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## Peacekeeping

*"They had agreed to evacuate a position which was, in fact, over the cease-fire line. They did in fact withdraw that afternoon but they reoccupied the place that night. The UN did get a little hardnosed and said, 'No way.' One of our companies was warned that they would occupy the position and we were set to go in but at the last minute they withdrew and everything settled down again."*

CYPRUS, 1966.

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# Peacekeeping

THERE ARE, at this very moment, Canadian peacekeepers on active duty in Cyprus, Kashmir and the Middle East. There are two Canadians still in Korea. Since World War II Canadian soldiers have served around the globe in the name and pursuit of peace — in Palestine, Korea, Cyprus, Egypt, in India and Pakistan, in West New Guinea (West Irian), in the Congo, in Yemen and in Indochina, in Lebanon and in Nigeria.

Peacekeeping was never the Armed Forces' major occupation. It never involved more than a couple of thousand troops; usually it was a few dozen here, a few hundred there. But for their fellow citizens it had a special significance. As John Holmes wrote in 1967: "The art and science of peacekeeping is of special interest to Canadians because we have been involved in it more than almost any other country and it has, in fact, been incorporated into our image as our role in the world."

The image has undergone a substantial change in recent years. There was a time when serious men and women believed that the honest broker in the blue beret could exercise a kind of magic, and for a while, in Suez for example, the magic seemed to work. It has faded and in some situations it never appeared at all. Peacekeeping has proved an endless job, at times dangerous (for example, nine Canadians were killed in the Middle East last August). It has also been frustrating, fascinating and educational. In the search for peace success comes in thin slices (as both President Ford and Henry Kissinger have recently noted).

Prime Minister Trudeau recently listed the top priorities of the Armed Forces and peacekeeping is there, just after the defence of Canada's sovereignty, the defence of the continent and the commitments to NATO. It remains a job to which Canada, and Canadians, are committed as long as there is a chance that peace will follow peacekeeping.

*"Two Canadians were killed in those days, both by small arms, and nineteen were wounded, mostly by mortar fire. We were in the middle. It was by no means boring. . . ."* CYPRUS, 1974.

PEACEKEEPING: CANADIAN FORCES PHOTOS

# A Dispassionate Look at Peacekeeping on Its (More or Less) Silver Anniversary

AT THE END of World War II Canada was almost a great power — it had an army of half a million, the world's fourth largest air force and the fifth largest navy.

It could not (and did not) think of itself as a great power; by population, history and desire it was a middle-sized nation and if the world were to polarize, Canada clearly would not be one of the poles. Still, it had an active, positive role to play, defined by the facts of the post-war world and by Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent and Lester B. Pearson, his Secretary of State for External Affairs. It would help build a peaceful, prosperous world.

Mr. Pearson became the conspicuous Canadian spokesman at the United Nations and Canadian soldiers went to Palestine and Korea. Canada's emerging image as peacekeeper took more definite lines with the Suez crisis in 1956. Historian William Kilbourn has described the occasion: "On October 30, after the government of Egypt declined to obey a British ultimatum to withdraw troops from a portion of Egyptian territory on twelve hours' notice, the Royal Air Force bombed Egyptian airfields. Five days later British troops landed in Port Said as if nothing had changed since the days of the Khedive and Lord Cromer. About a thousand Egyptian soldiers and civilians were killed. The Soviet Union threatened to rain rockets on London and Paris. The Americans, at the climax of a presidential election campaign, were determined to push through a flat condemnation of the invasion of Egypt. . . . The Western Alliance was on the verge of dissolution. . . . The solution came from the United Nations. The Canadian delegation headed by Pearson proposed a UN Emergency Force, which would be headed by a Canadian, General E. L. M. Burns."

The solution was accepted with relief by the superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, but with reluctance by both Britain and France and by Egypt. The Egyptian reluctance, which seemed unwarranted at first glance, had, at second, an understandable basis: The British and the Canadian soldiers wore uniforms that were almost identical and the Canadian regiment

*"There were shots being fired, both by the Greek and Turkish Cypriots."*

*"I think it was boring; the private soldier's reaction peacekeeping was that it was just straight boring. There were very stringent regulations on when and where you could use firearms."*

CYPRUS, 1964.

chosen for service in Sinai had, by unfortunate chance, the disconcerting name of the Queen's Own Rifles. A compromise was reached; the Queen's Own Rifles stayed home and Canada sent service and transport troops, aircraft and pilots, and an armoured reconnaissance squadron, but no infantrymen.

UNEF was a success, perhaps the most clear-cut success the UN and Canada, as its primary policeman, were ever to enjoy. It can be seen in retrospect that the Suez crisis had built-in ingredients for success: The superpowers were on the same side of the issue and the British and French had no desire to pursue what was quickly seen to be a hopeless course of action. More difficult conflicts lay ahead, but for the first few years the peacekeeping scenarios read like up-beat stories in a magazine for boys. When crisis came briefly to Lebanon in 1958, a contingent of seventy-seven Canadians served with UNOGIL, the United Nations Observer Group, and when the Congo was caught up in the violent confusion of its new independence in 1960, Canadian signallers and aircraft pilots went in for a long stay; this time there was chaos rather than clear-cut conflict. In time a semblance of peace was gained and the Canadians went home with a sense of reasonable accomplishment. Peacekeeping had become a key element in Canadian policy. In 1962 a small contingent of Canadians went to West New Guinea (West Irian) and in 1963 another group went to the Yemen. In 1964 Canadian troops played an essential role in Cyprus and stalemated a threatening war between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot populations. The Canadians are still there.

By 1964 it was becoming apparent that not all ventures were to be successful and those that lingered on were likely to grow worse instead of better. Canada had accepted a peacekeeping role outside the UN in 1954 when it became part of the International Control Commission in Indochina. The job of the ICC—Canadians, Poles and Indians—was to see that the peace agreement which ended the war between France and its former colony in Vietnam was properly carried out.

## Peacekeeping Box Score

THE JOB of peacekeeping varies. In some situations the peacekeeper functions as an "observer" only; in others, where peace has been declared and both sides have agreed, at least in public, to observe certain limitations on their conduct, he is more literally a peacekeeper and more likely to apply direct pressure on the behavior of the erstwhile combatants. In Korea he was, uniquely, a combatant himself. Canada has responded to every request to participate in the United Nations' peacekeeping missions and in the missions in Vietnam as well. Below, with the appropriate initials, are the UN missions in which Canadians have served.

UNCOK (1947-48), UNCK (1950-57), UNCMAC (1957 to date): Korea. At the peak, in the early fifties, there were approximately 8000 Canadians there. Today there is one liaison officer and a non-commissioned clerk.

UNMOGIP (1949 to date): India-Pakistan. At the peak, in 1965, there were 27 Canadians involved.

UNTSO (1954 to date): Truce supervisory organization in Palestine. At present there are 20 Canadians there.

UNEF (1956-67): Egypt. At peak there were 1172 air communications, administration and reconnaissance troops.

UNOGIL (1958-59): Lebanon; peak, 77.

ONUC (1960-64): Congo; peak, 316.

UNTEA (1962-63): West New Guinea (West Irian); 15 Canadians at peak.

UNYOM (1963-65): Yemen observer mission; peak, 36.

UNFICYP (1964 to date): Cyprus; peak 1126.

UNIPOM (1965-66): India-Pakistan; peak, 112.

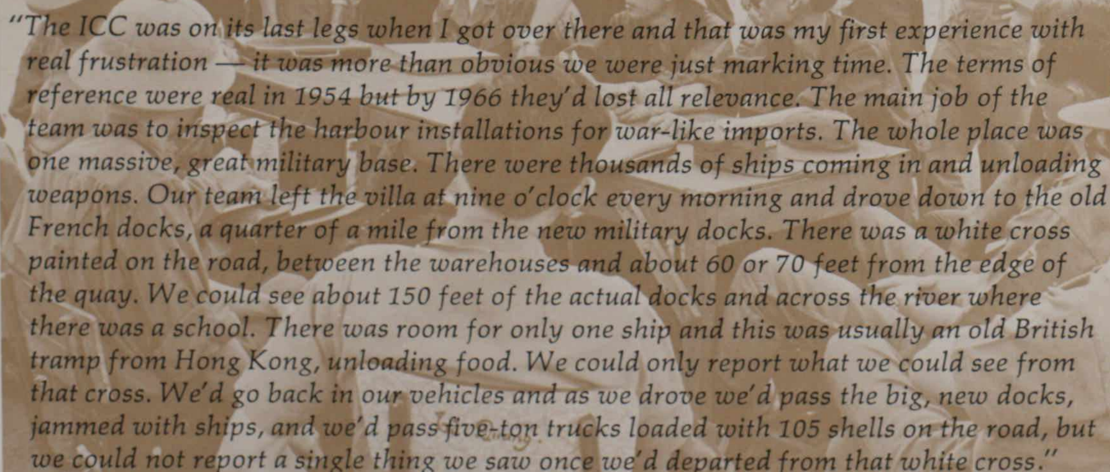
UNEF II/UNDOF (1973 to date): The Middle East; peak (and present level), 1100.

It began with a basis of reality; there was something resembling peace and there were "violations" of that peace which could be counted and reported. The semblance of peace would soon disappear and the job of controlling hostilities would, in the hard word of External Affairs Minister Mitchell Sharp, become a "farce."

In May, 1967, Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser abruptly ended Canada's long tour of duty with the UNEF in Egypt. He ordered the peacekeepers home, a move which left the average Canadian with a mixed feeling of surprise and outrage. The withdrawal was soon followed by the Six Day War and the Middle East was plunged into new difficulties. The UN and Canada would return in force, but the setback in 1967 underscored two points: Peacekeeping is a fragile thing, and while it is a useful aid in achieving a permanent peace settlement, it is not an alternative.

In time the Canadian role in Vietnam would also end, and when efforts were made to enlist Canada in a new International Commission for Control and Supervision, which would monitor the peace treaty reached in Paris, there was a new hesitation. Mr. Sharp said the government was resolved that "Canada should not take part in a charade in which they would be required to supervise not a cease-fire but continuing and possibly escalating hostilities." Canada did join the ICCS on a provisional basis, specifying that it should be free to investigate alleged violations of the treaty in all parts of Vietnam and that the Commission have workable reporting procedures. The procedures did not prove workable. For example, Capt. Charles E. Laviolette, a Canadian, and eight other peacekeepers were killed when an ICCS helicopter was shot down by a missile. Canada and the other ICCS members investigated but were unable to agree on such simple basics as whether it was an "incident" or an "accident." The Montreal *Star* summed up the general Canadian reaction: "Normal risks are to be expected in a country that has had cause to be trigger-sensitive for a quarter century. The risks can be accepted. But it is something else when delicate zones remain immune from inspection or must be widely by-passed because of gunfire. . . . If routine travel, or indeed, the possibility of looking at controversial sites is to be denied to us, then we have no reason to stay in Vietnam."

The ineffectiveness of the ICCS became increasingly apparent and after some months, Canada withdrew. Canada was not willing to go anywhere, under any circumstances, and remain indefinitely, in the name of peacekeeping. It would remain committed to the practical pursuit of peace but the romantic phase was clearly over.



*"The ICC was on its last legs when I got over there and that was my first experience with real frustration — it was more than obvious we were just marking time. The terms of reference were real in 1954 but by 1966 they'd lost all relevance. The main job of the team was to inspect the harbour installations for war-like imports. The whole place was one massive, great military base. There were thousands of ships coming in and unloading weapons. Our team left the villa at nine o'clock every morning and drove down to the old French docks, a quarter of a mile from the new military docks. There was a white cross painted on the road, between the warehouses and about 60 or 70 feet from the edge of the quay. We could see about 150 feet of the actual docks and across the river where there was a school. There was room for only one ship and this was usually an old British tramp from Hong Kong, unloading food. We could only report what we could see from that cross. We'd go back in our vehicles and as we drove we'd pass the big, new docks, jammed with ships, and we'd pass five-ton trucks loaded with 105 shells on the road, but we could not report a single thing we saw once we'd departed from that white cross."*

VIETNAM, 1966.

*"The Green Revolution did help. But there is a huge investment that the developing countries . . . have been reluctant to make . . . in their own agriculture. . . . Steel mills are more exciting (and) agriculture does not symbolize . . . a developed country."* THE IDRC REPORTS

# Food for the Hungry Future

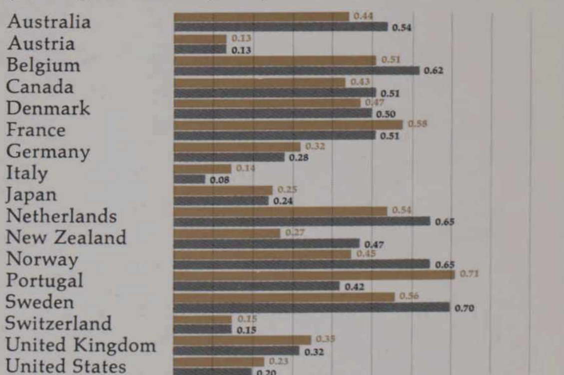
There are one hundred million acres of alluvial land in northern India which could produce a billion tons of grain—as much as is now grown in the whole world.

Rivers would have to be dammed, tubewells sunk to tap the underground rivers of the Ganges and Brahmaputra basins, land shaped for irrigation, canals and drainage channels dug, and new patterns of farming and financing evolved. Politically, it would be the most difficult agricultural development ever attempted, requiring the cooperation of Nepal, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan and Sikkim—but it could be done. The technologies are already designed and the price would be one the world could easily afford to pay. By the year 2000, India would have a billion people and it would be able to feed them. Other lands now producing little could also be made to produce much more.

The International Development Research Centre, a Canadian-supported agency with a multinational directorate, is designed to help bring

*The assumptions of the International Development Research Centre are that the world can feed itself through technological development and that the advanced nations have a responsibility to help it do so. Corn, upper left, can be adapted to climate and husked and stored efficiently. The usefulness of the cassava root, held by J. H. Hulse of the IDRC, is being increased through a project in Colombia, described on page seven. The technician at lower right is helping make an airborne survey of 82,000 square kilometers of Nigerian land to determine its development potential. The nations charted upper right have contributed substantially to international aid, although none has yet given the full one per cent of its gross national product recommended by the study headed by Lester Pearson for the World Bank.*

**Percentage of GNP Contributed in International Aid (1975 Figures Are Projected).* 1973 1975**




* *World Bank*

PHOTO — MARTIN L. TIMMERMAN, CAPITAL PRESS

about a sweeping technological revolution that would make it possible for today's food-short nations to feed themselves. It may be the only solution to the growing problem of a hungry world.

The problem is one of population and it has been recognized (though usually ignored) since 1798, when Thomas Robert Malthus noted, somewhat erroneously, that "population increases in a geometrical, food in an arithmetical ratio." The most recent and perilous population increase has been the result of a declining death rate rather than geometry. For instance, the male life expectancy in India rose from thirty-five years in the year of independence, 1947, to fifty-seven years in 1970, and India, which had been an exporter of food, became an importer in the late fifties. (The Green Revolution, which increased grain production by 20 per cent, made it briefly self-sufficient, from 1968 to 1971.)

On October 27, 1967, George Woods, President of the World Bank, suggested a "grand assize" to analyze the results of twenty years of

## A Random Sample of IDRC Projects

[WITH AN OCCASIONAL WORD OF EXPLANATION]

**A Cartographic Inventory of Africa, $449,705:** Before one can find the answers to many problems, one must know the pertinent questions. Geography shapes economy. What is the detailed geography of Africa? This project for the UN Economic Commission for Africa will compile a country-by-country inventory and analysis of existing cartographic work in North, Central, East and West Africa. The results, a series of indexed maps, will be published in 1977.

**A Sorghum Improvement Project for East Africa, $76,000:** Sorghum, a vital part of African food supplies, is much eaten by birds and insects. This project has established an experimental breeding program in Serere, Uganda, to develop sorghum varieties that resist such pests. Trial stations have been set up throughout East Africa. The program ends this year.

**Trypanosomiasis Project in East Africa, $399,200:** Two diseases, animal trypanosomiasis and East Coast fever, cause anemias and lesions among cattle in Kenya and other East African locales. This project seeks effective controls. It ends in 1976.

**Copper T Trial Project in Egypt, $7,717:** This project permitted Cairo University to carry out clinical trials of a contraceptive device known as Copper T. It has been completed.

**Irrigated Forest Plantations in Mali, $190,000:** Land not suitable for agriculture can often grow trees. This project with the government of Mali selects the species of trees best adapted to irrigated land and develops the techniques necessary to make them flourish. It will continue for five years.

**Grain Storage in Ghana, $19,700:** Crops spoil rapidly in the tropics. The project enables the University of Science and Technology, Kumasi, to test four types of storage bins for maize and cowpeas. It will be completed in 1976.

**Hawkers and Vendors Project in Southeast Asia, $63,000:** This project, which to some casual observers had comic overtones, was a thoroughly serious one. In Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines, food for the poorest people is distributed almost exclusively by independent street salesmen who are themselves very poor. In this project several universities studied the marketing role of these vendors so that it can be improved in terms of community service. The project is completed.

**Fertility Declines in the Barbados, $69,790:** There has been a significant decline in the birth rates in the Barbados. This project sought to determine why. It is completed.

**Cassava/Swine Research in Colombia, $2,500,000:** In this project several Canadian universities and the Centro Internacional de Agricultura Tropical, Cali, seek to improve the yield, quality and use of cassava as food for humans and feed for animals. It will be completed in 1976.

**Triticale Research in Mexico, $2,500,000:** This project for the Centro Internacional de Mejoramiento de Maíz y Trigo, Mexico, is designed to develop a new cereal grain, triticale, to the point where it can be grown and used over wide areas of developing tropical countries. It will be completed in 1976.

international aid. Lester B. Pearson, a Nobel Peace Prize winner and a former Canadian Prime Minister, headed a seven-country commission which did so. Mr. Woods' successor, Robert S. McNamara, summed up its conclusion: "Half of humanity is hungering at this very moment. There is less food per person on the planet today than there was thirty years ago in the midst of a worldwide depression."

The world's population is now 3.9 billion. By the century's end it will be between six and seven billion, and most of the additional people will be in low-income countries. The changing consumer patterns in more prosperous countries are making things worse. The least efficient use of grain is as feed for livestock. The wealthier countries, including the Soviet Union and the East European bloc and Japan, are eating more meat—consumption in Western Europe has grown at a rate of over 3 per cent a year, in Eastern Europe and the USSR at a 3.7 per cent rate, and in Japan at a rate of more than 11 per cent. In North America people eat five times as much meat as is eaten in Japan, and their consumption is also expanding, at a rate of 2.2 per cent annually.

The "grand assize" report of 1968 had one major result: The Canadian Parliament established the International Development Research Centre in Ottawa. The Centre has an international board; Pearson was its first president and another Canadian, W. David Hopper, is its present one. It is financed through the Canadian International Development Agency. The IDRC aim, in the words of President Hopper, is to help to "open vast new frontiers through science to provide an assurance that all can eat." It takes the form of long-range cooperative research programmes; IDRC funds and knowledge supplement local efforts to achieve specific goals. Over two hundred projects have been initiated to date, and are aimed, directly or indirectly, at making each of the world's regions—particularly the tropical and near-tropical regions where so much of the world's poverty is concentrated—self-sufficient.

Additional information on the topics discussed in this issue of CANADA TODAY/D'AUJOURD'HUI is available from the following organizations:

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