

# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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No. 62/10     A CALM BUT VIGILANT VIEW OF WORLD AFFAIRS

Notes for an address to be made by Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker to the National Convention of the International Association of Kinsmen Clubs, Regina, Saskatchewan - August 1962.

This summer, the international scene has provided its share of dramatic events but no real surprises have occurred. I wish I could say that tensions were subsiding and that a new wave of hope was surging in the affairs of men. Instead I must report, without despair but with due regard for potential dangers, that constant vigilance and calm judgment are still the prime requisites in assessing the current world situation.

Canadians are just old fashioned enough to believe that nations, like individual men and women, must conduct their relations on a basis of full respect for the rights of others and the solid performance of obligations undertaken. World peace and stability cannot be made secure unless and until these fundamental concepts become universally recognized.

## Unparalleled Acceptance of Responsibility

In subscribing to the Charter of the United Nations, the member states have entered into the most comprehensive set of obligations ever conceived. It covers the whole range of international endeavour. It establishes a framework for human co-operation and activity, unlimited in its scope for dynamic development.

Today, 104 governments have subscribed to the principles of the United Nations. Within months, their numbers will increase yet again, as new nations emerge. The United Nations is rapidly approaching universality of membership.

We should ensure, at the same time, that the United Nations maintains a capacity for effective action, with its high purposes intact and inviolate. It will not do so if member states permit any deterioration of the Charter principles and their own standards of national and international conduct, both within the organization and outside it.

What do the Charter principles imply? The principle of sovereign equality means not only that national self-interest should be protected but that the rights of others will be fully respected. Settling disputes by peaceful means does not refer only to disputes between third parties but to all disputes and to all parties directly involved. Refraining from the use of threat of force means self-denial. Giving assistance to the United Nations means backing its decisions fully, even when costs are high and when specific action taken by the organization is not entirely satisfactory to each and every member.

I have restated these fundamentals precepts, enunciated in Article 2 of the Charter, because they have a direct bearing on many current developments both within the United Nations framework and in the general conduct of international relations. Wholehearted adherence to those principles and fulfilment in good faith of all Charter obligations are the only real assurance that all members of the United Nations can enjoy the benefits of this international system.

#### Berlin Example

Consider these basic principles in the light of the situation in Berlin. There the respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms has been sealed off by an infamous wall of concrete and barbed wire. Those who could escape the tyranny of foreign domination, who would breathe the sweet air of freedom, are ruthlessly shot down and left to die on this barricade of slavery. This is the way in which the right of self-determination is exercised behind the frontiers of Soviet domination. This is the way in which fundamental freedoms for all without distinction are observed.

Provoking crisis from time to time, the Soviet Union seeks through unilateral action to upset agreed arrangements in Berlin, and to deprive the Western powers of their rights and West Berliners of their freedom. Mr. Khrushchov tells us that West Berlin is a threat to peace and security in the so-called socialist states, that it is a NATO base for aggression. The one-way traffic of refugees seeking haven in that beleaguered city--a traffic which defies the wall, the wire and the bloodshed--answers the hollowness of this contention.

These sordid developments at the Berlin wall, this disregard for human dignity and for solemn undertakings, are unworthy of the Soviet Union. Contrast them with the spectacular and daring adventures of the "heavenly twins", Nikolayev and Popovich.

These brave young cosmonauts, like their American counterparts, have demonstrated that man's restless desire to conquer the unknown extends to the unlimited reaches of the universe. In a few short hours they travelled well beyond the distance of a return trip to the moon.

### No Monopoly in Science

The Soviet Union deserves congratulations for its contribution to that development. But we should not lose sight of the fact that scientific discovery in all ages has been a co-operative effort. There has not been, nor is there likely to be, a monopoly of invention, courage and perseverance which contribute to the reservoir of man's knowledge and experience in science and technology. The United States experiments with Telestar, with the X-15 outer-space aircraft and with sophisticated guidance and tracking devices, are not in any sense inferior to the Soviet exploits.

Unquestionably, both these super-powers could learn from one another. Their combined contribution to the exploration and use of outer space would make that development swifter and safer. Both nations would benefit from easing the staggering financial burden which space exploration imposes. More important, the potential dangers of a protracted rivalry in outer space would be eliminated.

Why should man repeat the errors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? Then the daring and competitive discoveries of the merchant adventurers paved the way for prolonged wars which divided Europe for centuries. The consequences will be much more severe in modern times. If such costly errors are to be avoided in outer space, the nations must decide now to foreswear the competition and to co-operate to the maximum degree.

I firmly believe, as I have urged on earlier occasions, that the United States and the Soviet Union should pool their talents and resources to develop outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes and under a universally recognized rule of law.

### The Tide of Freedom

There is need for international co-operation and understanding in many other areas of endeavour. In Asia and Africa, new nations are emerging at an accelerated pace. This tide of freedom is as inspiring as it is irresistible. In its votes at the United Nations and in its stand taken in Commonwealth meetings, Canada has declared itself clearly for early independence for all dependent people and against racial discrimination in any form.

But the orderly achievement of freedom and independence for all people in all lands will not be brought about through hasty and impractical measures, adopted in response to emotional and immoderate demands. The situations in the remaining colonial territories of Asia and Africa must be recognized for their delicacy and difficulty.

The new states of Asia and Africa can render assistance by using their substantial influence in the United Nations to bring about constructive results. They can achieve the same end by resisting the unscrupulous attempts by the Soviet Union to promote chaos not only in the colonial territories but in some of the new states as well. The self-appointed Communist champions of freedom should be openly exposed for what they are, hypocrites and trouble-makers. Soviet imperialism has thrived too long under the cover of hollow professions of support for Charter principles, and should be constantly reminded of its own tyrannical record.

### Soviet Imperialism

I sought to do this in 1960 in the General Assembly in New York. I reminded Mr. Khrushchov about the position of subject peoples within his empire. Assessments may vary, but there are about 96 million people under Soviet rule who have never been permitted to exercise the right of self-determination. I asked Mr. Khrushchov to give those nations the right to free elections and an opportunity to determine the kind of government they want under genuinely free conditions. When the United Nations is examining conditions in many other areas, why should it not turn its attention at some stage to the areas of darkness under Soviet domination? The Charter principles in this regard were intended to be universal in their application.

With these thoughts in mind, Canada has been consulting for some time with other United Nations members about the possibilities for focussing attention on Soviet imperialism. Steps to this end are being considered in the current consultations and my objective is to secure sufficient international support to ensure successful presentation of this matter at the Assembly this autumn.

Then there is the situation in the Congo. Through its timely intervention in that unhappy country, the United Nations prevented a much worse crisis from occurring. But for more than two years, the limited resources of the organization have been so heavily committed there that its future effectiveness may be mortgaged for some time to come. Canada hopes that the present plan for national reconciliation in the Congo will have the willing support of all members of the United Nations and will commend itself to the parties principally concerned.

### Congo Crisis

The Congo costs have brought the United Nations to the verge of bankruptcy, in large part owing to the failure of certain members to pay their assessed dues. Because of its concern about this growing financial crisis, Canada has played a leading part in the General Assembly's consideration of budgetary problems. Canada supported the affirmative case before the International Court of Justice, when it considered whether the costs incurred

for UNEF and the Congo Force were legal expenses of the United Nations. The Court's advisory opinion confirmed the contention of Canada and like-minded states that all members were obligated to pay their share of those costs. At the forthcoming Assembly, this authoritative opinion should be fully endorsed and should form the basis for the future financing of the two peace-keeping operations.

It is incontestable that the United Nations should be provided with adequate resources and sound financial methods, if it is to discharge its responsibilities in various field of activity. There can be no grounds for having the organization financed largely by contributions from a few of the wealthier states, while others with a capacity to pay refuse to do so. This is not only a question of legal obligation and collective responsibility. It is ordinary common sense.

It is also common sense that the members should firmly support the Secretary-General in his efforts to implement the decisions and recommendations of the various organs. U Thant has shown great courage and wisdom during the course of his interim term of office. His direction of Congo affairs and his participation in the negotiations which led to the agreement on West New Guinea have won him general approval. His re-appointment for a full term would be welcomed by Canada for this would ensure stability in the executive office of the United Nations.

#### Laos Problem

In July, an international agreement calling for the establishment of a unified, independent and democratic Laos was signed in Geneva by 14 nations directly concerned with the question. Canada was one of them, in its capacity as a member of the International Commission charged with the task of seeing that the agreement is carried out. Canada will endeavour to fulfill its responsibilities in this regard with fairness and diligence, but success will depend on the continuing support and co-operation of all the governments concerned. This is essential to the peace and stability of Indochina and Southeast Asia generally.

These steps toward peace and international order are encouraging. They show that the path of negotiation may be tortuous but not always impassable. But what about the major issues which divide East and West?

Berlin remains what it has been for years, a situation in which vital Western interests are at stake. If the Soviet Union does not recognize that the Western powers are determined to defend those interests and if it persists in taking unilateral action which threatens the position of the West, the danger of explosion could be real and imminent.

### Khrushchov's Fine Words

On August 18, at a meeting in Red Square, Mr. Khrushchov said, toward the end of a long speech welcoming the cosmonauts:

"The experience of recent times shows that if there is the desire to solve complicated international problems on the basis of co-operation, with mutual consideration of the interests of all sides, such co-operation brings rewards."

These are fine words. With negotiated solutions based on "mutual consideration of the interests of all sides", the world could be set on a new course of peace which, in the light of the tremendous technological achievements of recent years, would indeed lead to the stars.

We know from the post-war experience how misleading words can be. How often in the past have we seen the East-West negotiations starting off bravely but foundering sooner or later in waves of propaganda or on the hard rock of Soviet intransigence?

At present, there are East-West negotiations in the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee at Geneva. At that conference, Mr. Green has personally explained the Canadian stand on two occasions. Canada has made it plain that the way out of the present impasse is to reduce the mutual suspicion and distrust which stand in the way of agreement, especially on concrete measures of disarmament.

The Disarmament Conference has not made spectacular progress but it has shown very clearly that there are common elements in the positions of the two sides, and that remaining differences can be narrowed. The Committee will recess in two weeks' time. There will be a searching discussion of disarmament questions at the United Nations General Assembly in New York. When the Eighteen-Nation Committee resumes its work in Geneva in November, Canada expects to see a renewed effort to reach significant agreements based on a clear mandate from the General Assembly.

The Soviet Union cannot expect to hold out the hope of peace by uttering fine phrases and at the same time ignoring reasonable proposals for bringing about mutually satisfactory solutions. The Western powers do not ask the Soviet Union to take any step that will endanger its security. They do ask that the Soviet Government act in its own self-interest by co-operating with Western governments to remove the potential sources of war.

This is a demanding task but there is no rational alternative.

### To Negotiate as Equals

The Western leaders are prepared to approach the negotiating table as equals with no thought of supremacy on one side or the other, or the superiority of any particular political system. Canada has consistently pressed for negotiations of this kind and is prepared to go on pressing, whether in Geneva, in New York or elsewhere, until they actually take place. This is the basis of my plea for international co-operation, the reason for my restatement of some of the basic principles and obligations of the United Nations Charter.

In a few days, I shall be travelling to London to attend the Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers. The main discussion will relate to the negotiations between the British Government and the members of the European Economic Community. As well, I expect that the Prime Ministers will wish to exchange views on many of the problems which I have discussed tonight, as they affect the Commonwealth.

### Trade Winds Over Europe

We are witnessing great changes in world trade. Western Europe has been rebuilt from the devastation of war; it is again a great competitive trading power. Six countries - France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg - have created a Common Market which is establishing new trade rules among themselves and already having its effects on their trade with the rest of the world. Britain is now negotiating for entry into this Community.

These developments present challenges and opportunities to all world trading nations.

Canada supports the expansion of world trade on a multilateral, non-discriminatory basis. On many occasions we have expressed our readiness to play a constructive part in the promotion of freer world trade.

### U.S. Trade Programme

It is most gratifying that the United States should have been prompt to take up the challenge. The new trade programme which President Kennedy has submitted to the Congress would enable the United States to display the kind of leadership which will make possible the realisation of our objectives. Under their new trade programme the United States would negotiate with Common Market countries the gradual elimination of United States and Common Market tariffs over a wide variety of goods which are mainly produced in these areas. This programme would also permit the gradual reduction of United States duties up to 50 per cent on other goods.

More than this programme will be required to reconcile the great and complex interests at stake, but this programme is a far-reaching and welcome initiative in harmony with the sort of approach to current world economic problems which the Canadian Government has been consistently supporting.

This high-level consultation, coming as it does on the eve of the General Assembly in New York, could not be more timely or more beneficial to all concerned. Commonwealth 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 in this interdependent world.

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