

## Historical analysis

detering attack against its members by the threat of retaliation causing unacceptable damage to a potential aggressor. These remain to this day the two fundamentals of NATO as a security organization, defence and deterrence.

To the collective defence effort of NATO, Canada makes a small but militarily significant contribution: a brigade group of land forces and a group of fighter aircraft stationed in West Germany; a combat group of land forces committed to come to the assistance of Norway in the event of crisis or conflict; a fleet of twelve destroyers and eighteen Orion patrol aircraft dedicated to anti-submarine surveillance and defence in the North Atlantic ocean; and training facilities in Canada for the armed forces of allied countries, especially the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands and the United States. Under a subsidiary bilateral agreement with the United States, Canada also contributes warning systems and squadrons of fighter aircraft to NORAD for the joint defence of North American airspace.

The benefits which Canada has enjoyed as a result of its membership in NATO are out of all proportion to the size or cost of its military contribution to the Alliance. By virtue of NATO's success in deterring any major East-West armed conflict, and especially the outbreak of war in Europe, Canada and Canadians have enjoyed thirty-five years of peace and security. NATO has also provided Canada with full membership in a major forum for consultation and coordination of policy on all aspects of East-West relations: defence, arms control, trade, cultural exchanges, and social and humanitarian issues. Finally, membership in NATO has provided an additional dimension, an added "intimacy," to Canada's bilateral relations with a number of countries with which it has a host of interests unrelated to defence and security, most important among them, of course, the United States and the member states of the European Communities.

### International peacekeeping

The second element in Canada's security policy is international peacekeeping. (The term is used here generically to cover the activities of peacekeeping forces, military observer missions, mixed armistice commissions and truce supervisory organizations.) As with defence and deterrence, peacekeeping relies on the use of armed forces personnel, but in a very different mode and to somewhat different purposes. Peacekeeping operations are primarily geared to indirect rather than direct threats to Canada's security, to regional conflicts which could escalate, bringing about direct confrontation between outside powers and thus posing a threat to world peace generally. They also, of course, contribute to alleviating the regional consequences, political, economic and humanitarian, of these conflicts.

Peacekeeping units are normally injected into regional conflicts at an intermediate stage between the cessation of active military hostilities and the resolution by the parties to the conflict of the issues which gave rise to it. Their purpose is essentially two-fold. First, through observation, reporting, negotiation, intervention or interposition, to prevent or arrest outbreaks of violence which could lead to a renewal of more generalized hostilities. Secondly, to seek to provide a period of calm or a less charged atmosphere in which the parties to the dispute can proceed

with the business of making peace. The first of these objectives is frequently achieved by peacekeeping missions. The second, far more rarely — not due to any failure of peacekeeping, but usually to the lack of political will on the part of the parties to resolve their basic differences.

Most of the main peacekeeping operations of the last thirty-five years have been launched under the auspices of the United Nations through resolutions of the Security Council or of the General Assembly. Canada, as a strong supporter of the United Nations and of its Charter, has been one of a very few countries which have participated in virtually all the peacekeeping operations mounted by the United Nations. Members of the Canadian armed forces have served in UN peacekeeping operations in Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel, Yemen, India, Pakistan, Zaire and Cyprus. Under auspices other than the UN, Canada has also participated in truce supervisory commissions in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

International peacekeeping is an occasionally dangerous task, often frustrating and frequently debated. The question which recurs most often is whether peacekeeping tends to delay the achievement of political solutions to problems by removing the pressures of active armed conflict which might otherwise force the parties to negotiate seriously. This question remains, for all practical purposes, unanswered, but it always has to be weighed against the possibility that the withdrawal of peacekeeping units might lead to a renewal of hostilities, to their escalation involving outside powers and eventually to a threat to world peace. In the event, the course of prudence has usually prevailed and peacekeeping operations have been maintained so long as there appeared to be a useful role for them to play.

### Arms control and disarmament

A third element in Canada's security policy is the pursuit of arms control and disarmament. This is different from the first two in that it involves not the use of armed forces but of skillful diplomacy and political will, accompanied by a mastery of strategic concepts and of highly complex technical detail.

The three principal objectives pursued by Canada in the realm of arms control and disarmament are: one, to improve security for Canada and its allies by achieving strategic stability and a military balance between East and West at the lowest possible level of forces; two, to attenuate the destructiveness of war and the suffering engendered by armed conflict through bans or limitations on certain types of weapons; and three, to permit in the long term the diversion of financial, scientific and other resources from military purposes to other purposes.

In pursuit of these objectives, Canada participates actively in a number of multilateral arms control and disarmament conferences in Geneva, Vienna and Stockholm. The aims pursued in these conferences include a ban on the testing of nuclear weapons, the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons to countries which do not now possess them, a regime limiting the militarization of outer space, a ban on the production and stockpiling of chemical weapons, a balanced reduction in the conventional forces maintained by NATO and the Warsaw Pact in Central Europe, and a regime of militarily significant confidence-building measures applicable throughout Europe.

Through its membership in NATO, Canada is also