

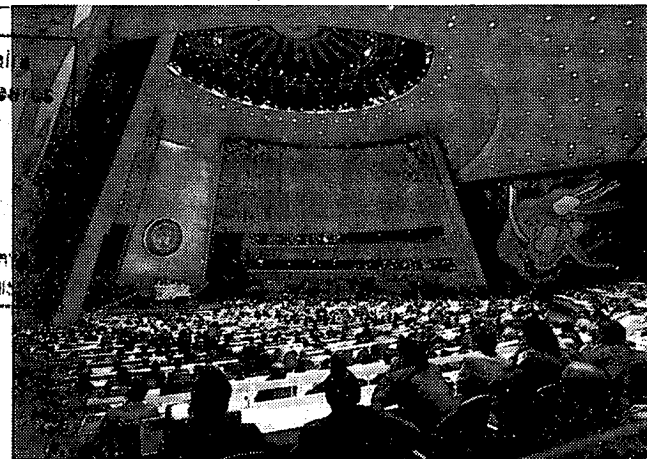
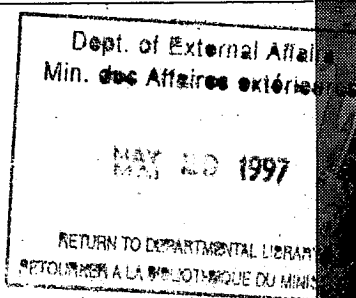
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## Briefing Paper #1

# CANADA AT THE UN



UN 15097 MILTON GRANT

“Young Canadians are prepared to accept their role in the global community.”<sup>1</sup> This commitment made on behalf of Canadian youth, is of course part of a Canadian tradition. It reminds us of Canada's record of active participation in the history of the United Nations.

Canada took part in the San Francisco Conference where the final text of the United Nations Charter was prepared. Since that time our country has continued to provide ideas, personnel and funds to the organization. Our participation in peacekeeping operations has earned Canada a special place in the international community. Equally important is our support for economic, social and humanitarian initiatives of the United Nations. Canada's UN activities reflect a broad public interest evident in the existence of private organizations such as the United Nations Association in Canada (UNAC). Despite the criticisms that are levelled at the UN, Canada's preferred approach to international peace and security is one based on a system of international law and support for the United Nations.

### SAN FRANCISCO

An opinion survey published in January 1945 revealed that 90% of Canada's population supported Canada's entry into the UN. The House of Commons approved Canadian participation in the San Francisco Conference by 200 votes to five. This meant that the members of the Canadian delegation who went to San Francisco took with them the support of the vast majority of their compatriots. In 1945, Canada already had 25 years' experience in the League of Nations, the old international organization which the UN replaced.

The Canadian delegation, led by Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King, included the Justice Minister, Louis Saint-Laurent, the Canadian Ambassador to the United States, Lester B. Pearson,

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some government officials and Members of Parliament. Canada's three political parties were all represented in the delegation.

Although Canada's contribution to the Conference was not on a level with that of the major powers, its participation was nonetheless notable for several reasons. Canada played an active part in the final preparation of the Charter's articles on the main organs of the UN, namely the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and the Secretariat.

While recognizing that the UN's strength rested with the major powers, Canada insisted on having Article 23 of the Charter stipulate that when non-permanent members of the Security Council were elected, consideration should be given to the contribution made by members of the UN to peacekeeping, international security and other UN goals. Moreover, and also at Canada's request, the Charter stipulates that the Council may request military participation by a State that is not a member of Council only if this State participated in making the decisions leading to the military participation. Thus the Charter allows small and middle powers to play a part in an important field.

The efforts of the Canadian Delegation also made it possible to give the General Assembly broad powers though these did not extend to making recommendations on questions of peacekeeping and international security as long as the Security Council was handling them successfully. As Canada intended, this would enable the Assembly to take up the slack if the Council was blocked by a veto and would set a clear dividing line between the powers of these two main UN organs.

Some members of the Canadian Delegation, including Lester B. Pearson, felt that the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) would be a very valuable instrument in the search for international peace and security. Canada paid very special attention to the wording of the parts of the Charter dealing with ECOSOC. The existing Charter contains a number of Canadian proposals, some of them designed to facilitate relations between the UN and its specialized institutions, and to consolidate the position of ECOSOC as coordinator of the activities of these institutions. Another Canadian idea adopted by the Conference was to increase the powers of ECOSOC by authorizing it to not only make recommendations but to prepare (or to have

prepared) reports and studies on questions within its frame of reference. Finally, the Conference accepted three Canadian proposals designed to protect the independence, integrity and competence of the Secretariat (Articles 100, 101 and 105 of the Charter).

In San Francisco, Canada showed that a middle power could use its experience and potential to play an important part in organization. Canada introduced a method of operation known as “the functional approach.” This involved working like a potter who shapes an object as he creates it and is not restricted by a preconceived form. In the context of United Nations committees, this approach meant that the Canadians sought to reconcile viewpoints rather than to impose solutions. The method had proved effective in the years of negotiation and compromise which preceded the foundation of the Canadian confederation itself. A *New York Times* journalist, who had covered the San Francisco Conference, later paid tribute to the Canadian effort saying that “When the chips were down, the Canadians fought harder and more effectively for the principle of collective security than anybody else.”

Of interest in passing is a linguistic contribution made by Canada to the San Francisco Conference, and later to the first General Assembly. Canada did not yet have an official policy on bilingualism but was nevertheless the only country to insist on having accurate and well-written translations in both English and French.

### KEEPING THE PEACE

When the first United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) had come to a close, Canadian delegation leader and Justice Minister Louis Saint-Laurent remarked that a transition had been made from barbarism to a sort of “international feudalism.” Many times, when this “feudalism” gave rise to confrontations, the UN was able to make use of Canada's talent for negotiation. This was the case in the membership deadlock of 1955. When it was founded, the UN had 51 members. Five years later the number had risen to 60. Then between 1951 and 1955, all membership applicants were rejected by the veto power of the

1. From a statement made by Kay Worthington on behalf of Canadian youth during the 1985 Canadian visit of United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar.

United States or by the Soviet Union. In order to break this deadlock, Canada suggested that the 18 candidate countries be admitted simultaneously and tabled a resolution to this effect. The General Assembly adopted the resolution, and although the Security Council vetoed the applications of Japan and Outer Mongolia,<sup>2</sup> a compromise solution had been reached and 16 new countries were admitted. Later Canada opened the way for the People's Republic of China to enter by officially recognizing China at a critical point in China's international relations. Other countries followed suit and China was finally admitted in 1971.

Canada is well known for its role in the 1956 Suez crisis. In a race against time the Canadian delegation, led by Lester B. Pearson, then Secretary of State for External Affairs, negotiated an arrangement which avoided armed confrontation and resulted in the formation of the first UN Emergency Force (UNEF I). Canada played an active part in this force for 11 years, lending the experience it had acquired in the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO), and in the UN Special Committee for Palestine.

UNEF and UNTSO are two peacekeeping operations towards which the UN turned when the "international feudalism" referred to by Saint-Laurent made it difficult to maintain international peace and security. Peacekeeping activities fall into two categories: sending observers to supervise the application of a truce, and using the fairly sizable UN international force to prevent confrontation between antagonists. Canada is the only UN member that participated in all the 11 peacekeeping operations organized by the UN between 1945 and 1975. So far Canada has taken part in 16 of the 17 peacekeeping operations and two independent operations in Indo-China and Korea at a total cost of about \$500 million. Today there are Canadian troops in the UN peacekeeping force in Cyprus, in the UN force in charge of observing the disengagement of Israeli and Syrian forces in the Golan Heights and in the UNTSO.

Canada feels that long-term planning is essential for effective peacekeeping operations. In 1965 Canada organized a conference in Ottawa to examine the military aspects of peacekeeping.

In addition to actual peacekeeping operations, Canada was part of the UN force in Korea, providing three destroyers, an air transport wing, an army brigade and about 27,000 troops. A Canadian officer is a member of the UN Command Military Armistice Commission (UNCMAC).

In our imperfect world, peacekeeping operations are an effective temporary solution to the problems that jeopardize international peace and security. Disarmament and arms control are long-term solutions. Canada, believing that these are concerns of the utmost importance, is an active participant in all UN activities related to disarmament and arms control. Our country is a signatory of a number of arms control and disarmament agreements negotiated in the UN.

Canada, as a member of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), has recommended the creation of effective guarantees against the diversion for military purposes of the materials and technology used in nuclear reactors.

## TOWARDS KINDNESS

Children are always the first victims of armed conflicts. In 1946, a committee, on which Canada served,<sup>3</sup> recommended creating a temporary voluntary fund to provide assistance to the children of war-ravaged countries. This led to the creation of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), which produces the Christmas cards we all know. Profits from cards finance some of the programs of UNICEF, the purpose of which nowadays is mainly to provide aid to children in developing countries and to their mothers. These programs are geared to establishing and maintaining essential services in the areas of health, food, social services, education, etc. In 1984 Canada stood sixth among donors to UNICEF. In 1983-84 its contribution was \$14.5 million and an additional \$11 million was contributed by individual Canadians.

Aid to refugees is another area of UN humanitarian activity of special concern to Canada. In 1948 Canada helped create and support the activities of the International Refugee Organization (IRO) formed to help displaced persons. By the time this organization was dissolved in 1952, Canada had contributed a total of \$18 million and had given refuge to 125,000 homeless and stateless people. Canada is presently funding the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA). Howard Kennedy, a Canadian, was the first director of UNRWA which provides assistance, education and other services to hundreds of stateless persons. In 1951 the UN created the High Commission for Refugees (HCR) to replace the IRO. From the beginning, Canada has been a member of the HCR administration. Since 1969 Canada has also been a party to the 1951 UN Convention and the 1947 Protocol on the status of refugees. In 1983 Canada gave \$5 million to the regular program of the HCR.

Canada has always opened its doors to refugees in times of crisis. It received 38,000 Hungarians between 1956-57, 13,000 Czechs between 1968-69, 228 Tibetans in 1970 and 5,600 Ugandians of Asian origin between 1972-73. In 1976 4,510 Chileans and 6,518 Indo-Chinese were authorized to enter as refugees. More recently, in 1984, Canada received 15,400 refugees who came from Indo-China (5,939), from Eastern Europe (3,550), from Latin America (2,786), from Africa (1,083), from the Middle East (952), and from other countries (275). In addition, 960 of the 15,400 refugees in Canada in 1984 obtained refugee status on request once they were here.

## CANADA AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

Many members of the Canadian delegation to San Francisco had a political or diplomatic background.<sup>3</sup> Their presence gave Canada a greater voice during meetings or in discussions with the major powers. This also explains, in part, Canada's extensive participation in ECOSOC and in the auxiliary organs and specialized institutions. Canada is or has been a member of the Committee on Natural Resources, the Committee on Review and Appraisal, the Commission on the Status of Women, the Commission on Nar-

cotic Drugs, the Statistical Commission, the Committee on Housing, Building and Planning, the Commission on Human Rights, the Boards of Directors of the UN Development Program and of UNICEF, the Trade and Development Board of the UN Conference on Trade and Development, Executive Committee of the UN High Commission for Refugees and the Boards of Directors of the UN Environment Program, of the UN Commission on Human Settlements (HABITAT), and of the Economic Commissions for Europe and for Latin America and the Caribbean.

On Canada's initiative, the UN Environment Program (UNEP) approved by consensus a resolution (adopted by the General Assembly in late 1983) creating an independent World Environment and Resources Council to project the future of the environment up to the year 2000 and beyond. Its members include two Canadians: Maurice Strong as Commissioner and Jim MacNeil as Secretary-General.

Canada has participated actively in the annual sessions of the Commission on Human Rights. As a result of a Canadian initiative in 1984, the Commission examined reports on the imposition of states of siege or emergency, which tend to threaten human rights. In addition, Canada obtained a consensus on resolutions dealing with persons detained for holding or peacefully expressing their beliefs, and on continuing efforts to improve ways to deal with, and if possible prevent, mass exodus of persons from any state as a result of violations of human rights.

Canada participated in the 1985 Nairobi Conference to review and appraise the achievements of the UN Decade for Women. Many Canadians participate on an individual basis in the work of the Advisory Body on Science and Technology for Development, on the UN Volunteers, the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, and the International Narcotics Control Board.

The ECOSOC coordinates the work of those specialized UN institutions which are separate and independent intergovernmental bodies, each with their own organs for deliberation and execution. Canada has played a primary role in the formation of many such institutions (some of which existed before the UN was formed), and in their activities. They include the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), which was founded in Quebec City (Canada is the main contributor to the FAO), the International Labour Organization (ILO), the World Health Organization (WHO), UNESCO, the International Civil Aviation Organization (headquartered in Montreal), the International Telecommunications Union (ITU) and the World Meteorological Organization.

Canada's participation in the World Health Organization (WHO) is an example of our country's active interest in the specialized institutions of the UN. Canada has supplied technical and specialized staff to this organization; it operates Canadian faculties of medicine and nursing schools.

2. Japan was admitted the following year and Outer Mongolia in 1971.
3. Two of them, Louis Saint-Laurent and Lester B. Pearson, later became Prime Ministers of Canada, the first from 1948 to 1957, and the second from 1963 to 1968.

to WHO technical and scientific staff from abroad, and passed on to other countries the results of Canadian research in the various field of medicine.

## A NEW WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER

Canada recognized the importance of economic development as early as the San Francisco Conference, when Prime Minister King underlined the importance of establishing a world community in which social security and welfare were part of the common heritage of mankind. The first United Nations commissioner for technical assistance was a Canadian, Mr. Hugh Keenleyside. These beginnings led to the creation in 1965 of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), to which Canada lent its assistance, ranking seventh among donor countries. By 1983 Canada stood sixth among the 17 OECD donor countries in terms of official development aid. Canada has pledged to increase such aid to 0.6% of its GNP by 1990 and to 0.7% by 1995.

The commercial relationship between developed and developing countries is important to both. Just as developing countries depend on the industrial ones for aid, technology and investment, so also industrialized countries depend on the less-developed ones for markets. Developing countries currently take 30% of the exports of OECD countries.

Environmental considerations play an important part in Canada's aid programs, especially where desertification and deforestation are concerned. A Canadian delegation, which included Canadian Indian and Inuit members, participated in the biennial conference of parties to the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species, held in Botswana.

Canada participates in financing the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the International Finance Corporation, the International Development Association, the Asian, African, Inter-American and Caribbean Development Banks. These organizations receive about two-thirds of Canada's multilateral aid, apart from food aid.

The International Fund for Agricultural Development, created in 1976, received \$33 million for its first three years of operation, and by 1982 Canada's contributions totalled \$42 million.

Canada is particularly interested in the codification of international law and has been involved

closely in UN international law reform. For example, the International Law Commission, on which Canadian diplomat Marcel Cadieux sat, dates back to 1947. More recently, Canada took part in the UN Conference on International Trade Law. From 1964 to 1970 Canada was a member of the Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States, and, in 1962, of the Special Committee on the Definition of Aggression.

The legal sub-committee on the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, of which Canada is part, has formulated principles and laid the groundwork for a number of conventions. Canada has played a leading role in preparing three conventions on illicit acts of intervention against aircraft.

The law of the Sea is an extremely important area of international law from the Canadian standpoint because our country has more than 243,000 km of coastline. We have therefore played an active part in the UN Conferences on the Law of the Sea and signed the resulting Convention.

John Read, a Canadian, was one of the founding members of the International Court of Justice, where he worked from 1946 to 1958. It was to this international court that Canada turned in its litigation with the United States over fishing rights in the Gulf of Maine.

## THE UNAC: A DYNAMIC ASSOCIATION

In a 1984 message to the United Nations Association in Canada (UNAC), the Secretary-General said that UNAC had enjoyed steadily increasing support despite the difficult international climate. He added that this was "not at all surprising in view of the strong links which have existed between the Canadian Government and people and the United Nations ever since the signing of the Charter."

UNAC annually awards the Pearson Peace Medal for outstanding achievement in the field of international service by a Canadian.

In 1985 UNAC organized a roundtable conference on the subject *The UN at forty: responding to crisis*. This conference brought together leaders of Canadian non-governmental organizations and was also attended by Canada's Ambassador and permanent representative to the United Nations, Stephen Lewis and the Canadian Ambassador for Disarmament, Douglas Roche.

All the participants agreed that the United Nations was the cornerstone of the world order. They pointed out that the UN had succeeded often on the human level but was in need of reform. Their conclusions paralleled a statement made by Mr. Lewis before the United Nations General Assembly on December 17, 1984, in which he said that, over the last 40 years, the UN had:

*nurtured the welfare of humankind. And that is why gratuitous, fashionable assaults on the United Nations, to diminish or to demean it, just will not do.*

*The various agencies, whether the United Nations Children's Fund, the UN Development Program, the World Health Organization or the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees, represent all in all, the finest expressions of human aspiration and dedication. The triumph of international peace-keeping is one of those rare reflections of sustained international sanity. The prestige and influence of the office of the Secretary-General augur well for the future direction of this entire organization. Indeed, the present incumbent has won the trust of every Member State - as well he might when one thinks of his skill and initiatives on Afghanistan, on Cyprus, on Lebanon and on the Iran-Iraq conflict, to name but a representative few. It is not so much a solution which is required here; it is rather the inspired knack of keeping doors open, countries talking, a vital process going. These modest initiatives help to keep the world on track when all around us there is menace, alarm and hostility. If the United Nations system did not exist it would somehow be created.*

Canada will continue to play a part in the UN. A recent opinion poll showed that more than 80% of Canadians feel that it is very important or reasonably important to help this Organization to succeed.

International Youth Year sees Canada's young people ready to face the challenge. Let us conclude with the words of Kay Worthington, speaking on behalf of Canadian Youth:

*I would challenge all the young people present here tonight to work towards supporting the United Nations, its goals and its mandate. And I would challenge the United Nations, and especially its representatives here with us, to respond to the requests and initiative of youth, to be creative, to utilize new ideas and to seek out new ways to solve problems which exist.*

## Briefing Paper #2

# DISARMAMENT: Canada's Contribution at the UN



UN 57106

In establishing the UN in 1945, Canada and other members of the international community expressed their determination to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" and recognized the transcendent need for cooperation between nations in the post war world.

Canada has pursued this tradition of multilateralism in the field of arms control. In fact, Canada has a seat at every multilateral arms control and disarmament forum. Each of these disarmament forums exists by virtue of the UN's mandate to create a world safe from war. These forums include: the First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly, the Conference on Disarmament (CD) in Geneva, the United Nations Disarmament Commission, the Mutual Balanced Force Reduction talks in Vienna and the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. Each of these forums is filled with its own set of difficulties and complications. However, each also offers hope and the long-range prospect for progress.

Canada has long been a vocal proponent of these multilateral negotiations. We recognize the true value of the multilateral processes to the international community as a whole and their particular importance as a forum in which smaller and middle powers can make their voice heard and influence arms control issues that affect each and every nation, regardless of size and stature. We also believe that the potential of these bodies for making real progress and effectively negotiating arms control and disarmament questions is far from being realized.

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One of four Briefing Papers, included in an education kit prepared to mark the 40th anniversary of the United Nations.

Canada

## THE UN AS A DISARMAMENT FORUM

As a focal point for international relations, it is not surprising that the major multilateral arms control and disarmament forums have emerged from the UN system itself.

The United Nations has stood by the goal, adopted in 1959, of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. A number of limited agreements for arms control have been achieved through UN initiatives - such as the Antarctic Treaty, the Partial Test Ban Treaty, the Outer Space Treaty, the Non-Proliferation Treaty. At the first United Nations Special Session on Disarmament in 1978 (UNSSOD I), the 149 participating nations adopted, by what has been called a "historic consensus" a 129-paragraph Final Document containing a Program of Action which listed measures intended to be implemented "over the next few years."

But no progress has been made in achieving agreements since then. The fault lies not with the UN as such but with those governments that use confrontation rather than cooperation. The words at the heart of the Final Document must not be forgotten: "Mankind is confronted with a choice: we must halt the arms race and proceed to disarmament or face annihilation."

## UN FIRST COMMITTEE

The First Committee of the UN General Assembly, which deals with political and security matters, has an agenda comprising the entire range of arms control and disarmament questions. The First Committee is a deliberative body and prepares recommendations and draft resolutions which are then submitted to the General Assembly for adoption on the basis of a majority vote. Of all the activities of the United Nations, those of the General Assembly attract the most public attention.

At the 39th General Assembly, the First Committee considered 72 resolutions ranging from Radiological Weapons to the Reduction of Military Budgets. Among the most prominent in this plethora of resolutions are those that deal with the questions of a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty,

Chemical Weapons, Outer Space and a freeze on nuclear weapons.

Most public attention seems to have been fixed on the three UN resolutions which called for a comprehensive freeze on the production, testing and deployment of nuclear weapons. Expressing the fear and genuine frustration that the pace of arms control negotiations was too slow compared to continuous upward momentum of the nuclear arms race, it was argued that the superpowers should freeze at existing levels of armaments and then negotiate reductions. While the idea of a comprehensive nuclear freeze has an attractive and almost compelling logic, in the present atmosphere it seems very unlikely that it would be possible to agree to negotiate a verifiable freeze.

There are other ways of stifling the nuclear arms race - and Canada takes the lead on two major issues. These two steps are "freezes" in their own right.

The first is the call for a Comprehensive Test Ban (CTB). Canada has been one of the "inner core" of co-sponsors of a UN resolution on the urgent need for a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty. The resolution reaffirms that a treaty prohibiting all nuclear-test explosions in all environments is a matter of the greatest importance. As the resolution itself states, a CTB would:

*...constitute a vital element for the success of efforts to halt and reverse the nuclear-arms race and the qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons, and to prevent the expansion of existing nuclear arsenals and the spread of nuclear weapons to additional countries.*

The realization of an effective multilateral Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTB) is a fundamental and abiding objective of Canada's arms control and disarmament policy. Since 1945 there have been 1,522 nuclear explosions, and 53 in 1984 alone. Canada has long been an active advocate of a CTB and has been working consistently within the CD to move discussions forward. We believe that a CTB is a concrete and realistic measure that would contribute significantly to halting the nuclear arms race by prohibiting the testing of nuclear weapons. As the Secretary of the UN has stated:

*It is of direct importance to the future of humanity to end all nuclear explosions. No*

other means would be as effective in limiting the further development of nuclear weapons.

The second Canadian initiative has been a call for the prohibition of the production of fissionable materials for nuclear weapons and other explosive devices. This resolution has been consistently gaining support in the international community. The resolution requests the Conference on Disarmament to pursue the question of an adequately verified cessation and prohibition of the production of fissionable material.

A ban on the production of fissionable material would prevent the development and production of nuclear weapons. A Comprehensive Test Ban would prevent nuclear testing of any sort. They would thus constitute significant contributions to stopping the nuclear arms race.

## CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

The Conference on Disarmament (CD) in Geneva is the sole global multilateral negotiating body dedicated exclusively to arms control and disarmament issues. Its membership stands at 40 and includes all five nuclear powers plus representation from all geo-political blocs: the East, the West and the Neutral-Non-Aligned.

Since 1980, the CD has been working on negotiating a convention which would ban the development, production, stockpiling, transfer and use of chemical weapons (CW). The terrible history of chemical weapon use in the First World War – which resulted in more than 900,000 deaths and one million casualties – and recent evidence of chemical weapons use in the Iran-Iraq war, and allegations of use in Afghanistan and Southeast Asia have reinforced the immediate need for a CW Convention.

While all CD participants recognize the urgency of concluding a treaty, there continue to be many outstanding problems and differences of opinion on such fundamental issues as the destruction of existing stockpiles of chemical weapons, the destruction of production facilities and verification provisions which have slowed considerably the negotiation of a CW convention.

Under the Canadian chairmanship of the *Ad Hoc* Working Group on CW in 1983, significant progress was made toward identifying and isolating those issues that could be agreed upon and that might form the basis for a CW convention. In April 1984 the United States tabled a draft text for a treaty banning chemical weapons. Canada welcomed this step. Since that time work has continued, but progress has been slow and there remain several difficult issues to be resolved.

Canada is also working to overcome the significant political and technical obstacles to a CTB, not least of which involves the verification of an eventual treaty. In this regard, Canada has lent its expertise to the Seismic Experts Group at the CD in an attempt to overcome some of the difficulties of verifying a CTB. Last year, for example, we participated in a 40-nation International Seismic Data Exchange (ISDE) designed to determine the scope and capability for seismic verification of a CTB. Canada provided 15 percent of the data collected during the

exercise. This is the sort of steady background work that will form the foundation for the eventual negotiation of a CTB.

It has long been Canadian policy to prevent the spread of weapons to outer space and Canada has been an active supporter of all initiatives to discuss this issue, both in the multilateral UN context and bilaterally between the superpowers. We therefore welcomed the modest but significant progress made this spring in the CD.

After some years of discussion and dispute, the member-nations of the CD were able to agree on a mandate for an *Ad Hoc* Committee on Outer Space. The work in the CD will complement the ongoing bilateral negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union. As well, there is the hope that these bilateral negotiations will augment and reinforce the work of the Conference on Disarmament. The establishment of a mandate is indeed an important first step in beginning work on the negotiation of a treaty preventing the spread of weapons to outer space.

Canada has undertaken some basic research projects to facilitate the discussions which might lead to the negotiation of a treaty. These include a survey of existing treaties and international law relevant to arms control in outer space, funded by External Affairs and undertaken with the assistance of the Institute and Centre of Air and Space Law at McGill University; a compendium of statements made in the CD on Outer Space; and a technical feasibility study on space-to-space surveillance conducted by Spar Aerospace, again under contract from the Department of External Affairs.

## THE UNITED NATIONS DISARMAMENT COMMISSION

The present United Nations Disarmament Commission (UNDC) was established at the UN's Special Session on Disarmament, (UNSSOD I) in 1978 as a deliberative body composed of all UN members. The UNDC, which meets annually in New York for four weeks in May, operates on the basis of consensus and makes recommendations to the General Assembly on selected items in the disarmament field which the General Assembly has referred to the UNDC for examination.

The UNDC has experienced many of the same problems that exist in other UN forums and has difficulty in dealing substantively with its agenda items. At its last session, the UNDC achieved little in substantive terms, except a reaffirmation of the goals of the Second Disarmament Decade. Even perennial agenda items, such as the reduction of military budgets and the nuclear capability of South Africa, remain untouched by progress or movement of any sort. While there was some useful discussion on the role of the United Nations in disarmament, the session was characterized by a lack of urgency.

Nevertheless, the UNDC does have an important role to play in improving and strengthening the manner in which the UN deals with disarmament issues. Canada supports the UNDC and believes

that if all member-states strive to play a more meaningful role in this process the Commission could make a real contribution to the deliberation of disarmament questions.

## THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE

The Stockholm Conference, or as it is formally called, the Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, is a creation of the ongoing 35-nation Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and represents a unique approach to negotiating arms control and disarmament.

The Conference is "to undertake, in stages, new, effective and concrete actions designed to make progress in strengthening confidence and security and in achieving disarmament."

The first stage of the Conference is specifically devoted to the negotiation and adoption of a set of mutually complementary confidence-and-security-building measures (CSBMs for short) designed to reduce the risk of military confrontation in Europe. These measures represent a novel and largely undefined approach to East-West arms control and disarmament. While the mandate stipulates that the CSBMs are to be militarily significant, politically binding, adequately verifiable and applicable to the whole of Europe, the exact nature of these measures is left up to the Conference to determine.

Here the approaches of East and West are in striking contrast, the West favours a gradual building up of confidence through a series of concrete steps whereas the East prefers an initial declaration that confidence exists and its subsequent reinforcement with subordinate and limited specific measures.

## THE VIENNA TALKS

The remaining multilateral negotiating forum – the Vienna-based Mutual Balanced Force Reduction Talks (MBFR) – has a much more limited mandate and membership than the others previously described.

The Mutual Balanced Force Reduction Talks between NATO and the Warsaw Pact opened in Vienna in 1973. Recognizing that the concentration of forces in Central Europe is the largest in the world, the objectives of these talks, as their title suggests, has been mutual reduction of conventional forces in Europe to parity at 900,000. Although the talks have been underway for 12 years, progress has been, at best, modest. There has been disagreement between the two sides on the very fundamental and crucial issues of data and verification. The two sides have been unable to agree on the number of Eastern troops in the so-called "reduction area," thereby making it impossible to determine the reductions required to reach parity.

## NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY (NPT)

Canada is a country which deeply respects and values the NPT as an invaluable international treaty embodying the objectives of Canada's arms control, non-proliferation and peaceful-uses policies. These are:

- to encourage negotiations between the super powers leading to a cessation of the nuclear arms race, with the long-term goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control;
- to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons;
- to promote and facilitate the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

The NPT is the legal embodiment of a bargain made between the nuclear and non-nuclear states. The non-nuclear states agreed to forego the acquisition of nuclear weapons (i.e., horizontal proliferation)

in exchange for an undertaking by the nuclear states to halt the arms race in nuclear weapons (i.e., vertical proliferation).

## BILATERAL ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS

In addition to the multilateral arms control fora, there are also bilateral negotiations on nuclear arms reductions being conducted between the United States and the Soviet Union. In this regard, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Right Honourable Joe Clark, warmly welcomed the agreement announced by the United States and the Soviet Union on January 8, 1985 to engage in bilateral negotiations on nuclear arms - of both strategic and intermediate range - and space weapons. He said that this represents an important step in relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. The negotiating process will have far-reaching and positive implications for East-West relations in general and for negotiations in multilateral arms control fora in which Canada is

a direct participant.

Canada is particularly encouraged by the agreed objectives for the USA-USSR negotiations: the prevention of an arms race in space and its termination on earth; the limitation and reduction of nuclear arms; and the strengthening of strategic stability, leading ultimately to the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. These themes have long been central elements of Canadian foreign policy. Canada welcomes the opportunity to consult further with the USA, both bilaterally and in NATO, as these negotiations unfold.

\*This briefing paper is adapted from a speech given by Douglas Roche, Ambassador for Disarmament, to the International Institute for Peace Education, in Edmonton July 8, 1985.



## Briefing Paper #3

# PEACEKEEPING: Canada and UN Peacekeeping Efforts



UN MB/RAS

Canada has been and continues to be a strong supporter of peacekeeping and a major contributor to peacekeeping operations. Peacekeeping may be generally defined as the employment of military, para-military or non-military personnel or forces in an area of political conflict, for the purpose of restoring or maintaining the peace. The purpose of peacekeeping is to enable the parties to disengage and to give them confidence that their differences can be settled by negotiation. Peacekeeping activities range from unarmed missions with a role of observation and reporting only, through roles of investigation, supervision and control, to the interposition of armed military units and formations between the parties.

Peacekeeping has not been confined exclusively to the post World War II period. Previously there were some very successful international police operations, such as the 1935 peacekeeping force established by the League of Nations during the SAAR plebiscite which resolved the dispute between France and Germany. On this topic Sir Anthony Eden, a former British Prime Minister, wrote in his memoirs: "The machinery in the SAAR both before and during the plebiscite gave a glimpse of a supranational salvation to a world which was imprisoning itself all the while more closely within the confines of the National State..."

Since the beginning of the nuclear age, the concept of peacekeeping has been perceived by the international community as a practical means of limiting and mediating disputes, and avoiding the outbreak of a major conflict.

Since 1947, Canada has participated in a total of 15 UN peacekeeping operations. Canada's preference has been that peacekeeping operations be conducted under UN jurisdiction, and that the UN machinery for doing so be strengthened. Recognizing, however, that this is not always possible, in par-

ticular where great power interests are involved, Canada has participated in peacekeeping-type missions outside UN auspices: the 1954 and 1973 Control Commissions in Indo-China and the International Observer Team in Nigeria. A summary of Canadian participation in these operations is listed at the end of this briefing paper.

Canada contributes forces to three current UN peacekeeping operations and has agreed to participate in another peacekeeping mission in the Middle East not under UN auspices, commencing in 1986. These operations are:

a. *The United Nations Truce Supervisory Organization (UNTSO)* This, the oldest of the UN operations in the Middle East, was permanently established by the Security Council in 1948. Canada has participated in UNTSO since 1954. Its task is to observe and maintain the ceasefire ordered by the Security Council and to assist in the supervision of the application and observance of the General Armistice Agreements between Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan, Syria and Israel. The Canadian participation at present consists of 20 officers, out of a total 297 members.

b. *The United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF)* Created in May 1974 by Security Council Resolution 350 after the Yom Kippur War, its task is to observe and maintain the ceasefire between Israel and Syria by interposing troops between the parties concerned. The force is deployed on the Golan Heights. Canada provides a contingent of approximately 220 personnel, whose task is to provide logistic, communications and other technical support to the Force. UNDOF enjoys the cooperation of both Israel and Syria and has been highly successful in carrying out its mission.

c. *The United Nations Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)* This force was established in 1964 following the outbreak of hostilities between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities. Canada has been a major contributor since that time with a current commitment of 515 personnel. Its mandate is to prevent a recurrence of fighting between hostile factions, and, as necessary, to contribute to the maintenance and restoration of law and order and assist in the return to normal conditions. Although it is regrettable that the parties to the dispute have not yet been able to reach a negotiated settlement, the continued presence of UNFICYP is considered

necessary to maintain a peaceful situation in which the search for a political settlement may continue.

d. *The Multinational Force and Observers (MFO)* The MFO, which is based in the Sinai peninsula, was established in 1981 to monitor the provisions of the 1979 Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty. The Force was established by a protocol to the Treaty and is not under the auspices of the United Nations. In response to requests from Egypt and Israel, Canada has agreed to provide a contingent of up to 140 personnel and nine helicopters to the MFO, commencing on 31 March 1986. Canadian participation in the MFO will contribute to the reinforcement of the peace agreement between Israel and Egypt, and reaffirms Canada's commitment to peace and stability in the Middle East.

In addition to the above operations, Canada provides periodic airlift support to the UN Military Observer Group India - Pakistan (UNMOGIP), and the Canadian Forces Attaché in the Republic of Korea provides Canadian representation on the UN Command Military Armistice Commission (UNCMAC).

Our military role in international peacekeeping helps to prevent the outbreak or spread of hostilities so that underlying political problems can be settled through negotiation, thus minimizing the possibility of direct great power involvement. However, Canada has never considered peacekeeping to be a sufficient objective in itself. The purpose of peacekeeping is not only to prevent conflict, but also to create the conditions in which the search for solutions to the underlying causes of conflict can take place. For this reason Canada has held the view that considerable stress should be placed on the inter-relationship between peacekeeping and peacemaking efforts by all parties concerned.

It has become apparent from many years experience that certain conditions must exist if a peacekeeping operation is to have a reasonable chance of success. It is very important that the peacekeeping mission be associated with an agreement for a political settlement, or at least an expressed willingness by the parties concerned to seek such a settlement. The parties to the dispute must agree to maintain a ceasefire, and must agree to accept the presence and composition of the peacekeeping mission and respect its mandate. The mission must have a clear and attainable mandate, and must have the necessary freedom of movement and action to carry

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out its tasks, including adequate authority for self-defence. Peacekeeping forces are not normally strong enough to impose their will militarily on the belligerents, and hence can only operate effectively with the cooperation of the parties concerned. The peacekeeping organization should be responsible to a political authority, preferably the United Nations, capable of supervising the mandate of the mission, receiving reports, and exercising some influence over the parties concerned. It is important that a fair and equitable method of financing the

operation be agreed.

In addition to these criteria, the desirability of Canadian participation in any peacekeeping operation would of course be influenced by the degree to which it would serve Canadian foreign policy interests and by the ability of the Canadian Forces to provide the required resources.

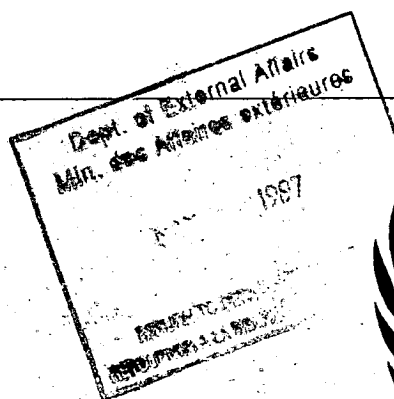
Together with other nations which have contributed to peacekeeping operations, Canada continues to

work to improve the practical implementation of peacekeeping. In particular, through its membership in the UN Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, Canada has sought to enhance the ability of the UN to mount and control peacekeeping operations. A continuing effort to promote peaceful settlement of disputes is one of the foundations of Canadian security policy.

## CANADIAN ARMED FORCES PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES AND OBSERVER MISSIONS - 1947 ONWARDS

Operation	Location	Dates	Maximum Troop Contribution	Current Troop Contribution
United Nations Command Korea (UNCK)	Korea	1950-54	8,000	—
United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF I)	Egypt	1956-67	1,007	—
Organisation des Nations Unies au Congo (ONUC)	Congo	1960-64	421	—
United Nations Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA)	West New Guinea (now West Irian)	1962-63	13	—
United Nations Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)	Cyprus	1964-	1,126	515
United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF II)	Egypt (Sinai)	1973-79	1,145	—
United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF)	Israel Syria (Golan Heights)	1974-	220	220
United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL)	Lebanon	1978 (Apr-Sep)	117	—
United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea (UNTCOK)	Korea	1947-48	Unknown	—
United Nations Military Observer Group India-Pakistan (UNMOGIP)	Kashmir	1949-79	27	—
United Nations Truce Supervisory Organization Palestine (UNTSO)	Egypt Israel Jordan Lebanon Syria	1954-	20	20
United Nations Military Armistice Commission (UNCMAC)	Korea	1953-	2	1
United Nations Observer Group in Lebanon (UNOGIL)	Lebanon	1958-59	77	—
United Nations Yemen Observer Mission (UNYOM)	Yemen	1963-64	36	—
United Nations India-Pakistan Observer Mission (UNIPOM)	India-Pakistan Border	1965-66	112	—
International Commission for Supervision and Control (ICSC)	Cambodia Laos Vietnam	1954-74	133	—
International Commission for Control and Supervision (ICCS)	South Vietnam	1973	248	—
Observer Team to Nigeria (OTN)	Nigeria	1968-69	2	—

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# FACTS AND FIGURES

### THE UN

There are 159 members of the United Nations General Assembly. In 1984, the regular budget of the UN itself was USA \$778 million. The ten largest assessed contributors were:

	USA \$ (000)	%
1. USA	190,520	25.00
2. USSR	80,323	10.54
3. Japan	78,647	10.32
4. FRG	65,082	8.54
5. France	49,612	6.51
6. United Kingdom	35,589	4.67
7. Italy	28,502	3.74
8. CANADA	23,472	3.08
9. Spain	14,708	1.93
10. Netherlands	13,565	1.78
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$580,122</b>	<b>76.11</b>

The contributions of the

- Western group of states:	74.99%
- Communist group of states:	16.37%
- Third World group of states:	8.64%

### UN SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

The regular budgets of the UN Specialized Agencies in 1984 totaled approximately another USA \$850 million. Canada's largest assessed contributions in 1983-84 were as follows:

	Cdn \$ (000)	% of total budget
1. World Health Organization (WHO)	11,575	3.02
2. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)	9,344	3.72
3. UNESCO	6,524	3.04
4. International Labour Organization (ILO)	4,846	3.05
5. International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)	4,667*	3.09
6. International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) located in Montreal	3,692**	2.93
7. International Telecommunication Union (ITU)	2,391	4.59
8. General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)	1,174***	4.04
9. Universal Postal Union (UPU)	590	4.70
10. World Meteorological Organization (WMO)	593	2.72
11. World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO)	270,000	2.41
11. International Maritime Organization (IMO)	129,000	0.97

\* Includes \$1,125,000 voluntary contribution for technical assistance activities

\*\* Includes \$2,700,000 for costs as host state, e.g. accommodation, heating and services

\*\*\* Amount of assessment is calculated as a percentage of Canada's world trade

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## VOLUNTARY-FUNDED UN ACTIVITIES

Approximately USA \$2,300 million was voluntarily contributed to various programmes and funds in the UN system. Canada's largest contributions in 1983-84 were to:

	Cdn \$ (000)
1. World Food Program (WFP)	125,000*
2. UN Development Program (UNDP)	59,000
3. International Emergency Food Reserve (IEFR)	21,500
4. UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)	18,400
5. UNICEF	14,500**
6. International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)	14,000
7. UN Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA)	10,250
8. UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees	8,500
9. Office of the UN Disaster Relief Co-ordinator (UNDRO)	1,981***
10. UN Environment Programme (UNEP)	992
11. Commission on Human Settlements (HABITAT)	530****
12. UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control (UNFDAC)	303

\* Includes food contributions of \$105,000,000 and cash of \$20,000,000

\*\* Canadians privately contributed a further \$11 million

\*\*\* Includes contributions to special appeals

\*\*\*\* Includes cost of maintaining a regional office in Vancouver at \$150,000.

## UN PEACEKEEPING

In 1983-84, Canadian contributions were as follows:

	Cdn \$ (000)
1. UN Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)	7,000*
2. UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL)	5,471
3. UN Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF)	1,324
4. UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO)	211
5. UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP)	no cost to Canada

\* As a participant in UNFICYP, which is financed through voluntary contributions, Canada pays no assessment and receives little reimbursement from the UN. The "out-of-pocket" costs i.e. the costs above those to maintain the current 515-man contingent in Canada, are approximately \$7,000,000.

\*\* The "out-of-pocket" costs to maintain 20 officers in UNTSO.

## COMBINED CASH CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE UN SYSTEM

In 1984, the overall UN system cost approximately USA \$3,928 million (This does not include funds for the World Bank, IMF and other International Financial Institutions.) In 1982 (the last year total figures are available), the ten largest overall contributors were:

	USA \$
1. USA	1,001,326
2. Japan	394,085
3. FRG	270,040
4. Sweden	211,728
5. Netherlands	197,979
6. United Kingdom	169,945
7. CANADA	157,972*
8. France	155,972
9. Norway	155,051
10. Italy	147,261
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2,861,162</b>

\* In 1984 Canada's overall contribution to the UN system in Canada dollars is estimated at \$355,000,000.

The top ten contributors on a PER CAPITA BASIS (1980: most recent available) are:

	USA \$
1. Norway*	39.0
2. Sweden*	32.0
3. Denmark*	27.1
4. Qatar	18.5
5. Netherlands	18.4
6. Switzerland	10.2
7. Saudi Arabia	9.7
8. CANADA	9.2
9. United Arab Emirates	9.1
10. Libya	7.4

Other contributors on a per capita basis are:

1. Federal Republic of Germany	4.6
2. USA	4.1
3. United Kingdom	3.4
4. Japan	3.0
5. France	2.6
6. USSR	0.6

\* Nordic countries have very small bilateral aid programmes, preferring to use UN agencies.

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