping operations, it is equally to be expected that the members of the