Canadian Centre
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THREATS TO PEACE AT THE END OF THE CENTURY

Group of 78

September 20, 1996.

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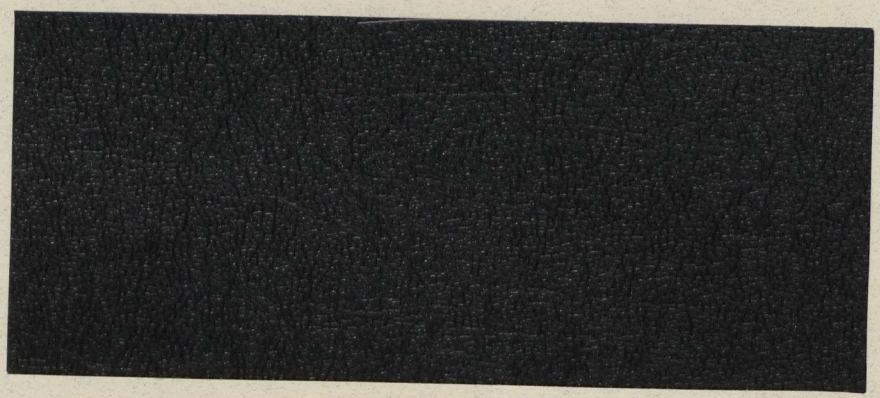

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ARMS AND MAN: THREATS TO PEACE AT THE END OF THE CENTURY

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1996 Conference Edition

Some eighty members attended the annual conference on September 20-22 at Econiche House, in Cantley, Quebec. After an initial address by Francis LeBlanc, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, (text at Annex A), the Group heard from a variety of speakers on the general theme of how to abolish, control or legitimize the use of force in world affairs, as per the following agenda:

GROUP OF 78 CONFERENCE

20-22 September 1996, Cantley, Quebec

"Arms and the Man"; Threats to Peace at the End of the Century

FRIDAY, 20 SEPTEMBER

Keynote speaker: The Hon. Francis LeBlanc

SATURDAY, 21 SEPTEMBER

1. *NUCLEAR ISSUES - CTB & NPT*
Doug Roche (Former Amb. for Disarmament)
Ashok Kapur (University of Waterloo)

2. *THE ARMS TRADE; FROM REGISTER TO CONTROL?*
Ernie Regehr (Project Ploughshares)
Jill Sinclair (DFAIT)

3. *CIVIL WAR - WHO INTERVENES AND HOW? STATES, IGOS & NGOS*
Janice Gross Stein (University of Toronto)
Howard Adelman (Centre for Refugee Studies)

4. *ABUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS – PUNISHMENT, ENGAGEMENT OR ISOLATION?*
Max Yalden (Cdn. Commission for Human Rights)
Laurie Wiseberg (Human Rights Internet)

5. *CANADIAN POLICIES - PANEL DISCUSSION*
Maureen O'Neil (Institute on Governance)
Tim Draimin (NGO Consultant, CCIC)
Lucie Edwards (Bureau on Global Issues, DFAIT)

SUNDAY, 22 SEPTEMBER

summary & recommendations

A summary of the discussion, prepared by Ken Williamson, was sent to Mr. Axworthy in October. The text is at Annex B. In addition to the two Resolutions attached to the Report (relating to disarmament), the Group was especially concerned with the consistency of Canadian policies in respect of intervention in civil conflicts. What principles should guide these policies in cases of gross violations of human rights? If poverty is one of the root causes leading to conflict, how do reductions in the CIDA budget square with an emphasis on peacebuilding? How can UN procedures for intervention and Canadian participation in such procedures be improved? Howard Adelman led a discussion on the Rwanda experience, in particular.

We reached no consensus on matters of this kind, given the complexity of the issues, but all agreed on the need to explore them further. It is of interest that "peacebuilding" is a popular theme in government circles, as the statement by Lloyd Axworthy at Annex C illustrates.

Discussion notes by the following speakers are available at the Group of 78 office: Doug Roche, Max Yalden, and Laurie Wiseberg.

(Annex A)

Speaking Notes for Francis Leblanc on the occasion of the opening dinner of "Arms and the Man" – Threats to Peace at the End of the Century

Tonight I would like to address the broad issue of nuclear weapons and nuclear disarmament, particularly the questions that must be answered as we attempt to ensure that Canadian policies are the right ones for the world of the 21st century—a world much different than the one in which nuclear weapons were developed and amassed.

You will all be aware of Canada's longstanding commitment to nuclear disarmament. This policy has enjoyed widespread non-partisan political and popular support dating from Canada's signature of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1968. In May 1978 this policy was entrenched on the international stage with PM Trudeau's "strategy of suffocation", the ultimate intent of which was "to halt the arms race in the laboratory...(and) a step in the direction of genuine disarmament."

Much has happened since those days when the "nuclear nightmare" seemed to trouble us all. Historic bilateral arms reduction agreements have been signed between the USA and Russia, the most recent of which, START II, will reduce to less than 7,000 by the year 2003 the total number of the strategic nuclear warheads of Russia and the USA. Canada is encouraging Russia to ratify START II and believes that this would provide the basis, already expressed by the US, for further reductions—a START III.

In Europe, NATO has made substantial reductions in nuclear forces over the past 5 years. The land-based nuclear stockpile in Europe has been reduced by over 80% since 1991, and by an even larger proportion from the Cold War peak levels; further reductions will be completed in the next two years.

The French have recently taken some positive unilateral steps with regard to their nuclear arsenal, reducing the numbers of nuclear warheads and delivery vehicles, closing down its nuclear testing facility.

The signing by France, the US and UK earlier this year of the Protocols to the African and South Pacific Nuclear Weapons Free Zone Treaties are further positive signals. Currently over half of the world's surface and more than half of the countries of the earth are covered by the terms of various NWFZs. These are signs that countries are committed to meeting their nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament objectives.

For Canada, the most recent critical event was the 1995 agreement to indefinitely extend, or to make permanent, the NPT. The key thing about the extension decision is that permanence enshrines the Treaty's values. The global community is now unequivocally committed to nuclear non-proliferation, disarmament and safeguarded peaceful use. These are not principles we are going to reconsider every once in-a-while; they are now among the permanent proclaimed values of the world community.

At that NPT Conference, it was also agreed that a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and a Convention to cut-off the Supply of Fissile Material for weapons purposes were priorities and represented critical steps on the road towards nuclear disarmament. One of those objectives was met on September 10, when the United Nations General Assembly endorsed the CTBT treaty. Minister Axworthy will sign that treaty on Sept 24. The CTBT will put an end to nuclear explosive testing, in any environment, and for all time. And regardless of the problems we will face in terms of getting the treaty to enter into force, it will represent an overwhelming legal and moral force in the world—simply put, it establishes a global norm against nuclear testing that every country, whether it has signed or not, will be loathe to violate.

The process leading to the international community's decision to make permanent the NPT has created a new dynamic in favour of nuclear disarmament. This trend was reinforced by the worldwide outcry against French and Chinese nuclear testing in which people around the world, by their words and actions, made it clear that nuclear testing was simply no longer acceptable. The outcome of CTBT negotiations, in which India was unable to rally any significant ally in its fight against the treaty, in spite of its flaws, confirms the strength of this global movement.

The momentum behind nuclear disarmament continues to build. A number of recent and upcoming developments, particularly the International Court of Justice decision on the legality of nuclear weapons, the report of the Canberra Commission, the resumption in 1997 of the NPT preparatory process and recent proposals to establish nuclear weapons free zones in Central and Eastern Europe will ensure that policy-makers in this country will face difficult decisions over the coming months and years on nuclear issues.

In its advisory opinion issued on July 8, 1996, the ICJ addressed the question of the legality of the threat or use of nuclear weapons. As expected, the Court did not make a definitive statement on the illegality of nuclear weapons. The Court found that, generally, the threat or use of nuclear weapons would be contrary to international law, in particular the law of armed conflict. However the Court left open the question of whether the threat or use of nuclear weapons would be contrary to international law in "extreme circumstances of self-defence", in which the very survival of a State would be at stake. The Court unanimously reaffirmed the obligation on states, contained in Article VI of the NPT to "pursue in good faith and bring to conclusion negotiations leading to nuclear disarmament in all its aspects under strict and effective international control".

The 17-member "Canberra Commission on the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons", a group of eminent individuals from around the world, had a mandate to propose "practical steps towards a nuclear free world". The Commission tabled its report on 14 August. While many of the report's recommendations are consistent with longstanding Canadian nuclear disarmament policy (support for CTBT, Cut-off, improved verification, further nuclear reductions beyond START II),

Canada cannot fully endorse some of the analysis and conclusions.

The flipside of the disarmament coin is the security dimension. Canada is a member of NATO — an Alliance which contributes to Canadian security. It is an Alliance in transition. Canada, as a NATO ally, has a voice in that evolution.

In the immediate post-Cold War period in 1991, NATO held that nuclear weapons were "weapons of last resort". Currently, NATO views nuclear forces as "political" instruments designed to preserve peace and prevent coercion and war. The change is considerable. These are weapons not meant to be used.

From the beginning of his tenure, Minister Axworthy has called for a dialogue on these issues between government and the public. This is partly because he recognizes that these are challenging decisions. Thoughtful Canadians need to ask themselves what is a sensible

and realistic approach that allows Canada to balance our security needs and obligations with our traditional disarmament goals.

Following the ICJ advisory opinion, via the Departmental website, Mr. Axworthy invited comments from the Canadians on general arms control and disarmament issues. He asked a series of questions which I think are worth repeating here:

1. What are your views of the implications of the opinions given by the ICJ on global efforts toward nuclear non-proliferation, arms control and disarmament?

2. What are your views on Canada's current approach of pursuing initiatives aimed at preventing proliferation, eliminating nuclear testing, cutting production of fissile materials and then focussing on comprehensive multilateral nuclear disarmament?

3. The President of the Court stated that "the question of nuclear weapons is a very important one. It unfortunately turned out to be a field where the Court had to find that there is no immediately clear answer to the question put to it. We must hope that the international community...will undertake as quickly as possible to correct the imperfections of international law, which, after all, is nothing more than the creation of States themselves." How do you believe Canada should proceed?

And so, I would like to offer for your consideration some additional critical questions we face as we attempt to adapt from Cold War to common security.

Canada has always recognized that it is only among the 5 Nuclear Weapons States that nuclear reductions can be negotiated. This reality will not change. But is there a role for multilateral "discussion" of the global dimension of the nuclear question. The Nuclear Weapons States do not believe there is. Many disagree. But what is the value-added that multilateral discussions including non-nuclear countries can make to this issue?

Canada will continue to encourage and support the USA and Russia to further reduce their strategic nuclear arsenals beyond the START II levels. But in doing so, is it prudent or realistic to insist, as some non-aligned countries have done, that we impose deadlines, timetables or otherwise dictate the pace of negotiations?

Canada continues to believe that you cannot negotiate nuclear disarmament in a vacuum. Disarmament fits into a broader set of interlocking security relationships. Many of those countries which most vigorously advocate timetables at the level of rhetoric are not be prepared to meet those deadlines in practise. For example, it is worth asking the question: Would India agree to give up its nuclear option according to some arbitrary deadline even if its security concerns with Pakistan and China were unresolved?

Timetables may be useful when interested parties already have an agreed set of assumptions on the problem, the objective and how to tackle it. For most part, this was the case for the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. However, in the absence of this fundamental common ground, timetables are unlikely to be effective.

If nuclear weapons are not meant to be used, is it prudent to attempt to place nuclear weapons, as one expert has recommended "within a slowly contracting net" of restrictions (e.g. an improved non-proliferation regime, a CTBT and Cut-off convention, additional nuclear weapons free zones and security assurances) as well as negotiated reductions in the numbers of nuclear weapons?

Nuclear deterrence continues to be a necessary component of collective defence. However, tens of thousands of nuclear weapons is surely excessive. What is the level of reductions and restrictions of nuclear weapons that would be commensurate with our current and future security needs?

To what extent should we be encouraging the NWS to reduce not only the number of their nuclear weapons, but also their delivery systems, readiness and deployment?

How can we get the other states - such as India - which we know are keeping open the nuclear weapons option, to follow the example of countries like Ukraine and South Africa and sign the NPT renouncing forever these weapons?

How can Canada provide practical support to extremely costly and technically complex nuclear disarmament efforts, for example, by the proposed project to burn weapons grade fissile material in CANDU reactors?

One thing is certain: there is a need for a "new diplomacy" on nuclear disarmament issues. This new diplomacy was best demonstrated during the NPT Extension process when the concerted effort led by Canada to reach out beyond the traditional North-South ideological blocs to talk candidly to countries about their real long term security interests was instrumental in securing permanently this treaty. This effort to engage, however, must not be seen as a 'one-off' exercise, there must be consistency and sustained commitment if it is to be effective.

Canada is unusually — uniquely — well placed to reach out to non-traditional partners. The links we have spent years building — whether in the Commonwealth, la Francophonie, the Organization of American States, the ASEAN Regional Forum, the Middle East Peace Process, or in the Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe — equip us in building consensus, by using existing groups or creating new communities of common interest to build a new type of international security system.

As we move forward, Canada will continue to engage non-traditional partners and be prepared to acknowledge and support constructive proposals regardless of their origin. This much can and must be done.

The recent conclusion of the CTBT has laid a cornerstone on which we can build steadily toward our goal of nuclear disarmament. There are exciting possibilities for Canada and others to pursue. With the CTBT we have truly moved beyond the rhetoric in our disarmament work. But there are still many complex challenges

— political, practical and philosophical — to overcome. With your help and ideas, we want to promote the kind of realistic but progressive approach that a new global security environment demands. I look forward to hearing your suggestions tonight and in the months to come.

(Annex B)

GROUP OF 78 CONFERENCE SUMMARY REPORT

September 20-22, 1996, Cantley, Quebec

"ARMS AND THE MAN"; THREATS TO PEACE AT THE END OF THE CENTURY"

The Group of 78 held its annual conference on the general theme noted above from four perspectives: nuclear issues, the arms trade, civil wars and the abuse of human rights.

The Group reached the following conclusions and policy recommendations.

The choice of "nuclear issues" as the first conference theme was fortuitous, in light of the agreement on the Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1995, the endorsement this year by the General Assembly of the United Nations of a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, and the recent judgement of the International Court of Justice concerning the legality of the use of nuclear weapons. Since it was concern over nuclear issues which was a primary reason for the formation of the Group of 78 in 1980, strong support was shown for the efforts of the government to bring these treaties into effect. The Group noted that the Court had reaffirmed the obligation of the nuclear weapon states to proceed towards total nuclear disarmament and that our government intends to pursue an active role with regard to nuclear issues.

But, concern was also expressed about the firmness of intention on the part of the nuclear powers in proceeding towards nuclear disarmament, about the lack of deadlines and specific programs, and about ambiguities with respect to the implications of the judgement of the International Court for the current policies of those powers and of others. The points made by representatives of our government about balanced and realistic approaches, and prudence with regard to the pace of movement and to political contexts, are valid. They indicate difficulties in complex situations but they do not provide an argument against commitment to specific steps towards such disarmament. The government is inviting comments from Canadians. Participants in the conference have approved a recommendation about Canadian policies, the text of which follows.

There are closely related issues about Canadian defence and foreign policy which should be the subject of consultation between representatives of the government and interested and informed members of the public. The particular example noted was that of the rewritten NORAD Agreement signed by Canada and the U.S.A. in March of this year. The reasons for such consultations are indicated in a statement brought to the attention of the conference, a copy of which follows this report.

With respect to conventional arms, the Group supports Canadian initiatives towards a ban on anti-personnel land mines, including the holding of an international conference on this subject, and efforts to encourage consideration in regional organizations of a need for control, reduction or elimination. The Group will also support any Canadian initiative to strengthen the UN Register of Conventional Arms, including extention of its scope. In Canada, it is important to extend public awareness of, and opportunities to comment upon, policies concerning arms transfers, particularly where there are doubts about end use or dual purpose of exports. Questions were raised about the lack of information about arms export to the U.S.A. under changed international circumstances.

The questions posed to panellists about civil war situations, "who intervenes and how?", did not produce a tidy set of answers about principles, norms, responsibilities and procedures. Detailed information provided about events in Rwanda pointed to the many hazards, disappointments and operational difficulties which can occur in such situations, even when it is clear that an international presence is essential and that humanitarian motives are unquestioned. It is clear that integrated policies in this field among the governmental agencies concerned, both in Canada and in other potential participating and troop supplying nations, constitute one very important requirement for effective intervention. Reorganization with regard to U.N. capabilities and procedures (initiated, we understand) has similar importance. The Group of 78 supports to the Canadian initiative for a Rapid Deployment Force.

The following points were made in discussion about intervention: (1) the Rapid Deployment initiative should incorporate, in preparatory and in ongoing phases, the perspectives, expertise and skills of Canadian civilian and humanitarian organizations; (2) in the light of recent experience in refugee camps, every effort should be made to assist the peaceful victims of a civil war, protect peace-keepers and prevent control from passing into the hands of those guilty of human rights abuses; (3) the importance of a cooperative exchange of information through U.N. and other multilateral channels about situations possibly leading to intervention was noted: for example, the initiative reported to the conference on the formation of the Forum on Early Warning and Emergency Response. A Canadian group has been asked to assume the responsibilities of an early warning/emergency response analysis and is in touch with government agencies on this subject; (4) the importance of the participation of American troops under U.N. command in peace-keeping e.g., Macedonia, should be stressed to Americans who are inclined to think first of unilateral action.

With regard to human rights, the conclusions were as follows. Our relations with governments which are the greatest violators of human rights lack consistency. There are limits to the influence which Canada can exert; near neighbours to the violators, as well as

regional groups, often do less than we do, or would like to do. Nevertheless, the degree of abuse, the expenditures on arms, societal practices which raise issues of human rights, eg. female genital mutilation, should be assessed consistently in relation to the influence which we might exert in external aid, in trade and in multilateral organizations. The government has taken a clear position about conditions in Nigeria and should follow the logic of that position in all aspects of its relations. Non-governmental organizations make an important contribution to the same objective. The example provided by the Canadian Friends of Burma in support of Aung San Suu Kyi and the democratic cause in that country was cited. In many other cases, Canadian reactions are the same and the government should use whatever leverage is available to effect change, where action seems likely to achieve that objective.

Prevention of the abuse of women and children should be a fundamental objective of policy, both domestically, and globally, particularly in relation to the conventions and principles of the United Nations system. That system will be strengthened in another area of human rights by the establishment of a permanent International Criminal Court, with a mandate to establish a rules of law relevant to the responsibility of political and military leaders for gross violations of rights in war and in the maintenance of power. In this regard, the government needs to introduce legislation, as soon as possible, permitting the extradition of convicted war criminals to the custody of the Court.

Although Canadian aid policies and the viability of the whole United Nations system, at a time of financial crisis, were not conference themes, participants could not ignore the implications for "threats to peace" of current situations in those areas. They particularly regretted the fact that Official Development Assistance is expected to be reduced by 45% in the present decade and hoped that the trend could be halted and higher levels restored. The failures of the United States in particular, but also of others, to contribute their full quotas to the United Nations budget undermine membership obligations, paralyze activities and limit the organization at a time when its services are needed throughout the world. While the possibility of independent sources of income might be explored, acceptance of membership obligations is essential. The Canadian government should give top priority to work with others to resolve the crisis. For these reasons, the Group of 78 welcomed the emphasis given to this subject by the Minister of Foreign Affairs at the U.N.

The importance of public understanding of government policies and of the international situations which present the greatest threats to peace, and the usefulness of consultations between governmental agencies and the interested and informed persons in a number of non-governmental organizations, were emphasized in the discussions of all the conference themes. The Group of 78 recommends that the role of the Ambassador for Disarmament should be strengthened and that the Consultative Group formerly contributing to such exchanges should be reconstituted. It regrets that funding for development education has been eliminated, since that program was important in bringing about such public understanding.

The end of the Cold War has diminished the prospect of nuclear Armegeddon but not that of global disorder. The Group of 78, which came together during the Cold War, had hoped that something more sanguine could be said of the present global picture. Nevertheless, as a member of long standing, Hannah Newcombe, observed, it was pointless to allow either optimism or pessimism to reduce courage and persistence in pursuit of the purposes and principles of the UN Charter. In this regard, the Group noted with sadness the recent death of Prof. David Cox of Queen's University who had applied expert, and comprehensive, knowledge, with unflagging optimism, to the objectives of securing global peace.

NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

A Resolution Approved by the Group of 78 at a Conference on "Threats to Peace", 20-22 September 1996, Cantley, Quebec

The Group of 78, responding to Foreign Affairs Minister Axworthy's invitation to Canadians to comment on the implications of the International Court of Justice's Advisory Opinion on the elimination of nuclear weapons, recommends:

— Canada endorse the I.C.J.'s call to governments not only to pursue but conclude negotiations on nuclear disarmament under strict and effective international control;

— Canada work with like-minded States at U.N.G.A. 51 to support a resolution calling upon States, including the nuclear weapon States, to begin immediate negotiations of a Nuclear Weapons Convention which would provide for nuclear disarmament in all its aspects, including threats by non-governmental agencies;

— Canada continue actively to support a systematic program of incremental steps to nuclear disarmament that will, because of the complexity of the issues and the security interests of the nuclear weapon States and threshold States, necessitate a period of time for full implementation; such steps to be taken within the framework of an unequivocal commitment from the nuclear weapon States to eliminate their nuclear weapons and to start a program now to lead to that goal.

CONSULTATION ON NORAD

A Statement made at the Group of 78 Conference on "Threats to Peace", 20-22 September 1996, Cantley, Quebec

The rewritten NORAD Agreement, signed by Canada and the U.S.A. in March of 1996, recognizes that "with the end of the Cold War, we have witnessed dramatic changes in the strategic environment which have significantly shifted the focus of North American aerospace

defence". The new Agreement recognizes that "space has become an increasingly important component of most traditional military activities", and consequently the need to defend against "a growing number of nations which have acquired or have ready access to space services which can be used for strategic and tactical purposes against our interests".

Since the new NORAD Agreement is the vehicle for possible Canadian participation in the U.S. national and theatre missile defence programs, and

since there is concern that these programs violate aspects of the ABM Treaty, and

because there were no public hearings or consultation prior to the 1996 renewal,

we ask that the Minister of Foreign Affairs consult with members of the interested and informed public as soon as possible re: the directions of the NORAD command, and the implications of the new Agreement for arms control and disarmament processes and understandings.

(Annex C)

Notes for an Address by the Honourable Lloyd Axworthy, Minister of Foreign Affairs, at York University, North York, ON, October 30, 1996

"Building Peace to Last: Establishing a Canadian Peacebuilding Initiative"

Introduction

Thank you for inviting me to meet with you today. As you know, one of the commitments this government made was to open up the formulation of Canadian foreign policy to a much wider range of participants, including the academic world. That is why I have chosen to speak to you here today on what is, I believe, one of the most significant challenges we face in the post-Cold War world: building sustainable peace in countries prone to recurring cycles of violence.

In speaking with you today, I would like to outline my own thinking on why "peacebuilding" is necessary and what it means in concrete terms, recognizing that it is an evolving concept. And I would like to share with you a new initiative that we are taking as part of Canada's response to the challenge that peacebuilding poses.

New Era, New Needs

The end of the Cold War was hailed by some as the harbinger of global peace. But what it has brought us is not peace - but a new kind of war. The current crisis in the Great Lakes region of Africa is the most recent in a series of tragic internal conflicts with profound regional implications. Too many countries are caught in the trap of seemingly unstoppable repetitions of conflict within their own borders, the cost of which is measured not only in the millions of lives extinguished, but also in the despair of those who survive. In an increasingly globalized world, these crises directly or indirectly affect us all.

In Cambodia, El Salvador, the Middle East, Haiti, Rwanda and Bosnia, the international community has learned the hard way that traditional approaches to conflict resolution are not enough. There is still a clear role for the solutions that characterized the Cold War era. Canada's path-breaking contribution to international peace and security - the concept of peacekeeping - remains a key tool. But it is not the tool for preventing ethnic cleansing in the former Yugoslavia, nor for ending hate propaganda in Rwanda, nor for getting the Palestinian Authority on its feet before the possibility of Middle East peace slips through our fingers.

The conflicts we face now are no longer purely military in nature, nor will they be resolved by military solutions alone. They occur within states, rather than between them, but they tend to spill over into surrounding regions. And they are characterized by long-term cycles of violence in the absence of the capacity to sustain a peaceful society.

The Response: Peacebuilding

The international community has begun to rethink the whole concept of security in the light of these developments. Countries such as Norway and Holland have been in the forefront of this effort, as has Canada. Out of this rethinking two key concepts have emerged: human security, and, as the means to secure human security, peacebuilding.

I have already spoken about the concept of human security, when I addressed the United Nations General Assembly this fall. The concept of human security recognizes that human rights and fundamental freedoms, the rule of law, good governance, sustainable development and social equity are as important to global peace as are arms control and disarmament. It follows from this that, to restore and sustain peace in countries affected by conflict, human security must be guaranteed just as military security must. This is where peacebuilding comes in: as a package of measures to strengthen and solidify peace by building a sustainable infrastructure of human security. Peacebuilding aims to put in place the minimal conditions under which a country can take charge of its destiny, and social, political and economic development become possible.

I see peacebuilding as casting a life line to foundering societies struggling to end the cycle of violence, restore civility and get back on their feet. After the fighting has stopped and the immediate humanitarian needs have been addressed, there exists a brief critical period when a country sits balanced on a fulcrum. Tilted the wrong way, it retreats into conflict. But with the right help, delivered during that brief, critical window of opportunity, it will move toward peace and stability.

This is not, of course, an easy thing to do. These are highly volatile situations, where the needs are many and the time to respond is short. An effective response often requires coordination among organizations - non-governmental organizations (NGOs), the military, and civilian experts - that usually work independently. It requires horizontal thinking that cuts across military,

diplomatic and aid-based solutions. And it has become clear from the events in Bosnia, Rwanda, and now Zaire that, while its thinking may have evolved, the international community does not yet have the tools it needs for the task of peacebuilding. In Bosnia, for example, military peacekeepers found themselves rapidly drawn into a whole range of urgently needed civilian functions for which they were not trained or equipped.

The Mechanics of Peacebuilding

The time to develop those new tools and mechanisms is now. Responding to the challenge of peacebuilding will not be easy - it will require a leap of faith. Canada is poised to make that leap, to offer an example of leadership to the international community. Whatever the risks, the international community can no longer afford to hesitate on the brink while more countries descend into cycles of bloodshed and ethnic hatred.

As proof of our willingness to take a leadership role, we have made our Ambassador to the United States, Raymond Chretien, available to act as the Special Envoy of the UN Secretary-General to the Great Lakes region. As a former Ambassador to Burundi, Rwanda and Zaire, Mr. Chretien has extensive expertise in the region. He will be departing for the region within the next few days, to establish the facts on the present conflict, defuse tension and seek regional solutions. This mission embodies the traits that characterize the mechanics of peacebuilding:

* Willingness to take risks: Peacebuilding is aimed at situations where the risk of failure is much higher than in traditional multilateral activities; but there are cases where the costs of inaction are so high that the international community must be prepared to accept this risk.

* A rapid, co-ordinated and flexible response: Peacebuilding deals with situations where speed is of the essence. It requires a response that links security, economic and social development, and governance, and that addresses the real problems of particular regions or states.

* Preparedness: It follows from the need for a rapid response that to be effective in peacebuilding we need to develop stand-by capacity in Canada, and to carry out ongoing analysis, priority setting and early warning.

* Partnerships: Peacebuilding calls for partnerships with Canadian citizens and NGOs, with other donor countries, with international organizations, and, above all, with the countries we are trying to help. Peacebuilding is not about imposing solutions, but about working *with* countries to fulfil the promise of the UN Charter to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war." It is about helping individuals, communities and states create their own opportunities for sustainable peace by building institutions responsive to their needs.

In this context, we have two great assets in Canada that can be put to use in peacebuilding. The first asset is the wealth of skills and institutions that Canadians have developed in nurturing our own democracy, which can be put to good use in war-torn societies. We have developed these skills in our legislatures and our electoral authorities, in our local governments and our media newsrooms, in our police forces and our courts. Canadians young and old, in business, labour, non-governmental bodies and the professions, have expertise that could be deployed abroad in building sustainable peace. The true measure of our leadership in peacebuilding will be the degree to which we manage to mobilize those talents effectively.

The second asset is Canada's head start in the field of information technology. Information technology by its nature is a good match with peacebuilding. It is a rapid, flexible and inexpensive means of sharing information and expertise. It can of course be used to collect and analyse information and provide an early-warning function. But its potential goes well beyond this. We should be using information technology to maintain the in-country capacity we have helped develop, long after Canadian experts have gone home. For example, the Pearson Peacekeeping Centre could use new technologies to keep in touch with its foreign graduates in their home countries around the world. These technologies could also be used to supplement training of peacebuilders here in Canada, by ensuring that lessons learned in one operation can inform future peacebuilding activities.

Example of Peacebuilding

Haiti, since the return of democracy in 1994, is a good example of what I am talking about. In Haiti, peacebuilding has complemented peacekeeping operations, by creating the conditions for sustainable peace during the transition from conflict to longer-term development. The UN peacekeeping operation in Haiti now includes, in addition to its military mandate, a substantial peacebuilding component: the training of civilian police and the co-ordination of institution building, national reconciliation and economic rehabilitation activities. Canada is deeply engaged in both aspects of the UN mandate. There is a proverb in Haiti that "the law is paper and the bayonet is steel." Peacebuilding gives the Haitian people the capacity to make the transition themselves from using steel to using paper to solve their problems.

The challenge now is to build on our innovative work in Haiti, so that we have the capacity to respond more rapidly, and in an equally innovative way, as urgent needs arise in other priority countries and regions. It is the scope and complexity of the peacebuilding challenge that led us in government to take a number of measures that together form the Canadian Peacebuilding Initiative.

The Canadian Peacebuilding Initiative

My colleague, the Minister for International Co-operation, Don Boudria, and I have agreed that there is an urgent need to co-ordinate our programs and policies that support conflict prevention and resolution, peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction. There is a need to establish priorities and to spend our money strategically. There is a need to mobilize extensive Canadian resources in peacebuilding. In sum, there is a

need for a catalyst that can mobilize and bring together ideas, actions and funds. In the light of this, we have decided to launch a Canadian Peacebuilding Initiative.

As the term "initiative" implies, we are taking the first steps in what we expect to be a longer-term process. We already possess many of the tools needed to respond to complex emergencies - many Canadians within government and outside of it are already engaged in peacebuilding - but we need to create a new way of organizing our activities. Our aim is not to take over existing activities, but rather to ensure that they work together in a coherent manner.

To do this we must ask ourselves a number of questions:

- what our peacebuilding priorities are, both geographically and in terms of niches in which to establish Canadian expertise;

- what measures are needed in a particular situation;

- who the best people are to do the job;

- where the resources for training and deployment will come from;

- how to get people and resources into the field as quickly as possible; and

- how to mobilize the considerable pool of Canadian expertise and co-ordinate with the peacebuilding initiatives of others.

These questions are part of the reason I am here today: because we need your ideas, your energy and your expertise to help us answer these questions in order to make the Initiative work. For the same reason, at my request, the National Forum on Foreign Policy is focussing on peacebuilding as one of its two themes in its current round of discussions. Two sessions on peacebuilding have been held in the past week - one in Halifax, the other in Victoria. The results have highlighted for me a number of factors we need to build into this initiative - such as drawing upon Canada's multicultural society as a resource for peacebuilding.

In my speech at the United Nations last month, I announced one concrete measure that will form part of this initiative - the creation of a roster of Canadian human rights experts, who would be available at short notice to the UN Centre for Human Rights, for example, to help verify and implement peace accords. Today, I would like to announce two further measures that the Government is prepared to undertake immediately to launch the Initiative.

The first is to bring NGO experts into the policy-making process. Accordingly, I would like to convene a formal consultation on peacebuilding, in co-operation with the members of the NGO-led Peacebuilding Contact Group. This would take place in conjunction with our annual consultations with NGOs on human rights, early in 1997.

The second is to establish a Peacebuilding Fund, at the level of $10 million, next fiscal year. This is not a large fund aimed at financing all Canadian initiatives under the rubric of peacebuilding. Nor is it meant to finance related activities that are already being addressed by other mechanisms, such as de-mining, demobilization of troops, restoration of capital infrastructure, return of refugees and displaced persons, and long-term development assistance. Rather it is designed to fill urgent gaps in Canadian programming and, above all, to act as a catalyst, to spark new approaches and to mobilize Canadian talent and expertise.

The Minister for International Co-operation and I will jointly determine and approve initiatives under the Fund. More important, we intend to work together to streamline decision making, co-ordinate activities within Canada and beyond, ensure broad consultation and information sharing, and speed up our response to crises. Other federal departments and NGOs will be brought on board to ensure a coherent political, military, humanitarian and development assistance approach to complex emergencies.

I would like to challenge Canadians to consider the contribution they might make to this initiative. It is the Government's job to formulate our policies and define our priorities in support of peacebuilding. But the Government cannot do the job alone; we have neither the resources nor the expertise. If this initiative is going to work, we need people like you. We need Canadians who are committed to promoting peace, who understand the international environment, and who have skills that could be put to good use in rebuilding war-torn societies.

Conclusion

We are living through a profound shift in the conduct of international relations. The old, Cold War thinking on security between states is being replaced by a new approach focussed on sustainable human security. Canada should be at the forefront of that shift, not only because of what we have to offer to others, but because it is in our own interest to do so. Peacebuilding sets us on the road to a secure, equitable and sustainable international environment in which Canada can flourish. Canada has traditionally been a leader in peacekeeping operations. My aim is to move us toward being a leader in peacebuilding.

The Canadian Peacebuilding Initiative will give us the means to mobilize Canadian expertise in support of peacebuilding. It will give us the tools we need to respond quickly and effectively to the complex requirements of building peace - putting in place the elements necessary to promote trust and confidence among diverse communities *within* states. The same tools will enable us to promote co-operative relations *between* states in ways that contribute to real human security - not simply the false and cold peace of military armed stand-offs. The Israeli statesman Abba Eban said: "Men and nations do behave wisely - once all other alternatives have been exhausted." The Canadian Peacebuilding Initiative is designed to ensure that we do not have to exhaust all other options before we take definitive action to build peace.