

**PRESS RELEASE**



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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES



**FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE  
FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1965**

Address by  
**THE HONOURABLE PAUL MARTIN,  
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS**

to the  
**20th Session of the United Nations  
General Assembly**

**September 24, 1965, in New York**



Mr. President:

I should like first of all to congratulate you on your election to presidency of the Assembly. The overwhelming support which you have received testifies to the high esteem in which you are held. The United Nations General Assembly is fortunate in having as its presiding officer a statesman of world stature and a political philosopher on international renown. As a member of Government of Canada, which has many close and friendly links with Italy, it gives me great pleasure to greet her distinguished representative at this time.

I wish also to welcome to our company the delegations of Gambia, the Maldives and Singapore. It is essential to the welfare and the future of this Organization that it should represent the peoples of the world wherever they have attained sovereign independence: the addition of these three new members marks a further step in achievement of its goal. Mr. President, we represent Governments pledged to the principles of the Charter; Governments capable of decisions and of actions which could, for the better, change the course of human history. As we start this 20th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, I propose to direct my attention to five of the major problems facing the world today:



First: the dispute over Kashmir;

Second: the war in Vietnam;

Third: the maintenance and strengthening of the peace-keeping and the peace-building capacity of the United Nations;

Fourth: disarmament and containment of the nuclear threat;

Fifth: means of maintaining the momentum of the international assault on poverty, ignorance and disease.

Before commenting on each of these problems, I would begin by saying that in Canada's view, the primary concern of the United Nations General Assembly must be with the disputes which at this moment are disturbing international relationships with incalculable consequences for world peace. It is a sobering reflection that twenty years after the foundation of an organization intended to establish and maintain peace and security we should have been confronted with wars, tragic in their reality and alarming in their implications.

How can we devote the attention which we all want to apply to the economic and social developments and to promotion of fruitful international cooperation when before us is the appalling spectacle of death and waste in war? Our spectrum of anxiety is world-wide for war in any region is an affront to our insistence on peace and a challenge to our crusade for collective security and human betterment.

Are we in danger of forgetting the harsh lessons of the past? How many times have we heard it proclaimed that war

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must no longer be an instrument of national policy? Pressures and temptations exist to breach this high principle; temptations to extend an area of influence or to intervene in internal affairs of other nations, even to seek to obtain an objective by use of force.

The conflicts with which we are faced in Asia at this moment differ in important and obvious respects. Their most significant common characteristic is that either situation could widen the area of conflict and create the danger of spreading war in Asia and beyond; the elimination of that risk is the supreme task of the international community and the supreme opportunity that lies before the United Nations.

#### KASHMIR

I turn now to the events which have gripped the world's attention in recent weeks -- the conflict between India and Pakistan.

The news that the ceasefire between India and Pakistan has come into effect has been received with profound relief throughout the world and nowhere more so than in Canada. During the previous seven weeks, the Canadian Government and the Canadian people had been saddened and dismayed by the rapid intensification of this tragic conflict between two countries, partners in Commonwealth, with which we have formed increasingly close bonds since they attained their independence. The Secretary General who in this matter has again served the United Nations

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with energy, imagination and wisdom received widespread support for his first appeal for a ceasefire. The support that his appeal commanded was demonstrated by the readiness with which a number of world leaders offered their services to assist in bringing about a ceasefire. The Prime Minister of Canada was among those who offered such assistance and I have his authority to say that should that assistance be desired by the parties in search for a negotiated settlement, it will be forthcoming.

The unanimity with which the Security Council adopted its resolutions on September 4 and 6 reflected the determination of all members of the Organization that fighting be stopped. The broad endorsement for these resolutions and firm support extended to <sup>the</sup> Secretary General as he carried out the mandate entrusted to him by the Council, gave further evidence of the fervent wish that bloodshed should cease.

The ceasefire which has been achieved was of course the first and paramount necessity. The world can now breathe more easily but the ceasefire is not enough. The United Nations and the Indian and Pakistani Governments now have a new opportunity, which they must not fail to grasp, to search for and achieve an honourable, equitable and lasting settlement.

The consequences of the 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 try to bring about a settlement of the political problem underlying the dispute. The Council has of course made attempts before. Indeed sixteen years ago the Canadian Representative, General MacNaughton, in his capacity as President of the Security Council played a special role in the search for a solution to the Kashmir problem then already 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.

The settlement, if it is to be durable, must carry the assent and acceptance, difficult though they may be to achieve, of both Pakistan and India. An arrangement which meets the aspirations of one side only will never provide a stable solution. Perhaps the most promising course might be for the United Nations to assist the two Governments to return to negotiation at the point where they last had agreement, picking up from there the difficult task of bringing an end to this grave dispute.

So far as Canada is concerned, we have, since the establishment of the Observer Group in 1949, provided military officers to serve along the ceasefire line in Kashmir. During the 48 hours since the ceasefire was agreed in 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 despatch of ten additional Canadian observers to the United Nations Military Observer Group for India and Pakistan itself. I am now authorized to say that the Canadian Government has agreed to provide the Commander of the new Observer Group which the Secretary General is establishing in pursuance of the Security Council Resolution of September 20. We shall also provide twelve observers for service with that group and in addition, a number of aircraft, a senior air 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.

Furthermore, as I have already indicated, if there are any ways in which Canada can assist in facilitating the initiation, continuation and, as we devoutly hope, completion of negotiations, we stand ready to do whatever we can.

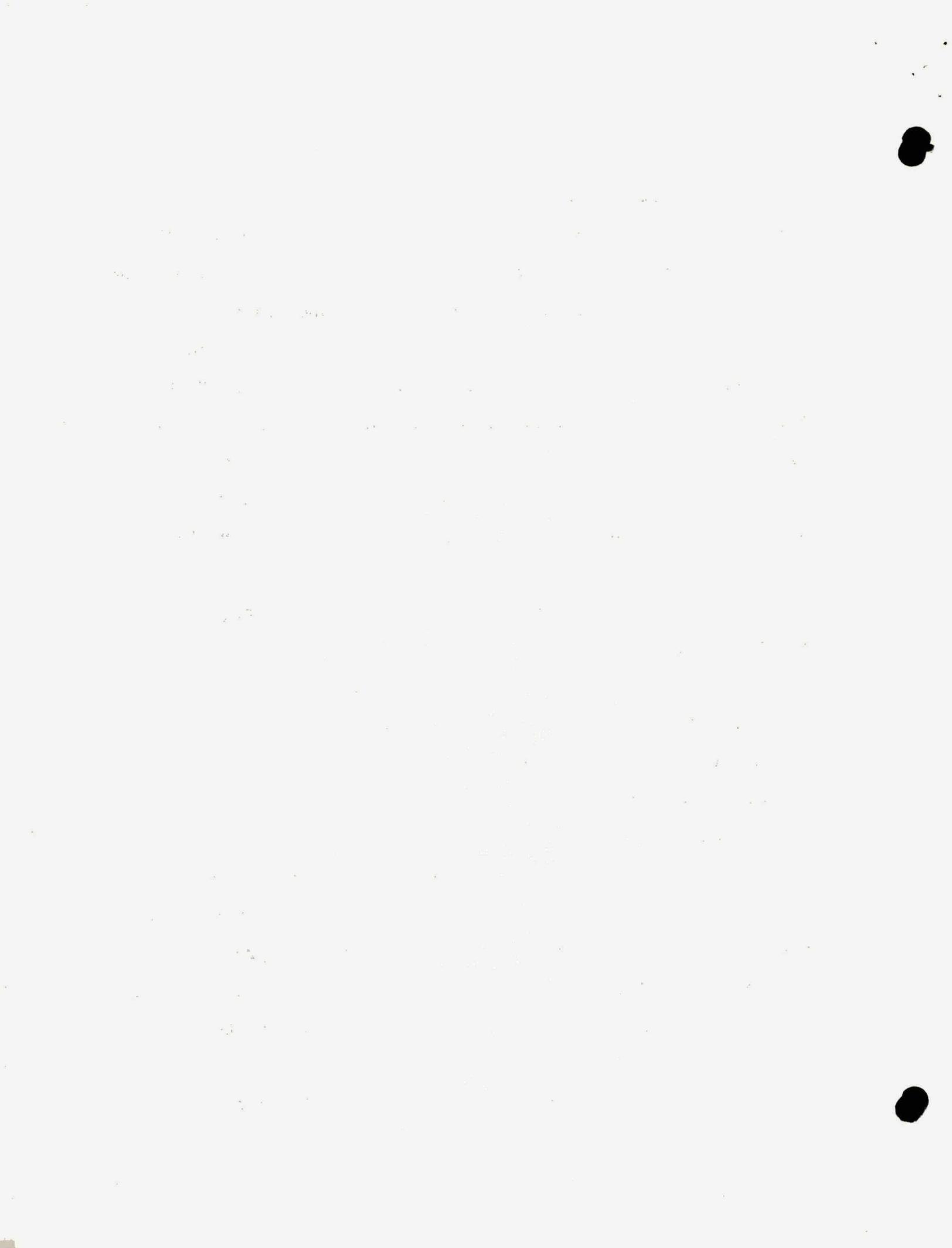


VIETNAM

The situation in Vietnam which I should now like to discuss has not arisen from any lack of clear international directives for achieving stability. If the ceasefire provisions agreed to in 1954 had been fully observed, the tragedy and danger we now face in that part of world would not have occurred. But they were not observed. One of the basic provisions of the agreement was non-interference 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, the situation has spiralled upwards imposing untold suffering on Vietnamese people and creating an increasing threat of 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 United Nations General Assembly. We cannot abdicate this responsibility in this grave situation. It is the duty of this Assembly 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



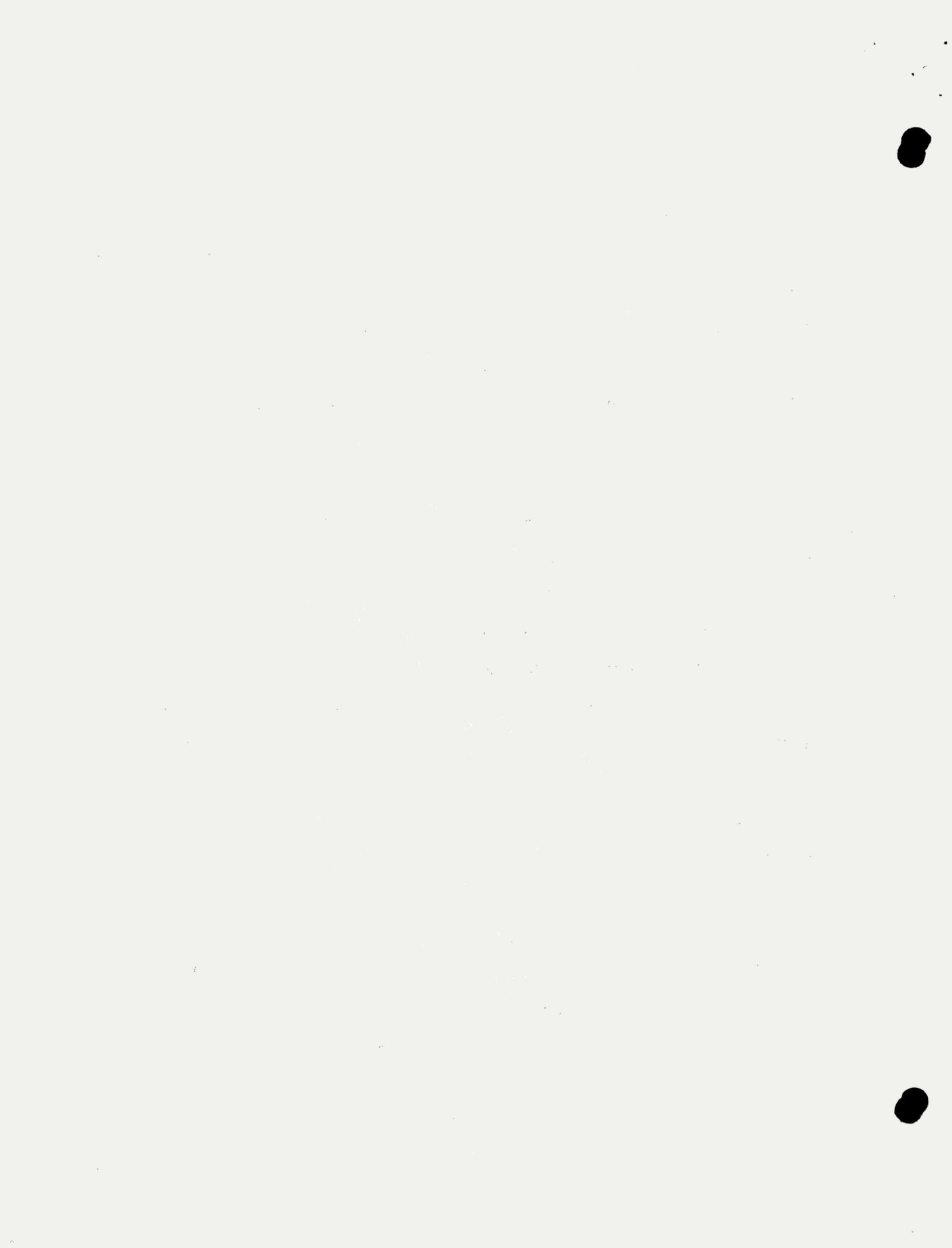
concerned to settle their destiny free of the intimidation, subversion and military pressure called liberation. Surely this is a cardinal principle of any settlement.

I can only trust, Mr. President, that as the real issues of the Vietnam war become clearer to everyone and as a realization of the common interest in ending the war grows, there will emerge a desire for compromise and negotiation. The U.S.A. response to the appeal of the unaligned nations last April established the willingness of the U.S.A. to negotiate, without preconditions, 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 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.

#### PEACEKEEPING

The third point which I wish to discuss, Mr. President, is that of peacekeeping. We are all aware that because of disagreement among the members of the Assembly over the financing of certain peacekeeping operations, the United Nations General Assembly has passed through a painful period of frustration. I will not recall the circumstances or attempt to ascribe responsibility. What is important is that the United Nations General Assembly is functioning normally again. A new period of creative



action lies before us. This prospect is a matter of deep satisfaction to <sup>the</sup> Canadian Government. For notwithstanding the acknowledged importance of the Article 19 issue, we have to consider that the vital need for the United Nations and for this Assembly to come to grips with compelling world problems was too great to permit its continued paralysis.

Let me give the Canadian Government's views on future of peacekeeping. 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 cooperation among them is fundamental to full implementation of the Charter. But in the absence of such cooperation, 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. Canada has 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 peacekeeping operations; it is equally to be expected that the members of the Council, and particularly the permanent members, should pay their rightful share of the cost, preferably on the basis of collective



assessment. But if this is not possible then contributions must be forthcoming voluntarily from each member to the best of its ability, in common acknowledgement of the obligation we all share to help keep the peace. The alternative is that the burden of peacekeeping will fall upon a few Member States. I have no doubt that this alternative will be categorically rejected by most Member States and that United Nations peacekeeping operations will not falter through lack of the necessary resources.

Our first and most immediate challenge is to restore the Organization to solvency. A number of nations including Canada have already demonstrated their faith that the membership as a whole will respond to this need and contributions approaching \$20,000,000 have been forthcoming. I am sure that in the course of the next few weeks the balance of the membership will respond in full measure to the Secretary General's appeal.

What further practical steps can be taken by the United Nations and by individual members to re-enforce the capacity of the Organization to keep the peace? Last year the Secretary General, in the introduction to his annual report, proposed a study of the advanced planning of peacekeeping operations. No action has been possible on this proposal but I would hope that the Organization will be able to come to grips with this problem in the months ahead.

A small number of countries have earmarked military units for United Nations service but without central planning

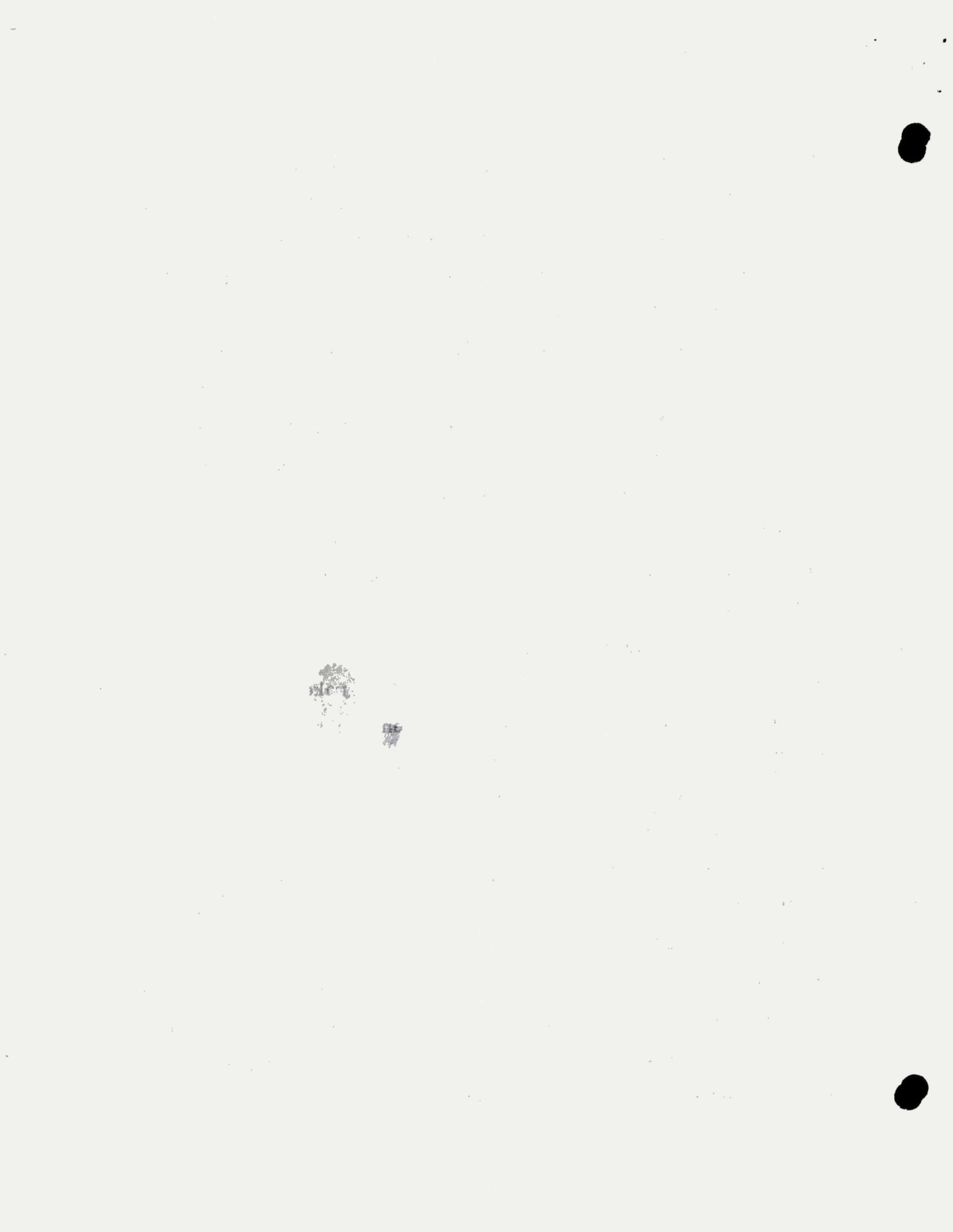


and without additional offers, the effectiveness of such measures is necessarily limited. Canada continues to believe that the earmarking of units with appropriate central co-ordination is a technique of value to our Organization in its task of keeping the peace.

Peacekeeping by itself is not enough. Peace-building, to use the Secretary General's phrase, is even more important. The Charter outlines a whole range of procedures for use in achieving the pacific settlement of disputes. The United Kingdom Government has inscribed an item on this subject and I wish to record the readiness of the Canadian Government to collaborate in studies to develop this important aspect of United Nations activity.

But machinery for peaceful settlement will be of no avail unless Governments are determined to make use of it when disputes arise. The time has come to ensure that peacekeeping is intimately linked with peaceful settlement.

The former, essential as it is, should not be permitted or divert the purposes of the latter. The precedent of providing for to obscure/mediation at the same time as for the despatch of a force, on the model of the first Security Council Resolution on Cyprus, is as good one. But it is important that related measures aimed at achieving a political settlement be vigorously pursued. Parties to a dispute should not expect to enjoy the benefits of United Nations intervention without accepting the responsibility to settle their differences and thus facilitate the earliest possible termination of peacekeeping measures.



## DISARMAMENT

From peacekeeping I should like to turn to disarmament as another field of the greatest importance to the United Nations. Member nations are agreed that general and complete disarmament is a goal we must reach in order to have a secure and peaceful world. This goal was spelled out in a Resolution adopted by this Assembly in 1959. This remains our goal. We have tried over the years to make progress towards it. When agreement on general disarmament eluded us we turned our attention to collateral measures. We have come to recognize that while we have been exploring this path, the underlying peril has been growing. Nuclear weapons are now in the possession not of one power or two but five and many other Governments are acknowledged to have the capacity to make them.

The Secretary General in his report of September 20 has described the spread of nuclear weapons as the most urgent question of the present time. He has urged that it should remain at the very top of the disarmament agenda. The Canadian Government fully supports this judgement.

Last August, the U.S.A. presented to the 18 Nation Disarmament Committee a Draft Treaty designed to stop the spread of nuclear weapons. Canada had a share in the preparation of this document. We hoped that the tabling of this Treaty which had been called for by many non-aligned nations would open the way to progress but we were disappointed. The U.S.S.R. refused to discuss the Draft Treaty saying that it would not stop dissemination as it would not prevent non-nuclear nations of the



North Atlantic Alliance from sharing in the control of nuclear weapons or in the planning of their use as a deterrent to aggression and war. This position of the U.S.S.R. does not seem to us a reasonable one. While the European members of the North Atlantic Alliance are under the threat of potential nuclear attack themselves, it cannot be argued that they should have no right to participate in decisions on how such an attack is to be deterred.

It has been made clear by the representatives of the non-aligned nations in the 18 Nation Disarmament Committee that the world cannot be permanently divided into nuclear and non-nuclear nations. Why, it is said, should states which do not now have nuclear weapons give up in perpetuity their sovereign right to take such action as may be necessary in order to preserve their national security, if nuclear powers do not begin to exercise restraint in the manufacture of nuclear weapons and their vehicles; to reduce their stockpiles and thus embark on a course leading to general disarmament. While agreement on non-dissemination should not wait on such action by the nuclear powers it cannot long be maintained unless the great powers begin to reduce their nuclear armaments.

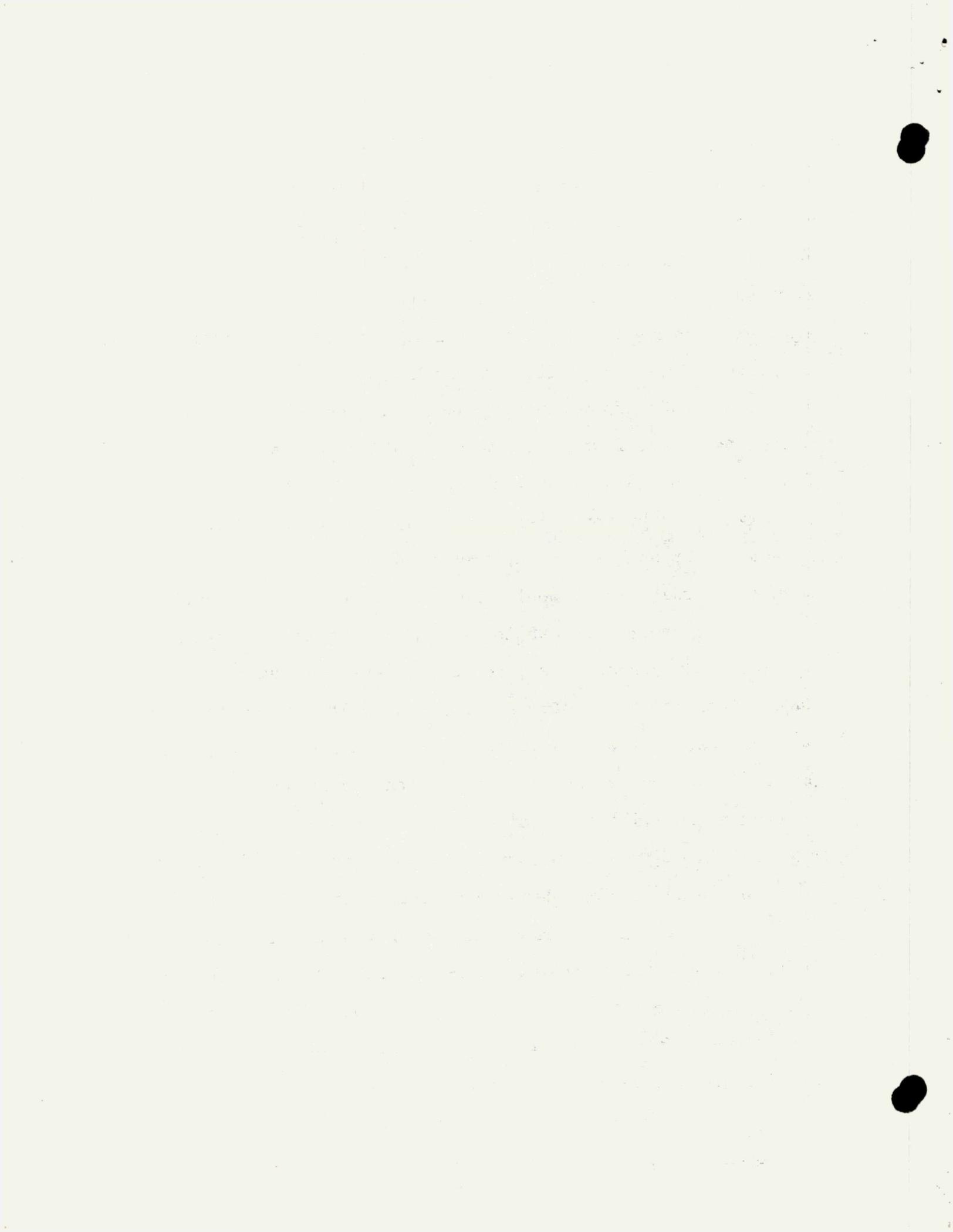
It is of cardinal importance also to press vigorously for the extension of the partial nuclear test ban treaty to cover nuclear tests underground. From the outset Canada has consistently supported moves to ban the testing of all nuclear weapons subject to arrangements for effective verification. We shall continue to support sensible proposals leading to the



attainment of this importance policy objective. Important advances have been made in recent years in the detection of underground events by seismic methods. Some progress has also been made in distinguishing between seismic waves caused by earthquakes and other events and those caused by nuclear explosions underground. This field-detection and identification of seismic waves transmitted through the earth's crust is one in which Canada has a special interest. Because of our geographical position, favourable rock formations and seismic detection facilities, Canadian scientists are in a position to make a positive contribution to experimental work which, after further investigation and study, may create conditions for progress towards a treaty which would prohibit nuclear tests underground.

At the recent session of the 18 Nation Disarmament Committee, Sweden and other countries have made important suggestions for international cooperation looking to further progress in the field of verification. In Canada's view these proposals deserve serious consideration and study. The Canadian Government is willing to join with other nations in international efforts linked in an appropriate way with the United Nations to help to achieve a comprehensive nuclear test ban.

On June 15 of this year the United Nations Disarmament Commission adopted a Resolution requesting this Assembly to give urgent consideration to the holding of a world Disarmament Conference. We believe that such a conference will require careful and thorough preparation. Over the years certain principle have been accepted for the conduct of disarmament negotiations. It is the view of the Canadian Government



that the agreed principles adopted by the Assembly in 1962 should continue to govern discussions at the World Disarmament Conference.

The Secretary General suggested in a recent speech that progress on disarmament, whether general or nuclear, would hardly be possible so long as one of the major military powers which has recently developed some military nuclear capacity in its own right did not participate. The Secretary General went on to indicate that when the World Disarmament Conference is held, it should take place under conditions which would make it possible for all countries if they so wished to participate in its deliberations. Canada hopes that the Peoples Republic of China will be invited to take part in the discussions.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT:

Mr. President, in our anxiety over the great questions of war and peace we must not overlook the connection between those matters and economic and social circumstances which are the pre-conditions of order and stability. The past twenty years have witnessed an awakening of man's social conscience and the start of an unprecedented assault on poverty, disease and ignorance.

But that is not enough. The gap between the per capita incomes of developing and developed countries has been widening; the population explosion demands a rapid increase in the momentum of economic development; and the debt repayment problems are threatening programmes already launched. The fact is that the flow of development assistance has been



levelling off at the very time when the need for it is quickening. This requires resolute action by all of us collectively and individually.

Speaking for Canada I can say that our recognition of this need is indicated by our response. Last year we more than doubled our bilateral aid programme. This year we are increasing it again. I can state today that provided a satisfactory charter can be worked out and subject to parliamentary approval we will join the Asian Development Bank and make a contribution of up to 25 million dollars to its subscription capital. Elsewhere, we are prepared to embark on the second stage of our special arrangements with the Inter-American Development Bank whereby earlier this year we made available for lending in Latin America the sum of 25 million dollars. I am glad now to announce that an additional 10 million dollars will be put at the disposal of the Bank for lending at terms which may extend up to fifty years at no interest charge.

In addition to the official Government contributions it is significant to note that the people of Canada are becoming increasingly involved in a more personal way in helping developing countries. With Government support more and more funds are being mobilized and a growing number of trained and talented young Canadians is working in a variety of ways in overseas countries where help is needed.

Finally I want to affirm our strong support for the

