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President: Mr. Emilio ARENALES (Guatemala).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. Medici (Italy): Mr. President, I should like, in the first place, to express my sincere gratification at your election, for you represent, among other things, a part of the world to which we feel bound by strong ties of common origin and culture. Allow me, at the same time, to express our appreciation of the exemplary way in which you are conducting our deliberations.

2. It is also my pleasant duty to convey to your illustrious predecessor, Mr. Corneliu Manescu, the sincere thanks of the Italian delegation for the wisdom with which he guided the twenty-second session of the General Assembly.

3. I extend our welcome and best wishes to Swaziland, which has recently become a Member of our family.

4. Lastly, I wish to record the great interest with which we have listened to the statements of the speakers who have preceded me on this rostrum: I do so because of their remarkable contribution to the understanding of the problems before us, as well as because of the high sense of responsibility with which, at this grave hour, they have responded to the issues confronting this session of the General Assembly.

5. In this forum, where we are pledged to carry out the principles of the United Nations Charter, our debates will be successful in promoting the common good only if we are basically sincere in what we say and at the same time, while being frank and forthright, we try to avoid bitter polemics. Here we must carry forward the dialogue begun almost a quarter of a century ago at San Francisco, a dialogue born from the new conditions imposed on international politics both by the democratic transformation taking place in today's society and by the technological revolution. At the same time, we must never forget that the creation of the United Nations was a reaction to the horrors of the Second World War and a response to the deep yearning for peace among all the peoples of the world. In this spirit, and with these memories in mind, we

must honour with our deeds the principles of our Charter, which express the most fundamental needs of present-day international society.

6. Despite the repeated revival of the tragic myths of military power, racial superiority and nationalistic pride, international society realizes the increasing productivity of multilateral relations. Indeed, the future of the world may depend on the development of multilateral diplomacy and the strengthening of the organizations which embody it. That fact must be borne in mind by the great Powers, because the future of peace and human welfare, which are inherently inseparable from each other, depend in large measure on their example.

7. Unfortunately, Soviet action in Prague may have turned back the clock of history by twenty years. I say "may have" because we in Italy cannot resign ourselves to this tragic prospect. It is to be hoped that the Soviet Union is aware of the serious consequences that are likely to result from its action in Czechoslovakia and is also aware of the need to restore international legality. It is imperative that foreign troops now in Czechoslovak territory be withdrawn, especially as such a withdrawal would pose no danger to the Warsaw Pact countries. Only a withdrawal of those troops could convince the world that respect for the United Nations Charter is a reality. If, on the other hand, the Soviet Union were to continue to keep its troops in Czechoslovakia and use them also to exert pressure in that area, there would be little hope left of restoring in Europe the conditions of understanding and détente: conditions which we brought about through so much sacrifice and honesty of purpose and which would enable us to move forward towards the solution of the most serious problems still to be settled, including the German problem.

8. When we speak of détente, we mean a collective process of clarification in which all countries ought to take part on an equal footing. We cannot, therefore, share suggestions which would aim at a dialogue limited to a few great Powers, a formula which would not allow other countries to make their own contribution.

9. Here at the United Nations, in this great forum of peace, we, as Europeans and Italians, feel it our duty to declare our faith in the victory of the moral force, born of the principles of the Charter.

10. The peoples of the world have a profound sense of this fundamental need for peace and for common economic welfare, won in peace and freedom. So much harm has been done by the present crises that we must combine our efforts to prevent any return to the cold war. The Italian Government believes that this objective can and must be attained. There still are unquestionable opportunities to restore confidence and

re-establish the bonds which have been so suddenly broken.

11. The events of the past decades have clearly shown that international problems cannot be solved by force alone. International society today demands not nuclear bombs but social reforms. The example set by the communist countries may be tragic because, instead of devoting their efforts to solving economic and social problems, they have delayed the evolution of international society, allocating a large proportion of their wealth to building one of the most powerful military arsenals ever seen in history.

12. On the other hand, we cannot help thinking of those areas in which social injustice is of such a magnitude as to arouse the indignation of all those who have sincerely abided by the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

13. I must re-emphasize that international society today demands not weapons but economic and social reforms. Above all, it needs genuine land reforms capable of giving dignity to the thousand million poor peasants who could thus work their own lands, assisted by the powerful help made available to human labour by modern technology.

14. The Secretary-General has rightly drawn our attention to the serious decline of moral standards in international relations. But we cannot be satisfied by a mere declaration of this fact and indulge in easy criticism of the partial inability of the United Nations to solve the international conflicts of today. We must clearly proclaim that the United Nations must be strengthened, and we must indicate without delay how this can and must be done.

15. Words, of course, are not enough, especially when words serve to feed that demon of the modern world which we call propaganda. What we must do, before it is too late, is to propose ways and means to strengthen our world Organization. We must not give up because of past failures. Our courage today must lie in perseverance. The United Nations itself possesses the legal, technical and political capability to meet the challenge of current events and the challenge of new generations.

16. I am thinking now of the enormous amount of good which could be done, for instance, by the whole family of specialized agencies, such as the Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Health Organization, the International Development Association and UNESCO, as well as the United Nations Development Fund and the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, if our Governments gave them increasing financial support and greater political and moral backing.

17. We cannot, however, judge these agencies solely on the basis of their productivity expressed in economic terms. The fact is that they have also other functions, and this is particularly true of the institutions responsible for giving assistance to the developing countries. There are, to be sure, technical and managing shortcomings, and frequently also financial weaknesses. But, instead of indulging in sterile criticism, let us admit once and for all that, wherever fault may be found, the fault is ours as well.

18. How can anyone say that the United Nations is unable to fulfil its duty if, whenever there is a need to intervene in order to settle a conflict, the instruments to do so are lacking? How can we help noticing that the United Nations is sometimes paralysed by the failure of Members to provide essential financial contributions which are often denied on the basis of questionable legal arguments?

19. We all, therefore, bear a heavy responsibility for our continuing failure to find any constructive answers to those questions. And that is why the ancient but never conquered mythology of violence and hate is rising again. Our future depends upon the course of international relations not only in the political but also in the economic field. In my country, for instance, foreign trade accounts for approximately one third of the national income. A lasting solution of the most serious social problems depends essentially on the rate of economic development. But how can we accelerate this development if we are compelled to increase our armaments? During the past twenty years national income has been greatly increased almost everywhere in the world, for the very reason that these have been years of peace. If we succeed in guaranteeing peace, we shall ensure an increase in commercial activity and also bring about an improvement in the terms of trade, which is one of the basic purposes of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

20. The principles of the United Nations presuppose that nations will live not in a system of economic self-sufficiency, but in a world of extensive international trade. That is why we have placed great hopes in the development of trade between East and West and devoted to it a substantial part of our resources.

21. I should like to make it clear that when I say that autarchy can lead to conflicts, I am referring not only to what happened in Europe during the 1930s, but also to what occurred during the 1950s, in the darkest period of the cold war. I am thereby referring to those nationalistic tendencies which are retarding some of our collective initiatives in the economic field and frustrating the liberalizing drive which is essential for the development of the less-favoured countries.

22. For those reasons our policy remains firmly oriented not only towards the widening of the European Economic Community, but also towards the expansion of its exchanges with all countries.

23. The natural trends of history emphasize every day the interdependence of all peoples. This is a fact which we recognize in theory but sometimes reject in the reality of our political actions. This is why further efforts must be made not only to revitalize our Organization, but also to expand it. Encouraged by the certainty that our concerns and aspirations are shared by all, I should like to submit for the Assembly's consideration some remarks which, I hope, may help us overcome the present difficulties.

24. Our first task must be to strengthen the authority of the United Nations, making more efficient the constitutional machinery designed to ensure respect for international law. While keeping within the present rules and structure of the United Nations, the Assembly should, in our opinion, see to it that the Charter is more satisfactorily implemented. To this end, the

Assembly should co-ordinate its efforts in several directions.

25. First, it should move towards constructive solutions of a practical nature for the studies now being conducted with regard to the fundamental principles of the Charter; second, it should promote a definition of the possible forms of aggression, paying due attention to the events of the recent past; third, it should give further impetus to the work of the Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations, which has been able to continue its activities essential for solving the problems of the United Nations and of the financing of peace-keeping operations.

26. The initiatives aimed at providing the United Nations with appropriate means to discharge its mandate are expressions of a profound feeling of people today. But if these initiatives are to meet with a broader response they must be accompanied by a campaign of orientation and information, especially among younger people. This is the goal pursued by the Italian proposal, already inscribed in the agenda, to impart to the teaching staff of schools a knowledge of the United Nations.

27. The prestige and the authority of our Organization depend upon its universality. For that reason Italy has emphasized the necessity that all countries be represented in the United Nations, provided, of course, that they satisfy the necessary prerequisites and accept the obligations of the Charter.

28. There are, however, objective difficulties which prevent the implementation of the principle of universality. In view of the fact that not all the States Members of the United Nations agree in defining the prerequisites for admission, we have proposed in past years a thorough and realistic inquiry as to the ways and means to secure the universality of our Organization. This applies most especially to China. I believe that careful study should be given to this subject, including consideration at the present session of the General Assembly.

29. Our second task must be to devote all our energies to promoting disarmament, for, in addition to averting the danger of war, disarmament would make vast resources available for economic and social progress. Moreover, bearing in mind this correlation between disarmament and development, the Italian Government has declared before Parliament its intention to sign the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. We regard that Treaty above all as an instrument not only for limiting the spread of nuclear weapons, but also for promoting the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

30. I can confirm that our intentions have not changed. Nevertheless, we have been unable to remain indifferent to the patent violation of one of the fundamental principles of the preamble to that Treaty and, at the same time, of the United Nations Charter—a violation which has taken place even before the Treaty has entered into force. Faced with such a violation, the Italian Parliament, in reaffirming its own intentions, has endorsed the decision of the Government to adhere to the Treaty at a time when it is clear that it is fulfilling the basic objective of reducing international tension which inspired it.

31. We hope that the pause for reflection may soon be overcome; we shall then be only too happy to respond to the eloquent appeal which the Swedish Foreign Minister addressed from this rostrum [1677th meeting] to all Governments.

32. I have stated that, in our view, the non-proliferation Treaty must become an effective instrument not only for the prevention of war, but also for the achievement of peace. As far as the first aim is concerned, Italy recognizes that an early implementation of the nuclear disarmament measures contemplated in the Treaty would constitute the necessary counterbalance of the obligations which non-nuclear-weapon States assume. It also recognizes the indispensable condition for the security of all countries, in the framework of general and complete disarmament under strict international control. As far as the second aim is concerned, we believe that the Treaty must guarantee non-nuclear-weapon States free access to the supply of nuclear fuel and to the acquisition of the necessary technology and know-how. For us, this is the meaning which the full and practical application of articles IV and V of the Treaty must involve.

33. We also consider that the search for appropriate solutions to the question of nuclear disarmament is one of the most urgent tasks which the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament must face. At the last session of that body the Italian delegation circulated a list of the measures which appear most urgent and are ripe for a fruitful discussion. It is to be noted that those measures, although with a different order of priority, appear among the proposals submitted by other States, among them the Soviet Union in its memorandum of 5 July 1968 [A/7134].

34. Our proposals are not of a theoretical nature and do not pursue objectives which can be secured only in the distant future. As in the case of underground nuclear explosions, they take into account specific needs and present possibilities.

35. I also wish to recall the proposal put forward originally by Senator Fanfani: that proposal, within its realistic limits, would link nuclear disarmament with assistance to the developing countries by making available a part of the stocks of fissionable material of the nuclear Powers for use in the peaceful programmes of non-nuclear-weapon States.

36. It is also my duty to mention the important contribution towards the understanding of these problems made by the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States, held in Geneva last month. In order to ensure the continuation of the work undertaken, we would favour the establishment, already commended at Geneva by many countries, of an ad hoc committee for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. That committee, composed of nuclear-weapon and non-nuclear-weapon Powers, could create conditions for fruitful co-operation in the economic field, and encourage and co-ordinate the work of all the bodies which will increasingly be called upon to deal with these problems. In our view, this would be one of the most useful ways to ensure the validity and effective operation of the non-proliferation treaty and to discourage any temptation to resort to nuclear rearmament.

37. Among the questions listed in the agenda there are, besides nuclear energy, those concerning outer space and the sea-bed. I should merely like to stress that the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space [See resolution 2222 (XXI)], opened for signature on 27 January 1967, must be fully and coherently applied. It is important to bear in mind that the Treaty really only lays down the general principles and therefore requires further elaboration. I sincerely hope that the report which the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space will submit to us in the next few days^{1/} will indicate the possibilities of progress in this direction.

38. The problems raised by the utilization of marine resources are equally very important. The Italian delegation hopes that the Committee set up by the Assembly will be able to continue—on a structural and permanent basis—the work it has begun in order to avoid the extension of the arms race and to ensure international co-operation in the use of the reserves contained in the sea-bed.

39. In the third place, so as to build a peaceful order on lasting foundations, we must tackle with zeal and imagination the problems raised by the serious economic and social disparities which exist. The President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Robert McNamara, devoted great attention to these problems in his recent address to the Board of Governors. His speech contains a very interesting plan for an expansion of the efforts of the Bank in the developing countries.

40. On that subject may I be allowed to recall three specific Italian proposals:

(a) The Italian Parliament, taking up an appeal by a million and a half young people, has expressed the hope that the United Nations will set up a world-wide fund to combat hunger, leprosy and natural disasters;

(b) The Italian Government, with the aim of acquainting the developing countries with advanced technology and modern systems of industrial organization, proposes to participate—by contributing annually \$300,000 to the United Nations Industrial Development Organization and by offering adequate buildings—in the creation in Italy, through international financing and in co-operation with UNIDO and the International Labour Organization, a United Nations centre for the training of industrial managers;

(c) As a contribution towards the same goals, Italy is prepared to provide the developing countries with access to the San Marco space programme. It is also prepared to offer the co-operation of Italian technicians for the implementation of those countries' national projects or of projects of common interest.

41. Finally, the Italian Government wishes to continue and to enlarge within the framework of the United Nations its general action in favour of the developing countries. I am in a position to state that we are increasing our contribution to the United Nations Development Programme for 1969 by 20 per cent.

42. Action taken along the lines I have described—strengthening of the United Nations, disarmament, and development assistance—cannot alone ensure the peaceful and balanced progress of international society, unless we tackle the crises which have arisen in some regions of the world.

43. We find a confirmation of our anxieties in the latest developments in the Middle East, which have dangerously aggravated the difficulties resulting from the conflict of June 1967. We are convinced that a solution to those difficulties may be found within the framework of the United Nations. Hence, we shall continue to give our most sincere support to the mission of Mr. Jarring, whose high capacities we fully appreciate. We shall persevere in every possible action which will relax tension and contribute to the success of the mission.

44. I should like to recall from this rostrum the idea put forward by Italy in order to overcome the difficulties connected with Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967 so as to make it possible for the Jarring mission to come to grips with the substance of the matters involved. Furthermore, as a result of the conspicuous economic damage caused by the conflict of June 1967, particularly to the countries of the region concerned, we must co-operate in rehabilitating the different economies, so as to prevent irreparable postponements and delays in the development plans which are so vital for the welfare of the people of the area.

45. Another serious problem which is of great concern to us is the conflict in Viet-Nam. Although the United Nations was unable to take any direct action in this regard, the debates in this Hall and the pressure of world public opinion undoubtedly contributed to the start of the Paris negotiations. We have always maintained that there must be a political and not a military solution to that conflict. We have associated ourselves with those who consider that the 1954 Geneva Agreements offer the basis for a negotiated settlement. Yet we are deeply distressed to note that the negotiations are proceeding with exasperating slowness. We are particularly concerned to note that, at the military level, the first significant United States gesture has not been followed by the progressive reduction in hostilities that we had a right to expect. We feel, therefore, that the time has come for an urgent appeal to the parties so that, through reduction in military operations, the way may be prepared for a solution which would finally ensure a return to peace.

46. I should like now to deal briefly with the serious problems which racial hatred is stirring up in the African continent. Italy, which is firmly opposed to all forms of racial discrimination, confirms its resolve to carry out the decisions of the Security Council with regard to Rhodesia and to support every realistic effort to eradicate, especially from southern Africa, a phenomenon which we profoundly deplore as it infringes the fundamental rights of man.

47. Finally, I cannot conceal the grave anxiety and deep concern with which the Italian people view the situation in Nigeria. As we see that bloody civil war continuing, we must give increasing support to the relief work conducted by UNICEF and the International

^{1/} Subsequently distributed as document A/7285.

Red Cross, and try to contribute to the re-establishment of conditions of peace and security for all the people of Nigeria.

48. The Italian delegation clearly realizes the internal nature of that conflict, which has been emphasized in the resolutions adopted at the summit meetings of Heads of State of the Organization of African Unity. We are fully aware that it is the primary responsibility of the African countries to work out lasting solutions to their problems. We expect in this context that the Federal Government of Nigeria and the African countries themselves will take all necessary initiatives to bring about a solution of the crisis.

49. Keeping in mind the deep anxiety with which this problem is followed in all countries and particularly in Italy, we consider that our Organization must throw all its weight behind the action of the Organization of African Unity for a speedy and peaceful solution of this conflict, enabling all countries to engage in the work of reconstruction.

50. The proposals and the ideas I have put forward seem to me the best proof that recent events have not shaken the faith of the Italian Government in our Organization. And to the United Nations we pledge our firm and undivided co-operation.

51. Mr. SHARP (Canada): Mr. President, your election to the office of the Presidency of this Assembly is fitting testimony to the esteem in which you are held at the United Nations. I know you will take a worthy place amongst those representatives of Member States from Latin America who have presided over our debates from time to time during the past twenty-three years. Indeed, your election reminds us once again how much the United Nations owes its accomplishments to the dedication, eloquence and concern for principle of the delegates who have represented the twenty founding Member States from Latin America.

52. My country too has made special efforts, since 1945, to implement the principles of the Charter and to nurture the growth of this Organization. Speaking in this Assembly for the first time as the representative of a new Canadian Government, I wish to reaffirm Canada's determination to do all it can to support these principles. It is our aim to help to achieve a better world by strengthening the United Nations and its agencies as indispensable instruments for international co-operation.

53. Canada's contribution will be pragmatic and realistic. It will be based on our assessment of what the situation requires the United Nations to do and what Canada can best do in the fulfilment of its responsibilities as a faithful Member of this Organization. In matters of peace and war there are limits on the kinds of agreement likely to be reached. Member States, however, must work towards strengthening the authority of the Organization. Success will come slowly. Some would use this forum for the ends of propaganda alone; others sincerely expect the Assembly to act as a quasi-government or legislature. Our yardstick ought to be the capacity of the United Nations to perform the functions which are its proper responsibility and on which there can be at any time a reasonable measure of agreement.

54. Canada's experience has led us to value our independence while recognizing the interdependence of all States in the modern world; to prize political diversity and cultural freedom; to cherish pride of country but to mistrust chauvinistic dogmas; to adapt but not to overthrow the traditions we have inherited from others; and to govern by consent. We believe it is possible, indeed essential, to reconcile the affinities of geography and history and the close associations they imply with the universal concepts set out in the Charter of equal rights, territorial integrity and political independence.

55. It follows that we cannot accept that a community of interest, real or alleged, political, cultural or economic, entitles one country to take upon itself the right to interfere in the internal affairs of another. In the Commonwealth of Nations to which we belong the right of national self-determination is so taken for granted that member countries are free to develop ties with any other countries or groups of countries, including socialist countries.

56. Above all, no international order can be founded or can exist on the self-appointed right of any Government or group of Governments to impose their policies on other sovereign States by force. The invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union and some of its allies was nothing more than the assertion of a proprietary right of a great Power to exercise domination over Eastern Europe under the guise of a "fraternal" ideological relationship. It was naked power politics without regard to the Charter of the United Nations. Have the Governments of the Soviet Union and its allies forgotten that less than three years ago, this Assembly, in its resolution 2131 (XX), by a vote of 100 to none declared:

"No State has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State. Consequently, armed intervention and all other forms of interference or attempted threats against the personality of the State or against its political, economic and cultural elements, are condemned."

57. Although we are bound to take note of the wishes of the Government of Czechoslovakia that the Security Council refrain from further action at this time, the Council quite rightly remains seized of this question which has profound implications for the independence and sovereignty of all Member States. The concern of Members of the United Nations for Czechoslovakia, its leaders and its people will inevitably continue until the soil of that country is once again free of foreign troops.

58. We must also be aware of the danger to peace in Europe arising from recent charges levelled by the Soviet Union against the Federal Republic of Germany and the evocation of an alleged unilateral right of intervention in yet another country. In the view of Canada, no such right exists.

59. While condemning the Soviet Union and its allies for what they have done we must be ready to seize every opportunity for serious and constructive discussion of the issues that divide East and West. So long as Soviet troops remain on Czechoslovakian territory the progress of such discussions will of necessity be

slow and cautious. But there is one area in which we must press on. Negotiations to end the arms race should be pursued vigorously. Progress on this front will benefit all nations, including Czechoslovakia.

60. Canada, and no doubt a great majority of the Members of the United Nations, was heartened by the announcement of the United States and the Soviet Union on 1 July of their agreement to begin negotiations on the limitation of strategic nuclear weapons, including anti-ballistic missiles. I urge the United States and the Soviet Union to begin these talks without delay and to support the early resumption of negotiations in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament on a comprehensive test ban, a halt in the production of fissionable material for military purposes and the reduction and subsequent elimination of nuclear stock-piles.

61. Since we last met, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons has been opened for signature and has been signed by some eighty countries. Canada has signed the Treaty and, in due course, intends to ratify it. All countries should help to realize the Treaty's full potential by acceding to it soon.

62. The continued use of force in international disputes and the incalculable human suffering caused by war have drawn attention to the part played by the traffic in conventional arms in contributing to the conditions which lead to outbreaks of violence. In the days of the League of Nations, efforts were made to impose some restraints on the arms traffic by publicizing statistics about weapons and other types of armaments transferred between States. In our view, the concept of an international register of arms transfers should be revived.

63. My Government is interested too in the possibility of limiting supplies of armaments in regions of acute political and military confrontation and has noted with approval the recent indication that under certain conditions the Soviet Union favours the implementation of "measures for regional disarmament and the reduction of armaments in various parts of the world, including the Middle East" [A/7134, para. 21].

64. Next to the fear of war, which I have so far been discussing in its various current aspects, we are all keenly aware that hunger and serious privation are issues which, especially when they reach disastrous proportions, cannot be ignored in this body. The Secretary-General recognized this point when he drew to our attention the situation in Nigeria in the introduction to his annual report [A/7201/Add.1].

65. The Canadian delegation acknowledges and fully understands the request of the Organization of African Unity that Governments abstain from any action which might impair the unity, territorial integrity and peace of Nigeria. We are also aware and appreciative of the efforts made by the Government of Nigeria and many other Governments to deal with the humanitarian issues. We trust that such efforts will expand in keeping with the requirements of the situation. In the face of the human tragedy which has unfolded before our eyes, it is only natural that people everywhere should feel deep sympathy for the Nigerian people and be anxious

that no international effort be spared to come to the help of those in need.

66. Because of our sympathy and concern in Canada for the Nigerian people, the Canadian Government is providing Hercules aircraft and crews and has allocated over \$1 million for relief supplies for Nigeria through the International Red Cross, whose invaluable service on this occasion, despite the difficulties—I might say the frustrations—arising from the civil war, has given us grounds for admiration. In addition, Canadian voluntary agencies have made substantial contributions. My Government has also agreed, at the request of the Government of Nigeria, to participate in the international team which has been observing the situation in the territories of the Eastern Region where Federal government authority has been restored, and whose continuing reports will give an impartial account of what is happening. The reports should be as full and detailed as possible in order to serve their intended purpose.

67. We do not yet know the full dimensions of the problems of immediate relief which may be required, still less the extent of reconstruction which will face the people of Nigeria when peace, we hope, is mercifully and quickly restored. We do know that these problems will call for international co-operation and assistance on a substantial scale. Canada stands ready to play a full part.

68. In the Middle East, continuing tensions and sporadic fighting between Israel and its neighbours sow the seeds of future conflict. There is a danger that the escalation of violence in the Middle East could involve outside Powers and thus constitute a grave threat to world peace. Yet we are all conscious that the time and effort devoted to settle this dispute since the end of the fighting in June 1967 has led to improvement in the situation. Agreement by the Security Council last November to certain basic provisions and principles for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East was an important achievement. But principles are of little use unless the parties accept in good faith the duty of implementing them fully and effectively.

69. The Canadian Government reaffirms its support of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, in all its parts, and pays a tribute to the patient and tenacious efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Jarring, to assist the parties. We give him our full support, and call upon the parties to use his good offices and earnestly seek agreement on a peaceful and accepted settlement based on the principles and provisions of resolution 242 (1967). This is particularly important in the days which lie ahead when Foreign Ministers are in New York and readily available to consult.

70. The events of June 1967 tragically aggravated the problem of the Palestine refugees. I am sure I speak for all Member countries when I pay a tribute to the work of the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency and his staff. In extremely difficult conditions, the Agency, in conjunction with the host Governments, has carried out its responsibilities with perseverance, skill and compassion. In recognition of the vital need for UNRWA to continue its work, my Government during the current fiscal year maintained its voluntary pledge of cash

and food aid value at \$1.2 million and, in addition, contributed to the Agency the equivalent of \$650,000 in special donations.

71. The Agency can assist in supplying the refugees with the basic requirements for subsistence, and it has done notable work in providing education for thousands of refugee children. For the future, however, what is required is a just settlement which would offer the refugees the opportunity of living in peace and dignity. A solution to the refugee problem will be feasible only in the context of an agreed settlement between the Arab States and Israel. Meanwhile, pending the attainment of such a settlement, this urgent humanitarian problem remains. My Government, therefore, calls upon all Member States to demonstrate the reality of their concern for the refugees by supporting, tangibly and generously, the operations of UNRWA.

72. It is deeply discouraging that no tangible progress has been made towards a negotiated settlement in Viet-Nam. The high hopes universally aroused by the initiation of the talks in Paris reflected the overwhelming desire of mankind to see this agonizing and destructive conflict brought to an end.

73. While it is appropriate that this body should be concerned with the situation in Viet-Nam, responsibility rests in the final analysis with the two sides in the conflict. Canada has already expressed the view that the bombing of North Viet-Nam should stop. That is an essential first step. But a political settlement requires a general military de-escalation, and North Viet-Nam must demonstrate its willingness to contribute to this process.

74. We are often reminded that the United Nations is a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations. One of the main threats to such harmony is racial discrimination and the effects it has on international stability. The divisions amongst the membership which these questions provoke must not be allowed to lead us to a breakdown in communication between us. The objective is clear. It is to ensure that the majority of the peoples of the countries of southern Africa will no longer be deprived of their rightful place in the political, economic and social development of their countries.

75. The main issues are the future of South West Africa and Rhodesia, the question of apartheid in South Africa, and the refusal of the Government of Portugal to accept the overwhelming opinion of this Assembly in favour of self-determination for the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea. In all four situations minority groups have decided that they alone have the right to determine for an indefinite period the rate of progress and the capacity to govern of the unenfranchised majority. These inequities must be ended. The process of peaceful change must be accelerated.

76. But how? We are all looking for some way out of the present impasse over South West Africa. At the twenty-second session of this Assembly, the Canadian representative suggested [1655th meeting] that the Assembly explore the offer made by the Foreign Minister of South Africa to receive a personal representative of the Secretary-General, without prejudice to any position which may have been taken by Members

of this Organization. We still hope that his approach can be followed up. We are prepared to consider other approaches if they command a wide measure of agreement and if they are realistic.

77. We have agreed on the principles of United Nations action against Rhodesia. We must do everything possible to see that these decisions are carried out by all States and especially by South Africa and Portugal. We must continue also to confront these two States with our unanimous judgement that policies of racial repression and political subjugation are incompatible with United Nations principles. Canada respects and intends to abide by the decisions of the Security Council.

78. Violations of human rights are not restricted to southern Africa. All Member States are under an obligation to look to their own records of achievement in protecting human rights. My Government supports the initiatives which have been taken in the United Nations in the formulation of the various international covenants and declarations in the field of human rights. Canadian legislation reflects this concern in various enactments prohibiting discrimination based on sex, race, colour, creed or national origin, in living practices, conditions of employment, public accommodation and trade union membership. Voluntary organizations have promoted amongst all Canadians an awareness of their basic rights. Several provinces have established human rights commissions or ombudsmen, and a Bill of Rights enumerating individual rights has been adopted by the Federal Parliament. The Federal Government is proposing the entrenchment of a code of human rights in our constitution.

79. In order to facilitate the implementation of such covenants and conventions my Government recognizes the need for new approaches to the machinery of implementation. The proposal to create an Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights is, in this context, an important and welcome development which I believe deserves the broadest possible support from Member States.

80. In the broader context of human rights, the review of the arrangements for co-ordination between the activities of international relief agencies in case of natural disasters should, we think, be extended to cases of hostilities so that in such cases also assistance can be provided quickly and effectively to the innocent victims involved.

81. This Organization is dedicated to the elimination of poverty, ignorance and disease. At the end of the first United Nations Development Decade, this goal is still far off. We can look back with satisfaction to some achievements—I think of the establishment of the United Nations Development Programme, for example—and we have learned some lessons. We have learned that economic development is a long-term process and that co-ordination of international programmes involves more than setting targets and adjusting priorities. We know better now that the terms and conditions under which aid is offered are of fundamental importance, as is the relationship of trade to aid. We realize that the improvement of agricultural techniques is critical to the whole developmental process.

82. Nevertheless, there is no hiding the fact that the level of international assistance to developing countries is inadequate. The needs grow faster than the resources are made available, partly because population increases so rapidly. So far as Canada is concerned, our aid programme will continue to grow year by year to reach the goal of 1 percent of gross national product as quickly as possible. We are pursuing a set of economic policies which will free resources for high priority purposes, and notwithstanding the imposition of strict limitations on expenditures in general, our aid effort will increase substantially next year. This includes an increase of 25 per cent in our contribution to the United Nations Development Programme in the coming year, as well as significant increases in our contributions to the United Nations Children's Fund and to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. At the same time we have always recognized the importance of the terms of aid and have, therefore, through extensive use of grants and long-term low-interest loans, attempted to meet the needs of recipient countries.

83. On the eve of the second development decade, we in Canada look forward to the conclusions of two major evaluations of development assistance and related policies of trade, one commissioned by the United Nations Development Programme and one by International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The latter study is to be headed by a former Prime Minister of Canada—and also a former holder of your office, Mr. President—the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson. There has been some scepticism as to whether resources made available for development purposes have been used with maximum efficiency. These assessments should identify the lessons to be learned from experience and provide useful indications as to the policies to be pursued in the future. In this context, there may be greater confidence in development operations and, we hope, greater willingness on the part of developed countries to increase their contributions.

84. It seems apparent that, to a significant degree, the gap between the more developed and less-developed societies reflects the differences in the extent to which they have learned to apply the techniques and the fruits of science and technology to their fundamental development problems. No mere transfer of the experience of the more developed nations can bridge this gap. The developing nations require their own capabilities in the field of science and technology. For this purpose, they must have ready access to the reservoir of knowledge and experience which exists elsewhere, and their efforts to adapt these to their own special needs and aspirations should be welcomed.

85. Recognizing this, the Canadian Government intends to establish in Canada an institution devoted to the practical application of science and technology to the fundamental social and economic problems of development. This institution will have a directing board and staff drawn from many countries and the results of its studies will be freely available to the international community. It will be designed to add a new dimension to the search for solutions to those social and economic ills which are the root cause of so many of the difficulties brought to this Assembly.

86. My Government recognizes that the terms of world trade must be improved if the developing countries are to be able to utilize technological change to greater effect and attract investment capital. We have heard various comments from this rostrum about the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. No one can be content with its results. But it is an encouraging fact that, as new forms of aid such as tariff preferences are formulated in UNCTAD, the need for far-reaching changes in the working methods of the Organization have also been recognized. We look forward to the presentation by the President of the second session of UNCTAD to the General Assembly in plenary session of the issues raised at the Conference in New Delhi.

87. The Canadian delegation welcomes the fact that, in addition to examining comparatively unfamiliar questions relating to outer space and the ocean floor, attention will be paid at this session to the problems of the human environment. We in Canada are keenly aware that the effects of pollution of the air and water respect no boundary. We and our neighbour, the United States, have together pioneered in the development of international machinery to deal with this problem. For these reasons we have welcomed the initiative of Sweden to have this important matter considered as a problem of world significance and, therefore, one which it would be appropriate to deal with in the first instance in plenary session.

88. Despite the scientific revolution and despite the startling advances in world organization, the sad fact is that Governments are all too often forced to give military expenditures priority over the requirements of peaceful development. Resources which might be used to increase production and foster education must be applied to reconstruction and relief. It may be utopian to believe that we can banish the use of force in relations amongst States. But we must strengthen the capacity of the United Nations to act as an agency for the control of conflict and the mediation of disputes.

89. My Government is encouraged by the signs of progress in the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. We have been among those Governments which have attempted to contribute to this work by summarizing their own practices and by pointing to the lessons which might be drawn. Papers on observer missions, prepared by the Secretary-General and now being studied by a working group of the Special Committee, represent a significant contribution to our study of peace-keeping in all its aspects. Discussions due to take place in the Committee should help in narrowing the differences among Member States about preparations for peace-keeping. I hope that the Assembly will instruct the Committee to expand its investigation to include other aspects of United Nations peace-keeping experience and attempt to draw some agreed conclusions. In this way, we should be able to develop an understanding about the practice of peace-keeping acceptable to all.

90. We shall not be able to improve very much the capacity of the United Nations to realize its full potential in promoting peace and security unless the institution itself reflects the world as it is. The question of universality of membership remains pressing. We

regret the absence from this Assembly of States that play an important part in world affairs.

91. The question of the representation of China is the most important of these issues, even though it is not strictly a question of membership. My Government has made public its decision to explore the possibilities of entering into diplomatic relations with the Government of the People's Republic of China. It is not in the long-term interests of world peace and security that the Government in Peking should remain isolated. For this reason, we think that this Government should be represented at the United Nations. We would welcome any equitable proposal which would facilitate the representation of the People's Republic of China in this Organization, having regard, however, to the rights of existing Members.

92. The United Nations is a very different Organization from the one which Canada helped to found more than twenty years ago. Its membership has almost tripled. It has formulated new priorities and is moving in new directions. It has demonstrated powers of adaptation in response to new demands. Human rights, economic development, co-operation in new environments, such as outer space and the ocean floor, have taken place as matters of major concern alongside the more traditional but nonetheless vital questions of war and peace. Indeed, it is now understood better than it was that all these questions interact.

93. As we endeavour to meet new challenges, we should not lose sight of the fact that the effectiveness of the United Nations is bound to be measured in the eyes of world public opinion against the practical results which follow from our resolutions. It is not by the number of resolutions which we adopt that posterity will judge us, but rather by the determination that we show in dealing with the pressing issues of our times and in carrying out the decisions that we make. In this spirit, on behalf of Canada, I pledge sustained and vigorous support of the United Nations.

94. Mr. HASLUCK (Australia): Mr. President, at the outset, the Australian delegation joins in the congratulations to you on your election to the high office of President and we pledge you our confidence and our support.

95. At the outset also, we should like to pay tribute too to the distinguished services given to the General Assembly by the outgoing President, the Foreign Minister of Romania.

96. I should also like to welcome to the body of membership of the United Nations the Kingdom of Swaziland, whose admission to membership Australia greets with great pleasure and had the honour of co-sponsoring. We look forward to the constructive participation of Swaziland in the work of this Organization.

97. This session of the General Assembly meets in discouraging circumstances at a critical time. I say that because, during the past few years, some of us have watched hopefully for signs of closer co-operation and understanding between the great Powers, a lessening of the danger to peace, new possibilities in the control of arms, and international co-operation in trying to raise living standards everywhere. We now have to ask ourselves if those hopes were illusory.

98. The principal recent setback was the aggression by the Soviet Union and some others against Czechoslovakia. It was intervention by force against the wishes of the lawful Government of Czechoslovakia and without the invitation or even the acquiescence of the legislature of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of that country. There is no need for me to outline those events, for they are well known, and I do not want to say anything that will worsen the position of the people of Czechoslovakia. Already the parliament of Australia has unanimously expressed our condemnation of the act and our sympathy with the sufferers.

99. I shall speak now only about some of the implications of those events for the rest of the world. In the first place, new doubt has been cast on the attitude of the Soviet Union towards the provisions of the Charter and the United Nations. The Charter of the United Nations is quite clear in forbidding the threat of force or the use of force against any nation. The Soviet Union has argued, in defence of its action against Czechoslovakia, that relations between the member countries of the Warsaw Pact are an internal matter and not the concern of other countries. What this amounts to is an assertion by the Soviet Union that the members of the Warsaw Pact are not to be regarded as independent Members of the United Nations like other countries and therefore not entitled to the protection of the Charter.

100. The Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, in his address to the General Assembly last week [1679th meeting] referred several times to the "socialist commonwealth" as a description of the countries covered by the Warsaw Pact. The word "commonwealth" is familiar to us; for many years past it has been applied to the free association of countries which were formerly in the British Empire. An essential element of that Commonwealth is the freedom of any one of its members to leave the Commonwealth if it wishes to do so, and indeed two members have done so in the past. However, the Soviet Union apparently does not recognize the right of members of its own grouping of nations to leave the group. Indeed, Mr. Gromyko and other spokesmen of the Soviet Union have declared against any such right. They have felt it necessary to state that point even though Czechoslovakia had not indicated any intention to withdraw from its treaty relationship with the Soviet Union. So the first cause of our concern is that the Soviet Union disregards—indeed, disavows—the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations recognizing the rights of Member nations to independence and freedom from the threat or use of force.

101. Furthermore, the Soviet Union's action against Czechoslovakia has reawakened distrust of any undertakings that might be given by the Soviet Union. It has brought other countries to consider whether they should strengthen their own defences and their international security arrangements. Today we hear voices in many countries of Europe, including some that are by no means ideologically out of sympathy with the Soviet Union, calling for increased armament and for increased mobilization of forces on that continent. Questions are being raised throughout the world whether countries can safely enter into further agreements on arms control. The attack on Czechoslovakia has been a setback to disarmament, including the con-

trol of nuclear weapons. The hope for co-operation between the great Powers, on which the peace-keeping system of the United Nations rests and on which the hopes of so many peoples of the world are based, has also been damaged.

102. Many of us here remember that the occupation of Czechoslovakia was the prelude to war in 1939, and it brought a shiver of grim foreboding to see East German troops entering Czechoslovakia again thirty years later. With such memories in our minds, let me say most earnestly to Moscow that it is important now that the Soviet Union should not abuse the position flowing from the presence of several hundred thousand Russian troops in Czechoslovakia. The recent agreement in Moscow should be carried out in a way that preserves the genuine independence of the Government and people of Czechoslovakia. The eyes of the world are still on that country and on neighbouring countries. Continued threats or pressure are bound to affect the judgement of the whole world on the possibility of co-operation with the Soviet Union—a co-operation which we see as a basic necessity for world peace and as a fundamental of the United Nations Charter.

103. In his speech to this Assembly the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union spoke again about disarmament. I ask: what hope lies ahead of us? The truth about disarmament is that it is only possible when there is confidence. Frightened nations do not disarm. Nations that do not trust each other do not disarm. Nations that disbelieve what other nations say do not disarm. If any nation comes to this place and proposes to take the lead in a move towards disarmament it can best take that lead by establishing trust—complete trust that its pledged word will be kept, its promises will not be broken, its respect for the principles of the Charter and its observance of the procedure for peaceful settlement laid down in the Charter will be absolute and unvarying. That seems to us to be the path to disarmament.

104. We would welcome and be responsive to any move which would be likely to bring about a reduction in the economic burden that armaments place on the economies of all nations, any move which would replace a system of security resting on the deterrent influence of armed strength by a system resting on the certainty that procedures of peaceful settlement of disputes would be followed. But the smaller nations of the world want more than words. If the approach to disarmament is to be step by step, then each step must be seen to be effective. It is not enough in establishing confidence to promise to perform an act of disarmament or to offer to submit to control. There is the need too for effective inspection and verification to show that the step has in fact been taken and that the control has in fact been applied and obeyed. Above all, there has to be faith that proposals for disarmament are made not to serve the advantage of one but to lessen the dangers of all.

105. I turn now to another recent development that seems to us to be a setback to the hopes of mankind. I refer to the growing disillusionment in many of the highly developed countries about economic aid. In some of the major donors of economic assistance, public and parliamentary opinion has shown reluctance to

maintain the volume of aid at its past levels. There are criticisms of the past effectiveness of aid and of the extent to which those who receive aid are making use of it or adequately developing their own resources. Those are not solely criticisms of those who give; some of the fault lies with those who receive, and all of us are open to criticism if we have failed to co-operate wisely and effectively.

106. The starting point surely is that the need is still there and the need is very great. For its part, the Australian Government has each year been increasing its international economic assistance and, in the current financial year which began in July, it has made a further increase.

107. There are three aspects of our concern about international aid. One is that the world volume of aid should not fall. The second is that aid should be given in the best form and applied in the most effective way. Third, and over all, is our growing recognition that, behind the present need for economic and technical assistance to the weaker countries, there lie more fundamental problems which create the need for aid but which will not themselves be solved simply by giving aid. I shall take those in turn.

108. In regard to the form of aid, it is disappointing that some of the international assistance shown in statistics may in fact bring limited benefits. I have in mind, for example, aid which takes the form of loans bearing, in some cases quite considerable rates of interest. I feel I can talk bluntly about this because all the economic assistance given by Australia, and appearing in the international statistics alongside the name of Australia, takes the form of grants which are not repayable at any time and which do not carry interest or any other such burden. I am not, of course, arguing against any international loans or credits. Some loans or credits may be the appropriate form of finance, having regard to the nature of the projects involved or the position of the countries concerned. What I am drawing attention to is the tendency of many donors to describe as international aid what should really be described as old-fashioned banking loans. In certain developing countries the volume of their debt is building up to high levels, and some of them have already reached the point where they face the problem—or in the not-too-distant future they will face the problem—of having to try to negotiate some refunding of their debt.

109. It is also an unfortunate necessity that in present circumstances so much of international aid has to be diverted to relieving immediate distress, brought about either by natural disasters or by human blunder, and such aid does little to bring a permanent change for the better in the conditions of those who receive it. We have to look for the chances to make international aid serve a constructive purpose.

110. Whether aid is a stimulus to development or a palliative of distress, consideration has to be given in both giving and receiving countries to whether the best use is being made of the resources devoted to aid. Are the receiving countries applying the best techniques and policies when they make requests and when they carry out their projects? Are the donor countries making available the right sort of assistance, and are

they following appropriate economic policies to complement the aid? The effectiveness of existing international organizations also needs to be regularly reviewed, and lessons drawn from past experience.

111. It would seem to us, too, that the time is overdue to show greater international imagination in using the newly developed scientific and technological skills of mankind in this field. Let me give only one illustration. A remarkable enlargement of the hope for increasing food supplies in lands of rapidly growing population has come in recent years with the development of new strains of grain, for example, the Mexican wheat, which has resulted in a spectacular increase of production in several Asian countries and elsewhere. We submit that we all need to do more to ensure that advances in science are applied in a practical way to the problems of underdeveloped countries.

112. As I indicated earlier, however, the problems of economic need have to be looked at in a much wider context than international assistance. Not only are some of the donor nations growing tired of giving: some of the weaker nations, which also have independent minds, are growing tired of receiving, because they do not want to be permanent pensioners. The object of our international effort should be, not simply raising living standards, but also making it possible for each country to sustain those standards through its own efforts. Hence it is most important to provide access to markets for the less-developed countries. Expansion of world trade, the maintenance of prices for primary production, and the avoidance of violent short-term fluctuations in the prices of primary products—those are the sort of aims that, we submit, we ought to have. A lot has been done in those fields over a period of many years by international commodity agreements and in other ways, but a great deal more has to be done. The UNCTAD Conference earlier this year was in many respects a disappointment. It illustrated—and I think this is the important lesson to be drawn from that Conference—the practical limitations which result when countries range themselves along barriers according to whether they are developed or less-developed. Australia, which can be regarded for certain purposes as developed and for others as underdeveloped, tries to see many of these matters from both sides, and we have ourselves taken a forward step in improving access to our markets for the products of less-developed countries.

113. In brief, my case on aid is this. Let the nations of the world try to increase, rather than diminish, the volume of international assistance. Let us keep constantly under critical review the organization and policies of international aid, so that they will be best fitted to changing situations. Above all, let us look at aid in the widest economic context, with aid forming one element in achieving the aim of higher living standards and self-sustaining national economies.

114. In passing, while I respect the value of the work which is being done by various agencies in this field and commend them for it, I do want to express a simple wish regarding some of the reports that are submitted to us. I do wish that some freshening wind would blow away the jargon in which international public servants cloud their thinking. We need the simplicity of language of the hungry man, the man who

knows the meaning of one word, "food". The use of terms like "extrapolations", "conceptual trends", "political parameters" and such like, tends to mask the basic fact of poverty. I fear that the use of such terms often gives a grand but false sense of achievement to those who use the long words while it does nothing to lessen the pain that gnaws at the bellies of those who want something to eat. I suggest that plain words in our reporting may help us to keep our eyes on the plain facts.

115. As we look around the world today, the Australian delegation shares the deep concern of other Members of the United Nations at the unresolved conflict in the Middle East, the hostilities inside the territory of Nigeria, the deep and difficult problems of race relations in Africa. If I do not comment on these and other situations, it is not through lack of awareness of the dangers or lack of concern with the outcome but rather because at this stage in this particular debate I could say little that has not already been said clearly and better by other speakers. So I turn, in the final section of my speech, to a part of the world with which we in Australia are more intimately concerned, of which we have a more direct knowledge, and on which we can be expected to make a contribution: Asia and the Western Pacific.

116. We have often said, as many of our Asian neighbours have said, that developments in Asia are of vital importance to the whole world. Enormous populations live there, growing in numbers as the problems of disease are overcome. The population of Asia is greater than that of the rest of the world put together, and it is not merely rising rapidly but is often doing so in countries where there is already pressure on limited production—for the second problem of this region is to develop its latent resources, both physical and human. In Asia are ancient civilizations, the source of much that is prized in the civilization of the rest of the world, and the human talent in Asia could be a precious asset to all mankind.

117. I have already said this region is important to the rest of the world. I will say more than that. If the countries in it cannot solve their social and economic problems and work out stable and peaceful relationships with one another, then the peace and prosperity of the rest of the world will be in jeopardy. But if they do solve those problems, then the rest of the world will find that its other problems have also been eased.

118. Those Asians who have become free and independent are making a valiant and hopeful attempt to shape the life of their own peoples in their own countries according to their will. Throughout the face of Asia today the positive and constructive element is nationalism. These free and independent newly-emerged nations want to keep their freedom and independence. They want an Asia that is not under the domination of any Power, and not under the threat of the domination of any Power, an Asia where free and independent countries can make their own decisions and carry out their own decisions. We in Australia share that aim; we also want to see that. That requires an Asia where there is security and political stability and, with political stability, some real opportunity for the Governments to get on with the main job of making life better for their own peoples. It will be an Asia

of change—of great economic and social changes, where the standards of living can rise, and where the economies will be economies of progress and growth, both in the way in which they affect the people who live there and the way in which they affect the outside world.

119. One of the most hopeful developments in the region has been the growth of regional co-operation, some of it under the auspices of the United Nations—particularly through the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East and the regional offices of the specialized agencies—and some of it through other regional bodies, such as the Association of South-East Asian Nations and the Asian and Pacific Council. It is, in our view, healthy at this stage of the region's development to have a number of organizations with varying membership and with varying, though I hope not conflicting, purposes, and which take account of the different historical backgrounds and differing stages of economic development already attained by the countries of the region. Regional co-operation is essential for the future security and welfare of Asia, and no local quarrel or dispute should be allowed to develop in such a way as to block or impede that co-operation.

120. What does disturb the free countries of the region is the possibility that they will not be allowed time and opportunity to build their independent national institutions, to carry out economic development, and to weld their regional relationships and their harmonious dealings among themselves. What they fear are outside threats, or armed attack, or, more likely, subversion from outside. The principal source of threat today is seen as communist China; the current area of active conflict is Viet-Nam.

121. I have said many times, and I repeat again today, that I see as the greatest task for us in Australia—and I suggest for other countries too—the task of seeing the mainland of China fitted into the family of nations. But that is not a task to be attempted from one side only. The mainland Chinese too have to make moves of conciliation and peace. Hitherto, unfortunately, they have threatened their neighbours, whether to the south or east or to their west and north. Along their borders are unease and apprehension and even, on occasion, armed clashes. Their neighbours have found within their borders interference in internal affairs and an overflow of the "cultural revolution". Communist China has not been willing to make any reciprocal move to overcome its separation from much of the diplomatic life of the world, and those nations which are in diplomatic relations with Peking have had their representatives in very many cases subjected to humiliation, harassment and isolation. It seems to us that the problems of relations with the mainland have to be seen in a wider context than simple recognition of Peking or the seating of Peking in the United Nations.

122. The future of the region will be greatly, in our view, affected by the outcome of the conflict in Viet-Nam. For some years past the North Viet-Namese and persons trained, directed and co-ordinated by them have engaged in a programme of infiltration, subversion, and ultimately armed invasion of the South, taking advantage of the tropical terrain and of the techniques of guerrilla warfare. They have followed a policy of terrorism and sabotage, with the deliberate

purpose of eliminating local officials and leaders of national culture, of frightening off the populace from supporting the régime, and of destroying the factories, bridges, and other things necessary to contribute to the economy and administration. It has been a campaign to destroy South Viet-Nam's economy and administration so as to prevent the people from choosing any future other than a communist one; to attempt to create such a state of despair that the people will settle for anything, however unpalatable, in order to have an end to the present state of affairs.

123. The internal situation of the Republic of Viet-Nam has to be judged against that background. The majority of the population have remained loyal to the Government. Elections from the local level up to those for the Presidency were held last year. Though the communists launched a wide attack on the cities last March—the so-called Tet offensive—and though they called on the people and armed forces to rally to them and confidently expected them to do so, the people nevertheless continued to support the Government in Saigon. The failure of that Tet offensive demonstrated that the great majority of the people of Viet-Nam do not support the communists—though of course that fact will carry no weight with those who believe in the right of a dedicated minority to impose its will on the majority even if force and terror have to be the instruments. I repeat, the majority of the South Vietnamese people have shown clearly they do not want communism. Those countries which are giving military support to the Republic of Viet-Nam, including Australia, are helping a country which is the victim of aggression from another State, North Viet-Nam, and are trying to preserve the freedom of choice about their future for the people in the South.

124. Talks are at present taking place in Paris between representatives of the United States of America and of North Viet-Nam, with the objective of opening a way to a settlement. I hope they will be the first step on the road to a just and lasting settlement. In the meantime, fighting continues in Viet-Nam with continuing loss of life and a continuing destruction which we all deplore. I hope that there can be reciprocal reduction in warlike acts—and I emphasize the word "reciprocal", because it would not be fair or safe for one side only to make the reduction without any response from the other side. In saying that, I recognize quite clearly that the solution in Viet-Nam has to be a political one. The Republic of Viet-Nam, the United States, Australia, and the others with them, are not aiming at a military solution in the sense of conquest and an imposed peace. We have publicly stated, again and again, that there is no desire, no intention to destroy or replace by force the communist Government of North Viet-Nam. President Johnson has even offered to include communist Viet-Nam in a programme of international economic assistance for the reconstruction and development of the region if an acceptable settlement is achieved. It is North Viet-Nam that is trying to win a military settlement. It is they who have as a war aim the destruction of the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam and the complete take-over of the country regardless of the will of the people.

125. We all want the fighting in Viet-Nam to end. But it is important how it ends. If it ends in one way, it

means a setback to hopes in Asia; it means a perpetuation, over a longer period, of the conflicts and the crises in Asia; it means the subjection of millions of people in Asia; it means a deterioration in the prospects of global as well as regional security. That would be the result if it ended in one way. But if it ends in another way, with the people of South Viet-Nam able to choose their own future freely, it means that the chances are increased of lessening the crisis and of moving more hopefully towards some better future.

126. In conclusion, in facing the current problems of the world we take the Charter of the United Nations

as the guide. The Charter is the core of the United Nations, and the activities and machinery of the Organization are valid only so far as they accord with the Charter. The purposes and principles in the Charter are as valid today as they were in 1945 when the Charter was drafted. When the Organization or its Members try to depart from the Charter, we find ourselves in difficulties. When we try loyally to observe the Charter, both in its positive aspirations and in its restraints, the cause of constructive international co-operation is advanced.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.