

privity to the unfolding of the bilateral nuclear arms control negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union and has an opportunity within the Alliance to make known its views on the course of those negotiations.

Canada can frequently make a useful contribution to the arms control process in the realm of ideas and techniques, and by exercising constructive diplomacy in the search for compromises leading to agreements. However, there is one inescapable reality: Canada is not a major military power and does not possess any weapons of mass destruction. It can therefore be only an indirect contributor to the process of actually reducing or eliminating these types of weapon systems. Recognition of this fact is not a recipe for inaction but rather for espousing realistic rather than utopian proposals and developing coalitions with like-minded countries, especially allied countries, to increase the prospect of furthering those proposals. As the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Joe Clark, said recently before the United Nations General Assembly, arms control and disarmament will remain "a constant, consistent, dominant priority of Canadian foreign policy."

Conflict resolution

A fourth element in Canada's security policy can, for want of a better term, be called "conflict resolution." Ideally, this is a process aimed at finding solutions to the basic political or politico-strategic problems which are the source of military confrontations or diplomatic deadlocks. More often, it involves primarily an attempt to find a *modus vivendi* between the protagonists to a dispute. Here the instruments can be either classical bilateral or multi-lateral diplomacy in the carrying out of political leadership or political will.

Over the years Canada has been active in a variety of conflict resolution initiatives. Individually, or in conjunction with the United States and the United Kingdom, it endeavored during the 1960s to find a solution to the Cyprus dispute. Within the UN Security Council it was involved at various times in endeavors to find basic political solutions to various aspects of the Middle East problem. For the last few years Canada has been active within the United Nations Contact Group charged with developing proposals for the settlement of the Namibian problem in southern Africa.

The Trudeau initiative

More recently, and perhaps better known to the general public, were the endeavors of former Prime Minister Trudeau to defuse the state and spirit of confrontation which prevailed in East-West relations in late 1983 and early 1984. The preeminent purpose of Mr. Trudeau's initiative was to generate the political will and confidence necessary on both sides of the East-West divide to bring about a lowering of tensions and a general improvement of relations. He was also at pains to identify any common ground which might exist between East and West as a point of departure for a resumption of the disrupted arms control negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

It was in this spirit that he advanced the following series of propositions:

1. Both sides agree that a nuclear war cannot be won.
2. Both sides agree that a nuclear war must never be fought.
3. Both sides wish to be free of the risk of accidental war or of surprise attack.
4. Both sides recognize the dangers inherent in destabilizing weapons.
5. Both sides understand the need for improved techniques of crisis management.
6. Both sides are conscious of the awesome consequences of being the first to use force against the other.
7. Both sides have an interest in increasing security while reducing the cost.
8. Both sides have an interest in avoiding the spread of nuclear weapons to other countries — so-called horizontal proliferation.
9. Both sides have come to a guarded recognition of each other's legitimate security interests.
10. Both sides realize that their security strategies cannot be based on the assumed political or economic collapse of the other side.

Even this relatively modest set of propositions did not commend itself to the governments of the USA or of the USSR. This was to some extent indicative of how bad was the state of East-West relations at the time Mr. Trudeau put them forward. But Canada remains committed to continue to work towards an improvement in East-West relations in the interests of its own security and of world peace. Speaking before a university audience in September 1984, Prime Minister Mulroney spoke of the need to persevere in efforts towards the reduction of tensions and the attenuation of conflict, towards the creation of conditions for lasting peace: "There can be no letup in our efforts to reduce the threat of war. No matter how frustrating or difficult, negotiations must be pursued . . . The exercise of political will is nowhere more important than on this issue on whose outcome the lives of our children and of humanity depend."

A concluding thought

Canada's political traditions and orientations, as well as the relatively modest size of its military establishment, have effectively ruled out the pursuit by Canadian governments of hegemonistic or imperialistic ambitions, as well as the unilateral projection of force abroad as an instrument of foreign policy. As a result, Canada's security policy is in many respects synonymous with the quest for international peace and security. Through its participation in the collective defence system of the North Atlantic alliance, Canada contributes not only to its own national security but also to deterring an East-West conflict which would have devastating consequences for the world at large. Similarly, through its peacekeeping, arms control and conflict resolution endeavors Canada seeks to improve, attenuate or eliminate situations which could threaten its security by posing threats to world peace generally. Thus in discharging its fundamental national duty to provide for the physical security of its citizens, the Canadian government is engaged in a multi-faceted enterprise whose aim is global peace. □