

STATEMENT DISCOURS

SECRETARY
OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL
AFFAIRS.

SECRÉTAIRE
D'ÉTAT AUX
AFFAIRES
EXTÉRIEURES.



87/71

"Beyond the summit:
the future of disarmament"

Address by

Mr. Douglas Roche,

Ambassador for Disarmament,

for cross-Canada speaking tour

December 1-16, 1987

December 8, 1987.

The Washington Summit between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev provides an excellent moment for measuring world progress towards an enduring peace with security.

Clearly, the agreement to eliminate all medium and shorter-range nuclear missiles (INF) is a breakthrough in re-building East-West relations. For the first time an entire class of weapons will be destroyed. Although the Agreement will eliminate only 3 per cent of the world's nuclear arsenal, its political significance is enormous. The bilateral negotiating process has, in fact, achieved a concrete result.

And there is more on the horizon. The two superpower leaders are preparing another summit for 1988 in Moscow at which they hope to sign a treaty eliminating 50 per cent of the present huge stockpiles of strategic nuclear weapons. An historical process of disarmament is actually underway. These achievements represent a success for those countries, like Canada, that have been pressing both superpowers hard for radical reductions in nuclear weapons.

Of course, any outburst of euphoria is premature. Global problems involving regional wars, massive poverty, environmental destruction and the population explosion are immense. But it would be equally wrong to under-estimate the magnitude of this moment that the world is passing through. The air is filled with change.

At their Reykjavik Summit of 1986, both President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev suddenly projected a vision of a nuclear-free planet, which startled the world with its implication that East-West confrontation might possibly give way to a new approach to international cooperation. This vision requires many steps to bring it about, but the continuing discussion of the full meaning of Reykjavik itself represents a new sense of direction for the international community.

Mr. Gorbachev continues to demonstrate a desire for reforms in a more open Soviet Union. His economic reforms and foreign policy initiatives go well beyond style. Whether he can deliver a "new" Soviet Union, given unresolved questions of the Soviet satellite states, Afghanistan, and

human rights, is a valid question. Nonetheless, the changes that have taken place are for the most part of the type that the West has demanded for many years. It is important not only to acknowledge these changes but also to respond in ways that could induce further change.

In another key area of international attention, the political leadership of China has passed, peacefully, to a new generation, which is stepping up China's industrial development. A remarkable technological expansion is under way, while their military forces have been cut 25 per cent.

Within the past year, I have visited both of these leading Communist countries and sensed a new dynamism that may presage a better, more stable period in international relations in which there is greater awareness that we all share the "common ground" on the planet together.

As a practical expression of this improved spirit, we have seen, throughout 1987, these developments:

- Substantial progress at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva in the negotiations for a Chemical Weapons Treaty that would ban the production of all chemical weapons.
- Preparations at the 35-nation CSCE conference in Vienna for a new forum to negotiate conventional force reductions in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, involving all members of NATO and the Warsaw Pact.
- The successful application of the Stockholm Confidence-Building agreement in which NATO and Warsaw Pact observers conducted 16 unprecedented on-site inspections of each other's military exercises.
- An improvement in the risk reduction operation of the USA and the Soviet Union, which aims at reducing the possibility of accidental nuclear war.

- A move by the superpowers toward "full-scale stage-by-stage" negotiations on nuclear testing with the ultimate objective of a complete cessation of all tests.

There are still more signs of change that increase my hope that the intellect and will of sufficient numbers of understanding, caring people in every corner of the world will prevail over the terrible conflicts that scar the planet.

- The Central America peace plan, instigated by the Nobel laureate, President Oscar Arias of Costa Rica, is taking hold and contains the potential for not only an end to violence but a prolonged period of economic and social development throughout the region.
- A landmark document, "Our Common Future," was introduced into the United Nations by Prime Minister Gro Brundtland of Norway. This report by a multi-national team of 22 commissioners who gathered evidence over a three-year period, presents a blueprint for sustainable development to combat the inter-woven crises of pollution, environmental degradation, and poverty.
- A ground-breaking, three-week international conference on the Relationship Between Disarmament and Development at the United Nations produced a consensus document in which, for the first time, the world community took a broad approach to security, emphasizing that it consists of "not only military but also political, economic, social, humanitarian and human rights and ecological aspects."

All these advances confirm the over-arching fact of our time: peace is a multi-agenda process involving economic and social development as well as arms control measures, the protection of human rights as well as an end to racial discrimination. The agenda for the 21st century is already delineated. The issues that claim humanity's full attention are evident: the threat of nuclear annihilation, regional wars using conventional weapons, the gap between the developing and the industrial worlds, the danger of over-population, the despoilation of the global environment.

The evidence of global crises is all around us:

- Global military spending has climbed to \$1 trillion annually (almost five times greater in real terms since the end of the Second World War) and accounts for 6 per cent of world output. Enough nuclear weapons are scattered over the globe to kill everyone on earth at least 12 times. Dominant as the nuclear factor is, fully 80 per cent of arms spending today is on conventional weapons -- which have been used in 150 regional wars since 1945, killing more than 20 million people.
- More than one billion people live in poverty: 780 million are under-nourished, 850 million are illiterate, 1.5 billion have no access to medical facilities, and one billion are inadequately housed. Fourteen million children under the age of five die each year from dehydration, diarrhoea, and malnutrition. This "silent emergency" of frequent infection and widespread undernutrition kills 280,000 children every week -- more than twice the number of casualties generated by the Hiroshima bombing.
- Fifteen million acres of productive land round the world are transformed into worthless desert every year; 27 million acres of forest are destroyed. The result has been declining food and fuel production in many parts of the world and, for the world as a whole, contamination of the atmosphere, climatic change, a mass extinction of plant and animal species. In many ways, the cutting, burning, and bulldozing of tropical rainforests reflect a calamity that has already arrived: it threatens the lives of a billion people, as their water resources dry up and their land turns to dust.

* * *

Can humanity come to grips with this compelling agenda? For some, the horizons appear dark. But I believe that, along with the undeniable destructive power in our hands, we have also acquired the power to protect and sustain life. Science and technology have given us the tools to build a world beyond war. Agricultural systems can feed the world. Medicine can meet the basic health needs of all people. Ecology enables us to understand complex systems. Psychology provides understanding of the root causes of hate and violence. Communications technology provides the tools to bring the world together.

A key to moving the world to a high stage of civilization is to understand the full meaning of security in the modern age.

Nations arm because they feel their security to be threatened, and each nation will judge its own security on its own terms. Only when the threat to security is lessened is real disarmament possible. But the paradox of our time is that the inflated arms race itself becomes a threat to security. Moreover, we now see that the huge suffering caused by under-development is itself a growing non-military threat to security. Working constructively on all aspects of security -- military, political, economic, social, humanitarian, human rights -- creates conditions conducive to disarmament; it also provides the environment conducive to the pursuit of successful development. Thus our purpose must be to increase real security -- for individual nations and for the world -- by finding politically possible ways to spend less money on arms and more on development.

The Reykjavik Summit -- and its extensions at Washington and Moscow -- focusses the attention of the world on the new possibilities for creative thinking to resolve the problems of conflict and deprivation that still afflict large areas of the world. A basis has been laid for what the Palme Commission calls "extraordinary progress."

"An opportunity exists for the 1980's to witness what only seemed to be a dream but which now can become real: concrete accomplishments in disarmament, stability and peace."

This is the moment the world has been waiting for, and must be seized by the international community to support and reinforce the bilateral efforts at nuclear reductions. This is indeed the ongoing work of Canada.

* * *

Canada's approach to the comprehensive issue of peace and security is multi-dimensional -- ranging from our strengthening of the United Nations system (where we are the fourth largest overall contributor) to External Affairs Minister Joe Clark's personal tour of Central America last week to lend Canadian support to the regional peace plan. In addition:

- Canada has boosted aid to \$900 million to famine-stricken Africa, written off \$600 million of African debt, and now provides bilateral development assistance in grants, rather than loans.
- The fight against apartheid through sanctions against South Africa has been stepped up: we have imposed a ban both on new investment in South Africa and re-investment of profits; in the first six months of 1987, Canada reduced its imports from South Africa by 51 per cent; the importation of coal, iron and steel have been banned along with the promotion of tourism.
- This year, Canada sent 60 more peace-keeping troops to Cyprus to join the 897 Canadian forces personnel in four peace-keeping missions around the world. Canada has participated in every U.N. peace-keeping operation.
- The Government announced the establishment of an international institute for Human Rights and Institutional Development. In addition Canada has raised human rights questions with the leaders of the Soviet Union, Korea, and other states.

- Canada is among the most active supporters of multilateral institutions as reflected in our hosting this fall of the Heads-of-Government meetings of La Francophonie and the Commonwealth. The next meeting of the Economic Summit will be in Toronto in 1988.

- We played instrumental roles in producing the Brundtland Report, obtaining an international consensus of the Disarmament and Development Conference, and building a cooperative spirit at the UNCTAD VII Conference on trade, debt, and commodities.

This wide range of activity confirms Canada's commitment to constructive internationalism -- one that is appropriate for a trading nation where fully 30 per cent of our national output is in trade, requiring a stable international atmosphere supportive of economic growth. Moreover, as the 568 organizations and 630 individuals who submitted briefs to the parliamentary committee considering Canada's foreign policy made clear, Canadians want their government to play a strong and positive role abroad. A recent survey of Canadians' attitudes towards foreign policy revealed that 46 per cent of Canadians consider the issues of war and peace their chief personal concern, while 21 per cent consider poverty and hunger foremost. Canadians do care about a safer, more equitable world.

One of my dominant impressions gained during more than three years' representing Canada on disarmament questions at the United Nations is how much our country is respected. A strong legacy as non-colonial nation, multi-cultural, open, loyal to our allies, cooperative, and genuinely involved in strengthening the international system enables Canada's voice to be heard. We have become an influential nation -- carrying with this new status the responsibility of an even more prominent role in the difficult years ahead.

* * *

This gathering strength in international relations makes possible a stronger projection of Canada's security policy. This security policy is multi-dimensional. As Prime Minister Mulroney has outlined it:

"The pursuit of arms control and disarmament has its place beside the defence effort, peace-keeping and conflict resolution. All are essential components of Canada's approach to international peace and security."

Canadian security policy must respond to an international environment dominated by the rivalry between East and West. These two groups of nations, each led by a superpower, are in conflict, a conflict of ideas and values. They are divided on how politics should be conducted, society ordered, and economics structured. They are divided on the value of personal freedom, on the importance of the rule of law, and on the proper relationship of the individual to the society. In this conflict, Canada is not neutral. Our values and our determination to defend freedom and democracy align us in the most fundamental way with other Western nations. Thus, Canada is a dedicated member of NATO, whose importance lies not only in countering the military threat from the Warsaw Pact but also in its political support for democratic institutions and for improved East-West political relations. Neither NATO's nuclear nor conventional arms will ever be used except in response to aggression.

As a result of its membership, Canada has been able to make a serious and constructive input to the important arms control negotiating efforts in Geneva, Stockholm, and Vienna. And we are working on ways for NATO to better project the positive qualities of its collective and cooperative security arrangements. Without the continuing direct opportunity to act and react, our influence on such events would be dramatically reduced.

Accordingly, Canada has commitments to its defence partners, which are expressed in the recent Defence White Paper. As Mr. Clark noted, Canada intends "to modernize our capacity to meet our Alliance and Atlantic commitments."

The intent of this -- and all -- Defence White Papers is to outline the defence obligations of Canada and the means by which these commitments will be met in the years ahead. Discussion of Canada's military spending should, of course, be placed in its full context. Today, defence spending in Canada is about half of what it was 25 years ago, related to our gross national product. Though we are the second-largest country in the world (with three oceans), the 2.23 per cent of the GNP we spend on defence ranks us 95th out of 144 nations. Sweden, a neutral country, spends 3 per cent. The size of Canada's armed forces (84,600) as a ratio of our population ranks us 97th out of 144 nations.

The White Paper states that a strong national defence is a major component -- but only one component -- Canada's international security policy. Arms control and disarmament and the peaceful resolution of disputes are equally important. Thus, the White Paper is not a surrogate Foreign Policy White Paper. All these activities should be seen as mutually supportive, and all of them enable Canada to play a role in the changing international community in putting into place the building blocks of peace.

Canada has six such "blocks":

- Radical reductions in nuclear arms is the core of our disarmament policy. That is why the Reagan-Gorbachev summit process, leading to the dismantling of not only all intermediate and shorter-range but also 50 per cent of strategic missiles is greeted with enthusiasm. The Canada government has consistently pressed both superpowers to achieve this.

- The realization of a negotiated and verifiable comprehensive test ban treaty has long been, and remains, a fundamental Canadian objective. Canada wants a halt to all nuclear testing by all countries in all environments for all time. At the United Nations this fall, the Government again co-sponsored a resolution urging the Conference on Disarmament to "initiate substantive work on all aspects of a nuclear test ban treaty at the beginning of its 1988

session." The 40-member Conference on Disarmament to which Canada belongs is based in Geneva and is the major multilateral negotiating forum. The inability of the Conference on Disarmament, because of the consensus rule, to open up substantive discussion of this subject is a major disappointment of us. Canada supports a step-by-step approach to the realization of such a treaty, and has contributed Canadian expertise toward the development of a global seismic monitoring system.

- The maintenance and strengthening of the non-proliferation regime is critical both to stopping the spread of nuclear weapons to more countries and ensuring the safe transfer of technology and materials for the development of nuclear power systems. The Non-Proliferation Treaty, which Canada worked to uphold at the 1985 review, now numbers 131 states, making it the largest multilateral arms treaty in the world.
- At the Conference on Disarmament, Canada actively participates in the multilateral negotiations now leading to a Chemical Weapons ban. In fact, Canada chaired the ad hoc group that launched the current process. As a nation whose soldiers have suffered the toxic effect of these nefarious weapons, Canada has a special interest in ridding the world of them. We have presented to the U.N. a mechanism for detection their use in current wars.
- The prevention of an arms race in outer space is another key objective. Canada has contributed to the Conference on Disarmament's deliberations on this subject in several ways: the first substantive working paper dealing with possible stabilizing and destabilizing space-based military systems; an extensive survey of

international law to provide a data base concerning its applicability to outer space; an Outer Space Workshop in Montreal to examine ways to strengthen the legal regime for outer space.

-- Confidence-building measures are important not only in their own right but also because they improve the East-West negotiating atmosphere. Canada was a member of the 35-nation conference in Stockholm on Confidence-and-Security-Building Measures in Europe and actively aided the implementation of the agreement, which provides a system of greater military transparency in Europe. Another important aspect of "confidence-building" is the promotion of East-West exchanges, both official and unofficial. There are a number of specific exchange agreements between Canada and the Soviet Union (e.g. Arctic scientists) as well as with other East European countries (medical exchanges with Poland, sports exchanges with the German Democratic Republic). A wide range of private exchanges includes art exhibits, musicians, academics, athletes, authors.

On the basis of all these policies, Canada is able to make practical contributions to international security.

We do this by, first of all, urging compliance with existing treaties on the grounds that deviation threatens the credibility and viability of further arms control. Thus we have protested against the U.S. breakout of SALT II. And the Government has consistently urged that the traditional or restrictive interpretation of the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty should be maintained, which would prevent the deployment of space-based defence systems. We have also voiced our concern about the USSR radar at Krasnoyarsk, and the Soviet encryption of telemetry which makes it very difficult for the West to determine if they are adhering to treaties.

A second contribution is through building support for confidence-building measures such as openness, transparency, and verification.

Through Canada's extensive-work in verification, we have become recognized at the United Nations as a world leader in this subject, which is now seen to be of critical importance in the negotiation and implementation of arms limitation and disarmament agreements. In 1983, Canada launched a verification research program, with a \$1 million annual budget, which concentrates on verification techniques for seismic monitoring, chemical weapons use, and the feasibility of space-based satellite sensing. This latter is an exciting, far-seeing program.

Recently, we have begun consultations with our Allies on the possible application of research we have contracted with SPAR Aerospace of Montreal into the technical feasibility of a satellite based system of monitoring potential arms control agreements in and from outer space. This research has produced two studies. The first, PAXSAT "A," has sought to determine whether a space-based observation system could help verify an arms control agreement covering outer space. The second study, PAXSAT "B", has looked at the application of remote sensing systems, based in space, for verifying arms control agreements covering conventional weapons in a regional context. The conclusion of the PAXSAT "A" study was that space observation of an object in space could determine the role or function of the object, particularly regarding a weapons system, and that this technology was available to Canada. The conclusion of the PAXSAT "B" study was that space-based verification would fulfill some of the requirements of the verification measures expected to be in an arms control agreement governing conventional forces in Europe; that Canada's proposed RADARSAT system has the potential to provide useful information in such an arms control application; and that, again, the technology base exists in non-superpower nations such as Canada, from which the full PAXSAT "B" system could be developed later in the 1990's.

Thus, not only have we been active past and present, but the Government is already looking to the future to determine where Canada can make its input into the arms control scene.

This technical work has made possible diplomatic initiatives at the U.N. that have led to increasing support for a Canadian-sponsored consensus resolution on verification; the first ever substantive discussion on verification was held last May at the U.N. Disarmament Commission, where Canada chaired a Working Group. This Group developed, again by consensus, an illustrative list of 10 principles that advanced the international community's understanding of how to apply verification. For example, the agreement on the necessity of on-site inspections has a direct bearing on the INF agreement and a Chemical Weapons Treaty. This activity has led U.N. Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar to suggest that advancement of verification be highlighted at the U.N.'s Third Special Session on Disarmament (UNSSOD III) in 1988.

UNSSOD III, which will be held for four weeks, beginning May 31, will provide another important opportunity for Canada to contribute to the international advancement of disarmament. UNSSOD I, in 1978, was a major achievement because it produced, by consensus, a 129-paragraph Final Document containing a Programme of Action dealing with nuclear weapons, other weapons of mass destruction, conventional weapons, and reduction of armed forces. But the international climate deteriorated and UNSSOD II, in 1982, was barely able to reaffirm the validity of the Final Document. A World Disarmament Campaign was started, to which Canada has been a leading contributor. But the 1980's have been virtually barren of any significant disarmament accomplishment -- until this moment of the Washington Summit.

In this new atmosphere, the expectations for UNSSOD III are bound to rise, but I believe a limited goal, capable of being achieved, would be far better than setting our sights too high, with the inevitable depression caused by failure. More years of step-by-step gains are needed to build an international climate supportive of a comprehensive programme for disarmament. The Third Special Session should pursue those points that can be agreed on, thus building a cooperative climate emphasizing radical reductions of nuclear weapons, more confidence-building measures, a greater commitment to compliance, and the advancement of a verification process to serve specific treaties.

At UNSSOD I and UNSSOD II the public, through numerous non-governmental organizations, were a strong influence through participation at parallel meetings and events. The agenda of UNSSOD III includes a discussion of "measures to mobilize world public opinion in favour of disarmament." Time will be allocated for some representative non-governmental organizations to address the Session.

* * *

It is becoming more apparent to me that new intellectual inroads are being made by the peace movement. One example is provided by Beyond War, a non-partisan educational movement, which recently conducted an unprecedented project involving American and Soviet scientists and scholars. The two teams, meeting in each other's countries, produced a book, Breakthrough: Emerging New Thinking, published jointly in English and Russian in the United States and the Soviet Union. Making the point that war is no longer an available means toward any desirable end, the book explores the prospects for peaceful resolution of international differences. In Canada, a new book How We Work for Peace is a wide-ranging description of Canadian Community activities, compiled by Christine Peringer of the Peace Research Institute, Dundas, whose long work for peace was recently cited by the U.N.

During the past few years, the peace movement, now numbering more than 2,000 local, regional, and national groups across Canada, has both widened its activity and deepened its grasp of the terrible complexities of the disarmament subject. A number of leading organisations -- embracing physicians, scientists, psychologists, educators, lawyers, among others, have projected a vibrant, intellectually-based concern for peace. When coupled with the significant research programs and seminars conducted by the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security, the Canadian Centre for Arms Control and Disarmament, and the Canadian Institute for Strategic Studies, it is clear that Canadian organizations have a great deal to contribute to UNSSOD III.

The imaginative work of peace groups, which is multiplying throughout the world, is slowly breaking down the mistrust and hatreds of the past. Competing ideologies cannot be quickly reconciled, any more than competing

religions or cultures can. There is no quick or facile solution to the problems of world peace, but succeeding enlightened generations will be able to move forward together. This human movement is essential to sustain public policies that move beyond war.

It may be, as the distinguished Israeli statesman Abba Eban writes, that much of diplomacy "is a holding action designed to avoid explosion until the unifying forces of history take humanity into their embrace." If so, each of us, as citizens of Canada and of the world, ought to build on the spirit of human reconciliation, inspired by the opening words of the United Nations Charter: " We, the Peoples of the World." This is clearly part of the spirit of the new age; more and more people must recognize that the future of disarmament is very much in our hands.

The composer-singer Ann Hampton Callaway has caught this spirit in a new song, "At the Same Time," which she has dedicated to the future of disarmament.

"Think of all the children
Being born into this world
AT THE SAME TIME
See your arms around them
See the years they'll need to grow
AT THE SAME TIME."

This song speaks to us of our children -- and our children's children. At this moment of a Summit breakthrough, we should renew our determination to reach beyond the Summit, each in our own way, to build a better system for true and lasting human security throughout the world. The future of disarmament requires this driving optimism of hope.