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Advanced Text of Speech to be made by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin to the 31st Annual Convention of the Police Association of Ontario, Windsor, August 23, 1963.

I am very pleased to have this opportunity of speaking to you on the occasion of your 31st Annual Convention. I know something about the very excellent work which the Windsor Branch of the Police Association of Ontario has done with young people in our city in not only lessening the problem of juvenile delinquency but also in combatting some of the root conditions which contribute to delinquency.

We have had some very exciting and stirring international developments in recent months. The signing of the nuclear test ban treaty earlier this month has been a cause of rejoicing throughout the world, and it may be that we are close to a new stage of international co-operation among the nations of the world.

I would like this evening to tell you something about one of the most important aspects of the international community. I refer to the concept of an international peace keeping force. There are many points of similarity between international peace keeping operations as they have developed under the United Nations and operations of the domestic police forces in our free society. Just as the object of the Ontario police is to maintain order and security in this province so the objective of international peace keeping operations is to maintain order and security internationally. There are striking parallels between the difficulties in the international field and the **pioneer** efforts to establish law and order within nation states.

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Let me begin by referring to a number of peace keeping operations of the United Nations in which military and aivilian personnel have been working in a manner not unlike that of a metropolitan policeman in Ontario.

The main trend in United Nations peace keeping methods has been to devise various forms of United Nations presence, designed usually to meet specific political circumstances. Their principal purpose has been to serve as an international witness in areas of disturbance and to exert a calming influence.

Quite early in United Nations history, the Organization began to employ military observer groups in situations of potential danger. Perhaps the most notable example has been the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine. For well over ten years now, unarmed military observers have helped immeasurably to keep the uneasy peace between Israel and its Arab neighbours. Specifically, the observers are expected to ensure that the separate Armistice Agreement between Israel and the Arab states is being carried out.

The observers respond to complaints about incidents along the armistice demarcation lines. They conduct investigations and submit reports to the Mixed Armistice Commissions. In other words, while they do not patrol a regular beat, they do hasten to reply to emergency calls.

This operation has required of the individual observers the highest degree of courage, tact and patience. While they have not always succeeded in preventing bloodshed and violence and on occasion some have made the supreme sacrifice - for the most part they have provided a thin protective shield between the spark of incident and the flame of new fighting.

Perhaps the most spectacular example of United Nations peace-keeping activity has been the establishment and functioning of the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East. This international agency, organized and equipped as an armed

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military force, was set up initially to secure a cease-fire and the withdrawal of hostile armed forces. It was not intended to engage in hostilities except in self-defence. Since 1956, UNEF has served as a buffer between Israel and the United Arab Republic and as a calming influence generally in the Middle East.

In its method of operation, UNEF has established fixed posts in a buffer zone in the Gaza Strip. It has carried out patrols on foot, in armoured vehicles and in aircraft. Part of its job has been to prevent infiltration and border incidents; part has been to protect United Nations personnel and installations in the area; part has been to prevent disorder within its area of deployment. In many respects UNEF personnel have acted not unlike the policeman on his beat in one of our Ontario towns.

In 1958 in Lebanon, the United Nations assumed yet another role of observation. While primarily the Observation Group was intended to prevent the infiltration of personnel and arms from outside Lebanon, inside the country United Nations personnel helped to reconcile differences ....4/

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among hostile political factions and ultimately to bring about national stability. For a time, the white jeeps and helicopters of UNOGIL - the squad cars of the United Nations - were the main symbols of established order in the area which was torn by internal dissension bordering on civil war. In the end too, they provided a diplomatic umbrella for the withdrawal of United States Marines which had been landed in Lebanon.

There have been many other examples of this kind of United Nations activity - in Kashmir, in Northern Greece, in Jordan, in West New Guinea. The acid test of United Nations peace-keeping activity, however, has been in the Congo where, in a situation of extreme complexity and danger, a combined military and civilian operation was required not only to maintain internal security - including the protection of lives and property - but to stabilize the basic administration and economy of the country. Trial has been severe and a full assessment of the operation has yet to be made. At least it can be said that the United Nations prevented the incalculable disaster of a Great Power collision in the Congo or a total collapse into tribal anarchy and bloodshed. With its timely intervention in the Congo the United Nations eased the birth pangs of a new nation which could one day become one of the most important in all of Africa.

The long strain of the Congo crisis, however, has severely challenged the U.N. It has drained much of the energy and initiative of the U.N. It has raised doubts about the continuing role of the U.N. in the field of peace and security. It has sparked a sharp Soviet attack on the Secretariat and it has helped to produce a most serious financial crisis. These challenges still persist. They have yet to be fully mastered.

The need for international peace keeping machinery remains. New and different demands are being made on the U.N. constantly. In responding to these demands the U.N. peace

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keepers are constantly seeking improved methods, drawing on the experience of past operations. That experience is still being developed, for example:

In West New Guinea last year, the Organization had to combine a small military force with a cadre of civilian administrators to smooth the transfer of sovereignty in that territory. This summer in Yemen, an observation group, partly armed, has been required to assist in the disengagement of foreign military elements and the prevention of arms smuggling.

The point I wish to emphasize is that, in spite of the debilitating effect of the long ordeal in the Congo, the United Nations has had to face new responsibilities and to respond quickly and positively. The establishment of peacekeeping operations under the United Nations flag has passed beyond the stage of experiment. It has become an accepted concept and a practical reality in the conduct of international affairs today. The vast majority of United Nations members appear to have concluded that the Organization's capacity to act effectively to maintain peace should be sustained and strengthened.

We are constantly searching for better methods in pursuing our objectives in international peace-keeping. There can be no doubt that the nations of the worli must find the means to further strengthen the international capacity for keeping the peace. This great objective is one of the primary tasks of the international community. Indeed mankind's hope for a stable international society evolving peacefully must be closely related to this objective. The notion is firmly implanted in the programmes for general and complete disarmament which are under consideration in the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee in Geneva. It has been accepted in principle that progress toward disarmament must be accompanied by the development of international machinery for maintaining peace and security.

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The Canadian Government has frequently expressed its determination to explore and support all practical proposals for strengthening peace-keeping methods. We are not deterred by the fact that significant elements in the United Nations membership have opposed the establishment of stand-by arrangements or have refused to pay their share of the costs of peace-keeping. While we recognize that, in present circumstances, formal arrangements cannot be made by resolution of the Security Council or the General Assembly, we urge that steps can and should be taken by individual member governments to improve their own capacity to participate in international peace-keeping ventures.

National governments can improve their own arrangements for providing military assistance to the United Nations. Canadian experience in participating in almost every peace-keeping operation under the United Nations flag, in UNEF, in Palestine, and in the Congo force, in West New Guinea and in Yemen, has taught us the importance of advance

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preparation within our own defence establishment. Canada maintains an infantry battalion and facilities for movement control and air transport which would enable us to place troops at the disposal of the United Nations on short notice anywhere in the world. We are constantly reviewing ways of improving these stand-by arrangements.

Not long ago, the Defence Ministers of the Scandinavian countries announced that they had made arrangements for the formation of a composite Nordic contingent. This move has been welcomed by Canada. We believe that it is a practical and praisworthy approach to the problem of providing prompt assistance to the United Nations. It is a policy which can be pursued by other countries interested in bolstering the United Nations bulwark for peace. It paves the way for a process of informal cooperation to that end.

The technical problems of organizing the international military force are complex. There are language difficulties, differences of training and experience, a lack of standardization in equipment and operational methods. There is the need for coordination and control. There are other problems connected with the actual conduct of operations, some of them highly important in their political implication. The right to open fire, for example, has had to be carefully defined and applied. Because of the novelty of each situation and because of varying conditions, the United Nations has had to develop its techniques largely by trial and error.

Much of the responsibility for day-to-day operation rests with the Secretariat. Over the years, these international civil servants, acting under the leaderchip of the Secretary-General, have worked tirelessly to evolve methods which reflect a consensus of viewpoint in the United Nations membership. Gradually, an accepted practice is being established. But in order to make adequate preparation, the Secretariat could benefit from having

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additional military expertise within the Secretariat. This is why in a speech in New York last May I suggested that a compact military planning team be formed to assist the Secretary-General.

This raises the question whether arrangements can or should be made for a standing United Nations police or peace force. Since 1947 there have been a number of practical experimentations in developing this United Nations force.

Significant elements in the United Nations membership have strongly resisted the notion of a standing force. Suggestions to this effect, made by President Eisenhower in 1958, were not pursued. However, the United Nations experience (to which I have referred) sustains the need for standing arrangements, if the Organization is to have a capacity for keeping the peace with maximum effectiveness. There are many difficulties to be overcome but I can see no practical alternative if we are to achieve a stable and law-abiding international community.

Today, a premium has been placed on the peaceful method of settling international disputes. Recently Secretary of State Rusk emphasized this when he said: "War has devoured itself because it can devour the world". Most people in the world today ardently share this sentiment and they look to the United Nations to provide the means for security and peaceful solution.

In my view, an essential element in the international method of peace-keeping is the kind of police or peace force about which I have been speaking.

The evolution of methods of international peace keeping and of an international police force are among the most exciting and hopeful developments of contemporary history. The blue helmets and white jeeps in the Congo and the Middle East, the arm bands of military observers in far-flung frontiers, and the United Nations flag itself are today's symbols of man's hope for world order in the future. They are the badges and insignia of policemen for international peace.

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Some valuable progress has been made. Much, however, remains to be done. Let me assure you that high among Canada's international objectives is the determination to take every opportunity to further strengthen and increase the machinery for keeping the peace among the nations of the world. I have no doubt that some day in the future the symbol of the international policeman will bring to mind those same reassuring thoughts of integrity and certainty of established law and order which we now associate with the individual policeman on his beat in the towns and cities of Ontario.