

# CANADIAN DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY (SEVENTEENTH SESSION)

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STATEMENT BY THE HONOURABLE HOWARD GREEN, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OF CANADA, IN THE GENERAL DEBATE AT THE 17TH SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS SEPTEMBER 25, 1962

Mr. President,

It gives me great pleasure to join with others in offering you congratulations on your election to the Presidency of the General Assembly. Your outstanding qualifications and wide experience in diplomacy, international law and United Nations affairs will, I know, prove to be of great value at this important session.

Your appointment is a well-deserved tribute to you and also to your country - Pakistan. Last week, the people of Canada were delighted to receive the President of Pakistan as a distinguished and highly respected visitor. His visit served to re-emphasize the excellent relations which Pakistan and Canada have always enjoyed.

I also wish to extend a warm welcome to the four new members who were admitted to the United Nations last week. In Rwanda and Burundi the United Nations played an important role in bringing about the transition from trusteeship to independence. Canada had the honour of serving on one of the United Nations Commissions during the preparatory period. Aided by a common bond of language, we now look forward to developing with these two countries the same close relationship which links Canada with the other French-speaking countries of Africa.

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The achievement of independence by Jamaica and by Trinidad and Tobago is an event of special significance and interest for Canada because of our Commonwealth association and historic ties which have existed for centuries between Canadians and the people of the West Indies. I am confident that these good neighbours of ours - the first new members from the Western Hemisphere - have a valuable contribution to make to the United Nations.

Last year when I spoke in the general debate, the United Nations was facing many grave issues, some of which threatened its survival. The atmosphere in the Assembly was one of tension and anxiety. The future was uncertain. The events of the past twelve months have not dispelled all the difficulties; but neither have they fulfilled the pessimistic prophecies of a year ago. In fact there have been some gains in the complex international endeavour to strengthen the cause of peace.

### LAOS

For example, at the beginning of 1962, the situation in Laos seemed far from settled. By July however, international agreements providing for a unified, independent and neutral Laos had been signed in Geneva by the fourteen nations attending the conference. They included governments which did not recognize each other but which shared a common determination to face reality and find a solution. The result was a positive step toward peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

Canada was one of the signatories of the Laos Agreements and as a member of the International Commission charged with the task of seeing that the agreements are carried out, will fulfill its responsibilities with fairness and diligence. I emphasize however that ultimate success will depend on the continuing

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A significant factor in the successful negotiations on Laos was the business-like procedure evolved. In particular, the device of co-chairmanship proved its worth and the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union deserve much of the credit for the result.

### DISARMAMENT

Furthermore, after a year of inactivity, steps forward were also taken in the field of disarmament. The United States and the Soviet Union reached accord on a Joint Statement of Agreed Principles and laid it before the General Assembly on 20 September 1961. This was followed by another major advance the establishment of the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee which began its deliberations in March of this year in Geneva.

This Committee has two important advantages over previous disarmament forums. First, following the precedent of the Laos Conference, it has the United States and the Soviet Union as permanent co-chairmen and they meet together frequently to arrange agendas and try to resolve differences. Secondly, it has as members eight non-aligned nations - Brazil, Burma, Ethiopia, India, Mexico, Nigeria, Sweden and the United Arab Republic. By their impartial and constructive approach to the intricate problems of disarmament, these eight nations have helped to advance the work of the conference.

For the first time since nations began to debate this all-important question, the two major powers have put forward comprehensive treaty proposals. The Committee has been examining these proposals for the past five months. One thing shown conclusively is that the dangers caused by the vast array of modern armaments cannot be removed at one stroke or by adopting some simple formula. To reach agreement on general and complete

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disarmament requires the greatest effort and the most painstaking negotiation.

The fundamental problem is the distrust and suspicion which have sharply and tragically divided the world since the end of the Second World War. Negotiating governments must make greater efforts to overcome this.

The Committee should play its part in this transformation. The Canadian Delegation at Geneva has repeatedly emphasized that there are common elements in existing proposals which can be developed into significant measures of disarmament. What is required is a renewed endeavour to achieve acceptable compromises.

Canada welcomes the announced intention of the Soviet Union to modify its proposals for eliminating nuclear weapons vehicles. In our view, this may help to remove the block to negotiations in Geneva which was created by the incompatible positions of the two sides on this particular question. Of course, we must reserve our final opinion on this modified Soviet position until we see the detailed amendments to the Soviet draft treaty; and, in addition, agreement on this key disarmament question will inevitably require careful examination in Geneva of all the related factors.

Early in the Geneva Conference, a committee of the whole was set up to deal with measures which could be put into effect quickly and would help to relieve international tension and create mutual confidence pending agreement on general and complete disarmament.

Among the subjects which this Committee has before it are: first, measures to prevent further dissemination of nuclear weapons and, second, the reduction of the possibility of war by accident, miscalculation or failure of communications.

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In order to stop the arms race spreading to outer space, Canada has proposed in this Committee that immediate action should be taken to prevent the placing of weapons of mass destruction in orbit. We urge that when the Disarmament Committee resumes its work redoubled efforts be made to reach agreement on the important questions before this collateral measures committee.

This Assembly should bring to bear the full force of world public opinion to ensure more rapid progress on disarmament. To achieve this we must, first of all, avoid propaganda exchanges. We must also assess the possibilities for compromise on important points which are still in dispute. Finally, we must recommend as forcefully as possible - 1 would hope with one voice - that the Disarmament Committee in Geneva renew its efforts at the earliest possible moment.

The Commonwealth Prime Ministers just last week recorded their unanimous conviction in this sense in the following words:

"The Prime Ministers agreed that the need for disarmament had been intensified by the steady development of ever more powerful weapons. They re-affirmed the principles laid down in their statement on disarmament of March 17, 1961, and expressed their conviction that the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee at Geneva should continue its efforts towards a treaty for general and complete disarmament in accordance with these principles. They noted that discussions on the cessation of nuclear weapons tests had also been taking place in Geneva and expressed the hope that these efforts would be successful in bringing into being an effective treaty to eradicate this source of fear and danger to mankind."

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The Eighteen Nation Committee is responsible for detailed negotiations and only through its continued efforts can progress toward disarmament be realized. That is why we must, as the distinguished representative of Norway stated on September 21, "....give encouragement and guidance to the negotiating nations in Geneva". All members of the United Nations have a fundamental obligation to assist in every way in ensuring that agreement on this vital subject is reached without delay. The world simply cannot afford the risk of failure.

### NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTS

In the disarmament talks at Geneva and in this General Assembly, it has been made very clear that the problem of nuclear weapons tests is of the gravest concern to all members of the United Nations. My Government maintains its firm opposition to all nuclear weapons testing, for two reasons.

First, we are convinced that continued testing poses an ever-increasing danger to human health. Of this I shall say more presently. Second, the ultimate security of mankind is weakened, not strengthened, by further testing. No matter what considerations may lead the major powers to undertake nuclear tests, their effect can only be to accelerate and to make even more perilous the race in nuclear armaments. The powers concerned must not ignore the fact that the arms race itself gives rise to fears which in turn become a factor in intensifying competition in armaments.

I believe that these fundamental points are not in dispute. But the tests have still not been stopped. The proposals submitted by the eight uncommitted countries represented at Geneva, and the new technical data advanced recently by the United States and the United Kingdom, have

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opened new opportunities for agreement.

The Canadian Government strongly supports the proposal, originally made by the Mexican delegate to the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee, that a target date, January 1, 1963, should be set for the cessation of all tests. This date has been accepted in principle by the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union.

As a minimum first step, agreement could be reached immediately on the final cessation of nuclear tests in the atmosphere, under water and in outer space. To have a comprehensive treaty, underground tests must be included. The question barring agreement on such a treaty is whether the parties shall be obligated to permit inspections on their territories when other means of determining whether there has been an underground nuclear explosion fail to give a definite answer. This is a difficult problem, involving dangers to the security of the nations concerned, but the dangers which result from the lack of a solution are immeasurably greater.

If the Great Powers cannot reach agreement on this issue, prospects for general and complete disarmament will be dim. They can and must resolve their differences in this field if they are to fulfill their obligation to mankind. The General Assembly should clearly express itself in this sense.

### RADIATION

I revert now to the hazards to human health created by nuclear testing. The Second Comprehensive meeport of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation brings out the danger very clearly in the following statement:

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"As there are no effective measures to prevent the occurrence of harmful effects of global radio-active contamination from nuclear explosions, the achievement of a final cessation of nuclear tests would benefit

present and future generations of mankind." This is the objective language of a scientific report. The dangers involved are immediate. They affect us now and what is even more important, they will affect future generations.

In order to assess these dangers properly, the Assembly must continue to insist on a co-operative world-wide study. Last year's resolution on the subject reaffirmed the desirability of continuing full international co-operation

through the Scientific Committee. The latest report of the Committee constitutes an authoritative and up-to-date assessment of the exposure of mankind to radiation and of its

harmful effects.

In its resolution of last year, the General Assembly called for a study of a world-wide synoptic reporting scheme of atmospheric radiation levels. I have been greatly encouraged by the progress made by the World Meteorological Organization in preparing such a scheme. It is my hope that its implementation on a world-wide basis will soon be initiated.

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### THE PROBLEM OF WANT

Disarmament deserves high priority in our deliberations because it seeks to remove the means of waging war. The Acting Secretary General has emphasized in his Annual Report the need to eradicate the basic causes of war - poverty, famine and disease. The economic and social work of the United Nations goes along so quietly that it does not always receive the public attention it deserves. And yet success in raising living standards in the less-developed areas and in expanding and stabilizing world trade may, in the long run, determine the question of war or peace.

The role of the United Nations in providing an effective framework for economic and social development is well established. There will, I am sure, be no disagreement over the importance of the various assistance programmes. These essential activities must be adequately supported. In the Decade of Development we should strive to make increasingly effective use of existing institutions. For its part, the Canadian Government will continue to support these United Nations efforts and at the same time to maintain our bilateral aid programmes.

The promotion of sound trading conditions is at least as important as the provision of aid. In fact, the recent Commonwealth Conference considered that - and I quote from the communiqué -"improved opportunities and conditions for trade are even more important than financial aid".

Canada has sought in the United Nations and outside to promote international arrangements and institutions - for example GATT - which would encourage the expansion of trade on a multilateral and non-discriminatory basis. This will be our attitude in examining the Economic and Social Council's recommendation for a Conference on Trade and Development in 1964.

Such a conference will provide one opportunity for a discussion on strengthening the world trading system. While some

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problems can be dealt with only in a world-wide forum other aspects of trade can be examined usefully by countries whose trading systems - and hence trading problems - are most alike. For example at the recent Commonwealth meeting Canada proposed an early conference of a group of countries to discuss their common trading problems. Such a conference would in fact help to prepare the way for wider, non-discriminatory tariff negotiations on a most-favoured-nation basis.

## COMMONWEALTH AND EMERGING NATIONS

I should like to say a few words now about the Commonwealth and emerging nations. In London we welcomed four countries that have joined this family of free and independent nations within the last year - Sierra Leone, Tanganyika, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. This brought the number of nations participating fully in the Commonwealth Conference to a total of 15. All but four have become independent since the Second World War and in each case they have chosen of their own free will to become members of the Commonwealth. In addition, there were representatives present from other territories such as Uganda, Kenya and British Guiana which will shortly obtain independence and will in all probability choose to join the Commonwealth.

The Commonwealth of today is an inspiring example of friendly association of nations of diverse races, cultures, creeds and political institutions. Its members may be divided in their approach to some questions, but they are solidly united in their dedication to the cause of peace and to the promotion of better understanding.

Mr. President, great credit for this outstanding achievement in international co-operation and for the successful launching of these new nations must begiven to the United Kingdom. All of these countries of the Commonwealth - including Canada were at one time colonies, and in their progress to nationhood the United Kingdom has given generously and wisely of its aid and guidance.

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This being the case, I find it very hard to understand the bitter and unfair attacks which, from time to time, are made against the United Kingdom on the subject of colonialism. We all know that there are difficulties to be overcome in some territories, but surely the United Kingdom's record of past accomplishment in this field justifies confidence in its intention to guide these peoples to independence.

Unhappily, from this very rostrum and in debates in many other United Nations bodies, the Soviet Union has painted quite another picture of these colonial developments. Soviet spokesmen have chosen to disregard peaceful evolution in the Commonwealth where freedom and independence have become a living reality for 600 million people since the Second World War.

Canada's own part in developing the Commonwealth prompts us to reject the Soviet Union's criticisms and its claim to be the champion of freedom and independence for subject peoples.

We urge that the United Nations should view the Soviet attacks in proper perspective. In 1960, the Prime Minister of Canada reminded the General Assembly about the position of subject peoples within the Soviet empire. Manymillions there cannot today exercise the right of self-determination which the Soviet government demands for others.

This denial of human rights and fundamental freedoms casts grave doubt on the Soviet Union's whole position on colonialism. When the United Nations is examining situations in many other areas of the world, it should not ignore the areas under Soviet rule. The Charter principles on human rights and self-determination are clearly intended to be universal in their application. PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS

Mr. President, I have been dealing with some of the main issues before this Assembly. I turn now to a set of problems which vitally affect the future of this organization.

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Of fundamental importance are the United Nations peacekeeping operations in the Middle East, Kashmir, the Congo and now in West New vulnea. Canada contributes men and resources to all these operations and regards this contribution as a prime responsibility of membership.

In the Congo, the United Nations has assumed its heaviest responsibility. The Secretary General's programme for national reconciliation there has been favourably received by the parties principally concerned and Canada is encouraged to hope that it will gc forward smoothly. The elements of success in this difficult situation are a willingness on the part of the Congolese themselves to resolve their difficulties and a readiness on the part of all other states to support the programme.

In this connection, the Commonwealth Prime Ministers had this to say - and I quote from the communiqué - "They took note, in particular, of the proposals relating to the Congo which were recently put forward by the Acting Secretary General of the United Nations, and they expressed the hope that these would prove to be the basis for a speedy and constructive settlement."

The task which the United Nations undertook in the Congo was one which it could not shirk. Members of this Assembly need hardiy be reminded, however, that one consequence has been a financial crisis verging on bankruptcy. Canada has supported ad hoc measures for meeting immediate financial needs but we have also consistently sought to place the financing of United Nations peace-keeping operations on a solid foundation. We have urged that the basis should be collective responsibility.

For this reason, the Canadian Government welcomed the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on July 20 which confirmed that the costs incurred for the United Nations Emergency Force and the Congo Force were "expenses of the

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Organization" within the meaning of Article 17 of the Charter. This authoritative opinion should be endorsed by the General Assembly and form the basis for financing peace-keeping operations. Advisory opinions of the Court ought to be fully respected in the interests of establishing internationalrules of order.

Basing ourselves on the principle of collective responsibility, we must find a formula for apportioning peacekeeping costs because this Organization has to be in a position to fulfill its Charter purposes.

### STABILITY IN THE UNITED NATIONS

It is equally clear that the Chief Executive of this Organization should have whole-hearted support in the discharge of his responsibilities. Our distinguished Acting Secretary-General has shown great courage, patience and wisdom during the course of his interim term of office - which began at a time when confusion reigned in United Nations affairs. During the past year he has given leadership which has restored confidence in the organization.

The underlying need in United Nations affairs is for stability. In these turbulent times, governments require a steady base for international co-operation and quiet diplomacy. Most people of the world look hopefully to the United Nations to point the way and provide the means to these ends.

A significant element in achieving stability and a capacity to act effectively is to develop orderly procedures. Our distinguished past-president has made some interesting and useful suggestions for improving Assembly procedures. I welcome the decision to inscribe an item on this subject.

The greatly increased membership of the Assembly and the length of recent sessions give added urgency to the need for the most efficient working methods. The speed and efficiency with which we carry out our work is an important factor in determining

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the degree of public support for the United Nations.

In conclusion Mr. President, may I express my firm conviction that the United Nations has emerged from the uncertainty which clouded the 16th Session. Confidence and stability are being restored. The atmosphere in the present Assembly is more favourable for constructive work.

We now have an opportunity to respond to the improved situation by dealing firmly with the main issues before us. We must take encouragement from the recent progress, however gradual toward peace. We must maintain a steady United Nations course in that direction, conscious of the under-currents of danger in our troubled world but confident that we can control them.

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