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NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY
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"HOW CANADA PROMOTES PEACE"

TORONTO

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A very special -- and unusual -- conference will be held in Halifax next June. The Coalition of Canadian Women's Groups will host an international gathering on: "The Urgency for True Security; Women's Alternatives to Negotiating Peace."

The conference will draw women from 26 groups across Canada, as well as from 50 countries around the world; women who have demonstrated an interest and commitment to international peace and security issues, women who have shown innovative and creative approaches to resolving global conflict and situations of confrontation, women who have experience in achieving non-violent solutions to confrontations.

During the four-day conference, women will work toward a definition of true security and analyze the current status of international negotiations.

They will share experiences and ideas on alternative ways of building towards trust and resolving conflict.

They will explore ways of applying these alternatives to reducing the present level of hostilities and stopping the arms race.

In recognition of the importance of this special event, the Right Honourable Joe Clark, Secretary of State for External Affairs, announced on October 1, 1984 that a grant of \$150,000 had been awarded to help in the preparation of the conference by the Disarmament Fund, the largest grant yet made.

The Women's Conference is a sign of our times. If this decade is characterized by global political tension, it is also a moment of great creativity. Ever-increasing numbers of people are reaching out, exploring new ways of strengthening security while halting the arms race. The Women's Conference will serve to confirm the traditionally important role of women in the Canadian peace movement and in peace movements around the world. During the nuclear weapons debate of the 1960s, the Voice of Women was among the most prominent and vocal in speaking out against the acquisition of nuclear weapons. Now, the Halifax conference will carry on in the tradition and spirit of the women who were a fundamental component of the fledgling peace movement of the '60s.

In bringing women from across the country together, it will provide further evidence of the "widening-out" of today's peace movement. It is no longer a movement which can be dismissed as left-wing or radical; rather it is today a movement which cuts across all ages, professions and social backgrounds. The women who will gather in Halifax will also represent other highly-respected organizations such as Project Ploughshares, Physicians for Social Responsibility,

the Voice of Women, and youth-oriented groups such as Pax Humana. These are women, like yourselves, who will speak in concert; not as simply another interest group, but as professors, pilots, engineers, diplomats, journalists and mothers -- people who look at the ever-increasing upward spiral of the arms race and fear for both our children's future and the fate of the planet.

Canadian women have been very active in recent years, both within Canada and in the wider international community, in articulating their desire for peace. In 1982, Canadian representatives worked closely with other delegations in drafting the Declaration on the Participation of Women in Promoting International Peace and Cooperation which was subsequently adopted by the General Assembly. Also in 1982, on the occasion of the Second United Nations Special Session on Disarmament, Betty Peterson of the Voice of Women presented a petition to the Secretary-General of the U.N. signed by 125,000 Canadian women. In 1984, the Voice of Women and the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, as well as the Simone du Beauvoir Institute, were but two of the many women's groups which came forward with submissions to the Task Force on Arms Control and Disarmament.

At their annual meeting in August 1984, the Canadian Federation of University Women passed a resolution calling for a policy of support for peaceful efforts to reduce tensions and build trust among nations and to promote action for peace.

These examples are but a few, among many.

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The Canadian Government needs the creative assistance of the peace movement -- the organisations which represent the growing number of people across the country who believe they should have a role and voice in the future of their world. As the Canadian Federation of University Women has stated, "Everyone wants to avoid nuclear war, but solutions are elusive." This statement goes to the very heart of the problem today, a problem so complex that everyone needs to work to find solutions.

After spending the last few months at the United Nations and travelling to NATO headquarters in Brussels and the three European multilateral forums in Geneva, Vienna and Stockholm, where Canada is involved in discussions or negotiations related to arms control and disarmament, I have realized that the processes involved in moving the world away from the brink of nuclear disaster toward true disarmament are infuriatingly

complex and painstakingly slow. In being frank with the Canadian public, I have to say that a commitment to the long haul, in which sometimes it is necessary to take one step back in order to take two steps forward, is the surest route if Canada is to make a lasting contribution to peace with security, freedom and justice.

Canada is working constantly to influence and contribute to the process of arms control and disarmament. Our special relationship with the United States, our historical links to Europe and our reputation with the Third World as a country aware, concerned and active in the field of development assistance, makes us ideally and perhaps uniquely placed to act as mediator and conciliator in international negotiations.

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Canada is one of the few countries, aside from the superpowers, which has access to virtually every multilateral arms control and disarmament negotiating body: the First Committee and General Assembly of the United Nations in New York; the negotiating arm of the U.N., the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva; the Mutual Balanced Force Reduction Talks in Vienna; the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and

Security Building Measures in Europe (CCSBMDE). Canada is also involved in the whole range of arms control discussions which take place within the NATO alliance, as well as being a member of other important organizations such as the Commonwealth and La Francophonie. This endows us with both special privileges and responsibilities in ensuring that we make progress toward true security at lower levels of armaments -- both nuclear and conventional. Canada does not work alone on these issues; we work in concert with our NATO allies and with the members of the United Nations. We do, however, play a leading role.

For various reasons, not least of all that the superpowers own the overwhelming majority of nuclear weapons, negotiations on strategic weapons systems tend to be the preserve of a somewhat exclusive U.S./Soviet bilateral club. Nuclear issues are, of course, discussed in the multilateral context, but it is the rather harsh reality that the political will necessary to implement nuclear arms reductions must come from the United States and the Soviet Union. This does not mean that the concerns of all other countries, Canada included, can be disregarded by the superpowers. World opinion can and does act as a catalyst and pressure on these bilateral negotiations. However, what this does mean is that, while countries like Canada can continue to influence superpower negotiations, we might have more opportunity for leverage and meaningful initiatives in non-nuclear areas. That having been said, there are some significant multilateral nuclear negotiations and agreements in which Canada has played, and continues to play, a significant and instrumental role.

Since the ratification of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1968, Canada has been a strong and vocal advocate of a universal and effective non-proliferation régime built around the NPT. The NPT focuses on two areas of nuclear proliferation, both of equal importance -- horizontal and vertical. Stated very simply, the 127 signatories of the NPT have said that they are willing to forgo the acquisition of nuclear weapons (horizontal proliferation) as long as the nuclear weapons states make concrete progress toward reducing their existing inventory of nuclear weapons (vertical proliferation).

Canada was an active participant in the 1975 and 1980 Review Conferences of the NPT. As the international community prepares for the Third Review Conference in September of this year, Canada is working to ensure that the NPT is secured and strengthened as an international instrument preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons and providing the means for the peaceful application and transfer of nuclear technology.

Canada also views the achievement of a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTB) as a priority objective for the international community. There are many difficulties in concluding a CTB, some political, others technical. Nevertheless we believe that a Comprehensive Test Ban is a concrete, realistic and realizable measure which would constitute a major step in curbing the development of new and more sophisticated nuclear weapons. We believe, furthermore, that the way to achieve it is through practical, step-by-step measures in the Conference on Disarmament which might bring closer the day when a Test Ban could be implemented. Canada is working, day by day, often quietly in the U.N. system to achieve this.

In this, the year of the Third Review Conference of the NPT, a CTB takes on even more importance if the non-nuclear weapons states are to take seriously nuclear weapons states' declarations that they are limiting, or intend to limit, vertical proliferation. As Javier Perez de Cuellar, Secretary-General of the United Nations, has pointed out, "No single multilateral agreement could have a greater effect on limiting the development of nuclear weapons."

Although nuclear weapons pose the greatest potential threat, non-nuclear, conventional weapons have been the sole cause of all deaths in armed conflict since the end of the Second World War. Today's conventional weapons range from incendiary bombs, bullets and heat-seeking missiles to napalm and chemical weapons. These weapons are almost as indiscriminate in their destruction as would be nuclear weapons.

A recent U.N. study revealed that there have been 154 armed conflicts since 1945, taking 21 million lives. The study put the average death toll from armed conflict at between 33,000 to 41,000 people a month since 1945 -- and three out of every five of these fatalities were civilians. During 1983, 40 separate major and minor conflicts were identified in which approximately four million soldiers were fighting in 75 different countries. In 1984, fully 80 percent of the world's total military expenditure of more than \$800 billion was for conventional weapons and forces.

It would be negligent of any government concerned about stopping the arms race to focus exclusively on nuclear weapons, thus ignoring the very real destructive power of conventional weapons.

The Final Document of the First United Nations Special Session on Disarmament in 1978, adopted by an "historic consensus," provided a Programme of Action and priorities for

work in arms control and disarmament to which Canada remains committed. The programme includes nuclear weapons; other weapons of mass destruction, including chemical weapons; conventional weapons; and reduction of armed forces. Canada has responded to the challenge of the Final Document, reaffirmed at the Second United Nations Special Session on Disarmament, but the going has been slow and tough.

Nevertheless, Canada has made an impact on the process. In 1983, as Chairman of the Ad Hoc Working Group on Chemical Weapons of the Conference on Disarmament, Canada was responsible for producing for the first time a consensus document which contained the major elements required for a convention prohibiting the development, production, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons. Canada continues to be instrumental in maintaining the momentum necessary to have the Conference on Disarmament conclude a treaty banning chemical weapons. This is but one area in which Canada has played a leading role. Other important examples exist, including our work in the Conference on Disarmament to establish an Ad Hoc Committee to study aspects of a treaty which would ban weapons in space.

The Canadian role in outer space matters is long-standing. In the 60's, the Hon. Howard Green, as Secretary of State for External Affairs in the Diefenbaker Government, was a chief architect in negotiating the Partial Test Ban Treaty which prohibits weapons testing in outer space. Successive Canadian governments have maintained Canada's objective at the United Nations, to encourage talks aimed at limiting outer space as an area for military competition and prevent the weaponization of space. We believe that the common, collective voice of the international community is essential in this endeavour and maintain that such talks should take place at the Conference on Disarmament, thus augmenting the U.S.-USSR bilateral negotiations on space.

Verification is an aspect of the arms control negotiating process which, because of its technically detailed nature, often does not get the attention it deserves. If nations are indeed serious about enhancing security by halting the arms race and reducing nuclear and conventional weapons, they cannot ignore the necessity for verification. Nations will only have confidence in treaties and conventions if they can assure that all parties are complying with both the spirit and letter of a negotiated text.

In 1979, after a review of twenty years of arms control and disarmament negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament (and its predecessors), Canada concluded that verification was central to every significant arms control negotiation. We believed, along with many others, that given the

increasing complexity of such negotiations, verification might well be the single most important factor in making concrete progress on arms control in the 1980's.

In response to this assessment, the Department of External Affairs expanded its verification programme. Since that time we have been devoting considerable resources, within the Department and through contracts with universities and commercial enterprises, to exploring possible verification techniques, their feasibility and their implications. In order to assist in developing a possible treaty banning weapons in space, Spar Aerospace, under contract from the Department of External Affairs, recently completed a feasibility study of a spacecraft-based system to determine the presence of weapons in space. In the field of chemical weapons research, Canada has submitted three detailed reports to the U.N. regarding allegations of chemical weapons use in Southeast Asia and Afghanistan. Verification is a field in which Canada has gained a reputation for having significant experience, resources and expertise available to the international community.

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The steady work that Canada is doing in the multilateral forums in Europe and New York and in verification research may come as news to some. The negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament (now in its seventh year) and at MBFR (now in its 11th year) are too slow, too tedious and too involved to warrant much media attention. Thus, the long-term work being done by Canadian officials in many parts of the world tends to go unnoticed and become overshadowed by issues such as the nuclear freeze, Cruise missile testing and the Strategic Defence Initiative. This is understandable, for these are timely, urgent issues. These are the issues which fire the public imagination and provide a rallying cry for the peace movement. They attract attention precisely because they are controversial. But these issues must be placed in the wider context of what Canada is attempting to accomplish in arms control and disarmament and how we are going about it.

There should be no doubt about the essence of Canadian policy: the Government is working for mutual, balanced and verifiable reductions in nuclear weapons; and this can only be achieved by genuine negotiations. Declarations of good intentions will not do. Concrete steps are essential. That is why the confidence-building process is so important.

Canada, to have any influence at all, must work from a strong position within the Alliance. We are not a neutral nation. We have commitments to our defence partners. We

seek to broaden the perspective of everyone's thinking, so that the new concept of the "common ground" of all nations on this one planet can lead to a better system of collective security.

The world is at a transition moment in the human journey. We must learn how to live -- and survive -- together in the interdependent age. Let no one in the peace movement think that the Canadian government is not fully aware of the necessity of building the international system so that it can provide some guarantees of safety and security. But there are no "quick fixes." And those who are scornful of an "inch by inch" approach, in which small solid gains replace the illusion of rhetorical success, should re-examine the needs of the modern world. The balance of nuclear terror must be replaced by a system of true collective security.

The work in the field of arms control and disarmament is tortuous, slow and many times frustrating. However, as the Throne Speech of November 5, 1984, stated:

"Patience and perserverance we will need, for in this endeavour even the smallest progress is worthy of the greatest efforts."

The Government needs the constructive criticism and creative contribution of the peace movement. In order to help develop a better climate of understanding and encourage more people to become informed and involved in these questions, the Department of External Affairs established the Disarmament Fund in 1979; it stands at \$750,000 for 1985. The fund is available to assist interested non-governmental organizations, academic and public interest groups and individuals produce publications on disarmament, establish information centres and prepare conferences, seminars and meetings, such as the one sponsored by the coalition of Canadian Women's Groups. The Disarmament Fund has so far assisted 138 different organizations and individuals in this way. The Disarmament Fund will help all of us in moving forward, together, in finding achievable ways of ending the arms race and beginning the process of disarmament.

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Women in Canada, and throughout the world, are concerned about the dangers of the arms race and the threat of nuclear war. They have a joint and equal responsibility to promote actively all opportunities for international peace, security and cooperation. The valuable work being done by Canadian women will be carried into the international community -- especially to the World Conference to review the achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women, which will be held in Nairobi in July.

This Conference, and Canada's active participation in it, will reinforce and confirm the important contribution that women are making to issues of peace, security and international cooperation. It will reaffirm the equal and vital interest that both women and men share on these questions. The voice of women, along with that of all other inhabitants of this planet, must be heard in the search for solutions to the arms race and the promotion of peace.