

Disarmament and Development A Canadian Position At the UN Conference

From August 24 to September 11, 1987, the United Nations hosted an International Conference on the Relationship Between Disarmament and Development. The Canadian Government participated in this Conference and was, through Ambassador for Disarmament Douglas Roche, active on its Preparatory Committee. In early 1986 (the Conference was originally scheduled for last year), an advisory committee, including Ploughshares Research Co-ordinator Ernie Regehr, met with Ambassador Roche to consider possible actions and positions to be advocated by Canada at the Conference. The following statement of recommendations was subsequently drafted by Regehr and submitted by Project Ploughshares to the Canadian Government and to the international preparatory committee.

There are five basic categories of action that we suggest would be appropriate for the forthcoming International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development. The Conference should produce:

- A statement that articulates the principle of the inter-relatedness of security, development and disarmament;

- A call to a particular action that symbolizes or embodies this principle at the international level;
- A call to a particular action that symbolizes or embodies this principle at the national level;
- An action or declaration which can help to mobilize international political support for a specific and related issue or issues deemed to be of special urgency; and
- A structure by which the theme of

disarmament and development can continue to be brought to the attention of the international community in the years to come.

The following statement provides suggestions for each of the above action categories.

Disarmament/Development/ Security:

The Conference final document should include language which identifies security as a single policy "envelope" which includes three components:

- a) equitable social and economic policies (which internationally, include development assistance);
- b) national defence policies consistent with the Charter's provisions for collective security; and



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c) disarmament.

In the first of these components, *security* is seen, not as building a fortress within which we can protect ourselves from an adverse and threatening environment, but as the creation, or transformation, of a physical and social environment in which the welfare of persons is the primary objective and security is the consequence. Secondly, in such an environment the purpose of *national defence* is to sustain the integrity of the national territory and of the institutions through which justice, social harmony and economic equity are mediated or delivered. Finally, the purpose of *disarmament* is to dismantle those military structures, and to change those priorities, which now threaten the physical security, justice, social harmony and economic well-being of the planet.

International support for the "security envelope"

The agenda item, "consideration of ways and means of releasing additional resources, through disarmament measures, for development purposes in particular for the benefit of developing countries", provides an opportunity to give symbolic support to all of the component policies of the security envelope. The proposal to reduce military spending and to dedicate the released resources to development in effect seeks, as noted above, to:

- a) dismantle, through disarmament, those military structures and to change those priorities which now threaten the physical security, justice, social harmony and economic well-being of the planet; and
- b) contribute, through development assistance, to the creation of a physical and social environment in which the welfare of persons is the objective and security is the consequence.

National support for the "security envelope":

Many states can, with reasonable credibility, claim that their national priorities generally reflect an emphasis on social and economic policy as central to the concept of security. For these states military force is not generally the primary focus of their "security" policies. This general approach could be strengthened by an appeal or proposal to all states to make constructive social policy an overt goal of national military poli-

In Brief

- Social, economic, defence and disarmament policies should be considered together in one policy "envelope".
- The welfare of persons is the true objective of this envelope of policies and security is the consequence.
- Military forces should be restructured to more easily support peace-keeping, search and rescue, and disaster relief.
- The arms trade should be placed on the agenda of the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva.
- The Secretary General should undertake a study of the international arms trade.
- The need for an International Arms Trade Register is inescapable.
- An intergovernmental structure should be created to monitor the progress of the related issues of disarmament, development and security.



cies. This could be done by calling for greater attention to equipping national forces with dual purpose equipment—eg. equipment that can function in peace-keeping missions, search and rescue, emergency responses to natural and other disasters. In other words, in addition to traditional defence aims, military forces should contribute to a national infrastructure that can more effectively respond to emergency social needs.

Mobilizing support

The conference represents a significant opportunity to place the international arms trade on the world political agenda. Attempts to control arms transfers have been frustrated in the past, and currently even the attempt has been abandoned. The issue could be given new attention by having the D and D conference petition the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva to take on this issue as a priority, or by petitioning the Secretary General to undertake a study or establish a group of experts to examine the issue. A further step could be to petition states to address the problem on a regional basis (e.g., Central America, the Persian Gulf War). The idea of an international arms trade register has also been advocated for some time, and while the idea has its limitations, it is hard to escape the logic that if the arms trade is to be controlled, it must first be identified (i.e., there needs to be a common set of data from which the international community can work).

A structure for continuing attention

A final call to action could be the establishment of an intergovernmental structure through which progress in the related issues of disarmament, development and security can be reviewed annually by member states. Besides calling for continuing studies from research centres and other institutions, the World Disarmament Campaign could be petitioned to make this set of issues a prominent part of its work. A general declaration should also acknowledge the importance of non-governmental organizations in the creation of political will, and should thus encourage NGOs to make this a part of their continuing work.

Arms Trade and Underdevelopment Conference

Forging New Links

by Ken Epps

"There are two different kinds of countries -- the countries that export refugees and import arms, and then the countries that receive the refugees and sell arms." This observation, amongst other insights provided by Maria Alvarez of the Kitchener-Waterloo Immigrant Settlement Adaptation Programme, helped participants in Project Ploughshares' *Arms Trade and Underdevelopment Conference* gain an understanding of the human costs of the international arms trade. Maria, along with Ploughshares' staff Esther Epp-Tiessen and Ernie Regehr, spoke during the opening panel session of the policy conference to about 40 representatives of Ploughshares' local groups, national sponsors, and affiliated or interested groups invited from across the country.

The conference, held at Conrad Grebel College June 26-27, was a key element of a policy planning process aimed at creating a Ploughshares' national education and advocacy programme to propose and support specific Canadian government policy changes concerning the international arms trade.

The role of the conference was to meet two objectives. The first objective was to consider policies which Canada might adopt and diplomatic initiatives which Canada might undertake, with the aim of controlling the international arms trade and reducing its debilitating effects on development. The second objective was to consider education and advocacy programmes and strategies that would encourage Canada to adopt the proposed policies and initiatives.

To meet the first objective, conference delegates received a policy document prepared by Ernie Regehr and based on the planning process to date. Tim Draimin, Acting Director of the Jesuit Centre for Social Faith and Justice, in responding to the document offered helpful suggestions from his experience with government advocacy programmes. These included the need for the backing of the public and especially an informed constituency, the need to "think in different time-frames" to set short-term and long-term goals, and the use of coalitions to reach specific goals.

The document was then given further review in small group sessions, and at the plenary which followed, the groups reported their suggested amendments. Of particular note was a repeated emphasis on the unequivocal ban on all Canadian military exports, despite some support for provision to peacekeeping forces. Also, with reference to the industrial policy implications of the Defence White Paper, released only three weeks before the conference, several comments drew attention to the militarization of the Canadian economy and the need for alternatives.

A panel presentation by Ploughshares' David Pollock, Jeanne Moffat of Ten Days for World Development, and Dennis Lewycky of Oxfam Canada, headed up the conference sessions devoted to the second objective. Jeanne emphasized ongoing co-operation between policy makers and activists in developing and implementing education and advocacy programmes.

Dennis recommended programmes based on areas of established credibility and warned of hard questions that must be faced. An education model suggested by David was forwarded to the small group discussions which followed the panel. In the final plenary, while no clear consensus emerged on the proposed model, the idea that an education programme should include a focus on prohibiting Canadian military exports to human rights violators gained considerable support.

*Conference background documents included **Arms Canada: The Deadly Business of Military Exports**, written by Ernie Regehr, and **Missiles and Malnutrition: The Links between Militarization and Underdevelopment**, a Ploughshares Working Paper, written by Esther Epp-Tiessen. Both resources can be ordered from Ploughshares' National Office.*

New from Ploughshares

Missiles and Malnutrition:

The Links between Militarization and Underdevelopment



Researcher Esther Epp-Tiessen explores the forces behind the harsh reality that most humans face: chronic warfare and grinding poverty. She concludes that the spiralling arms budgets, deepening repression and crushing debt experienced by the Third World are all part of one system -- a system controlled by the industrial world for its own benefit. The text includes vivid examples drawn from the writer's own experience as a Mennonite volunteer in the Philippines.

Price: \$2.50 plus postage and handling.

Order from: Project Ploughshares, Conrad Grebel College, Waterloo, ON, N2L 3G6.

Will the NDP go "respectable" on disarmament?

Ottawa Report

by Simon Rosenblum

The biggest change in national politics has obviously been the dramatic rise in popularity of the New Democratic Party. The NDP currently leads the public opinion polls and could very well form, or be part of, the next federal government.

The obvious question is how will the NDP's increased popularity affect their commitment to disarmament. The NDP has taken pride in being the "Nuclear Disarmament Party" and indeed has been a courageous advocate of international peace and justice issues. The cynical view is that as any political party approaches power it goes "respectable", i.e. the party moderates its programme so as not to endanger its quest for political power. Furthermore, the constraints of being the government tend to temper one's vision. Is the New Democratic Party susceptible to these pressures?

Probably no political party has been or will be completely immune to these influences. On nuclear disarmament issues, however, the NDP is highly likely to hold firm to its principles as the leader, parliamentary caucus and the party apparatus are

greatly committed to party policies in this area. An NDP government would in all likelihood immediately cancel cruise missile testing and have Canada declared a nuclear weapon free zone. On the international front a New Democratic government would actively promote such measures as a Comprehensive Test Ban, a nuclear freeze and rapid progress towards radical nuclear disarmament along with serious attention to the relationship between disarmament and international development.

The New Democratic Party would, in all probability, (i.e., within their first term of office) quickly withdraw from NORAD while negotiating a new early warning agreement with the Americans. However, it is less certain, especially given the disposition of its leader, how it would handle the NATO issue. As the next federal election approaches there will undoubtedly be a lot of attention paid to the NDP's withdrawal from NATO policy as the two other parties and the media see it as the most obvious Achilles' heel in the NDP's policy book. And the recent British election

clearly shows how a social democratic party can be electorally vulnerable on defence issues. The New Democrats will most probably go into and through the next federal election developing but not renouncing its NATO policy. If elected there will be, of course, strong international and domestic pressures on the NDP not to withdraw from the Alliance while substantial segments of the party's grassroots will be pushing to uphold party policy. While the outcome is quite uncertain, the options are either withdrawal — be it immediate or phased — from NATO or a radical reform position within NATO. In either case, Canadian troops would likely be withdrawn from Europe. There is a considerable divergence of opinion within peace movements throughout the world on how best to work towards ending the Cold War and dissolving military blocs. Some, including this writer, are sympathetic to the gradual "disengagement" position as articulated by the European Nuclear Disarmament grouping. Thus, the NATO issue, when framed simply as a choice between withdrawal or participation, would not be a particularly useful litmus test by which to judge the performance of a New Democratic government.

The New Democratic Party's response to the recent Defence White Paper does not bode all that well for how an NDP government might handle domestic (non-nuclear) defence issues. While strongly condemning the government's planned acquisition of nuclear-powered submarines, the New Democrats did not quarrel with the White Paper's proposed increases in Canadian defence expenditures. Given Canada's unique history and geography it is pretty difficult to make a credible case for internal defence activity that goes much beyond relatively inexpensive surveillance responsibilities. Yet the NDP now talks, amongst other things, about the need for upgraded interception capabilities. In the



A Canadian CF-18 in Germany: would the NDP pull Canada out of NATO?

nuclear age - and indeed, as earlier White Papers have acknowledged, the only real threat to Canada is global nuclear war -- interception capabilities cannot be fully separated from Star Wars scenarios. There is, for example, pressure on Canada from the United States to upgrade our active air defences and Canada's Department of National Defence would like to join the Star Wars-related Air Defence Initiative. It is difficult to be precise in criticizing the NDP's domestic defence policy because the party has not yet - as we go to press - publicly released their caucus document on these matters. Yet, their less-than-comprehensive attack on the White Paper is a cause

for serious concern.

The New Democratic Party may, in fact, want to talk "tough" on non-nuclear Canadian military issues so as to protect their perceived vulnerable flank on defence matters. Political parties -- unlike social movements -- are quite susceptible to engaging in cost-benefit analyses. And there is also the question of jobs. If New Democratic economic policy is not far-reaching enough to substantially eliminate unemployment, there will be pressure on the party/government not to cut back military production until economic conversion is possible. Given the small number of Canadian jobs involved in nuclear weapons parts production, these pressures are

much more likely to occur in regard to conventional weapons. The NDP has been extremely firm in its opposition to Canadian arms exports but as already indicated, the party could rationalize considerable defence production as being necessary for domestic defence "needs". As a consequence, the peace movement cannot take the New Democratic Party for granted. Obviously, they are close allies, but there could be areas in which we will have serious disagreement with them and we must take advantage of all opportunities to increase our influence on the NDP. Other interest groups/pressures will obviously be doing likewise.

Disarmament Calendar

April through June, 1987

Compiled by Carolyn Musselman-Wigboldus

April 7

US Defense Secretary Weinberger informs Secretary of State Shultz the allies should be dropped from the space station project if they want an equal say in operations, or don't want military activities included. External Affairs Minister Joe Clark states that Canada expects the US to stick to its original agreement of the space station being used for peaceful purposes only.

April 8

New Zealand reaches a secret agreement with the US, allowing American planes flying to Antarctica to land in New Zealand without declaring whether or not they are carrying nuclear weapons. This would allow the US to continue to use its base at Christchurch, which services Antarctica, contrary to proposed New Zealand nuclear-weapon-free legislation.

April 8

A FY88 Star Wars budget is approved by the US House Armed Services Committee. It would cut Reagan's \$5.7 billion to \$3.8 billion, restore \$250 million for work on the ASAT system, and vote for the narrow interpretation of the ABM treaty.

April 10

Gorbachev suggests that discussions begin on the reduction and later elim-



ination of missiles with ranges of 500 to 1,000 miles in Europe, that this not be linked with discussions on medium-range missiles, and that both sides agree not to increase the numbers of missiles during the talks.

April 12

A left-wing coalition wins the recent national election in Fiji, on the platform of adopting a non-aligned foreign policy, and banning visits by American nuclear warships. The new Prime Minister says the position was inspired by New Zealand's nuclear-free policy.

April 13-15

The US and USSR discuss testing nuclear devices on each others' sites to aid in verification of test limitations.

The US and USSR agree to exchange visits to destruction facilities for chemical weapons.

April 20

74% of Americans favour deploying an ABM system in the US, but 64% thought the US already had a system in place to defend itself from nuclear attack.

Haverlyck

Denial



April 23

A report by a panel from the American Physical Society states that a complete star wars system, using directed energy, might not be at all feasible. Lasers and optics need to be improved 100 times, the amount of power needed in satellites may require more than 100 nuclear reactors in space, and the USSR could defeat it with lasers or decoys.

April 24

Costa Rica states plan to redraft its peace plan for Central America, with strengthened provisions to ensure that no country would aid rebels in neighbouring states.

April 27

The US publicly supports the Costa Rica peace plan in an effort to win military support of \$105 million for the contras in the fall.

April 27

New Soviet draft INF (Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces) Treaty is submitted, covering the following topics:

- long-range INF missiles in Europe reduced to zero
- 100 US LRINF warheads permitted on American territory, except Alaska
- 100 USSR LRINF warheads permitted on Soviet territory, out of range of the US or Europe;
- no development of new types of

medium-range missiles
- on-site inspection of all bases and factories, whether state or private.

April 27

NATO commander Rogers continues to speak out against the new zero option.

May 5

SDI tests which conflict with the narrow interpretation of the ABM treaty are opposed by the US Senate Armed Services Committee.

May 6

NATO Secretary General Lord Carington states that West Europeans do not want denuclearization of Europe, and that NATO must avoid an agreement negotiated at any price.

May 7

France explodes its first nuclear device of the year.

May 7

The most powerful non-nuclear explosion ever, using 4,685 tons of explosive, the equivalent of an eight-kiloton nuclear explosion, is conducted by the US in New Mexico.

May 8

US House prohibits the reduction of US troops in Europe below the number stationed there in FY1987 (approximately 321,000 troops).

May 8

The US tables a new draft treaty on strategic weapons.

May 14

A military coup in Fiji, apparently due to racial tensions, overthrows the recently-elected government.

May 19

US House votes to prohibit funds for nuclear explosions larger than one kiloton.

May 21

France explodes its second nuclear device of the year. New Zealand monitored the explosion, using new equipment purchased with the money given to them by France to compensate for the sinking of the Rainbow Warrior.

May 23

Kohl states that West Germany will go along with the double zero option (long- and short-range INF missiles), on the basis of:

- acceptance of the double zero option on a global basis
- retention of the German Pershing IA and American warheads for them
- call for new talks to cover tactical weapons with ranges under 500 km.

Late May

Solomon Islands sign the South Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone Treaty

June 3

According to a study by the US Federal Emergency Management Agency, only 112 million Americans, and not 156 million, would die immediately in a nuclear war.

June 5

New Zealand Parliament passes the anti-nuclear legislation, 39-29, after eighteen months of debate. The US State Department indicates support for a bill to strip New Zealand of its status as an ally.

June 9

A Comprehensive Test Ban document is submitted to the Conference on Disarmament by the Socialist states. It includes mandatory on-site inspection and a proposal for an international seismic data network.

Statement of Philosophers for Peace

We are a group of faculty and graduate students in the Department of Philosophy at Queen's University calling ourselves 'Philosophers for Peace'. We hope to soon become a part of a national organization of Canadian philosophers for peace. Our members come from many portions of the political spectrum and we are not allied with any political party.

We wish, collectively, to make the following statement:

(Continued on page 32.)

Literature Notes

You Can Be a Peacemaker! is a peace and justice work book by Beverly Delong, specifically for young children. The book encourages the development of a more caring generation of people by giving children "a broad vision of the progress we are making and can further make towards a peaceful world; one where all people would have access to food, shelter, clothing, education and medical help".

Included in the book are activities such as cooperative games, creative problem-solving, and peacemaking ideas. There is also a useful list of recommended resources for both children and adults.

Available from:
Ploughshares national office
Conrad Grebel College,
Waterloo, ON N2L 3G6
Cost: \$4.75 plus shipping.

Students Want Peace is a 25 minute VHS video tape that shows how one group of students engage in an exchange of ideas on the subject of nuclear war. The students organize themselves and create an active programme for the promotion of peace.

This video is best suited for the last three grades of high school, but nothing in the presentation is specifically limited to this group.

Cassettes, including discussion guide, can be purchased for \$20.00 plus shipping from the Ploughshares national office.

Satellites for Arms Control and Crisis Monitoring, edited by Bhupendra Jasani and Toshibomi Sakata, considers how space technology can be used to verify compliance with arms agreements and monitor world crisis, and thus benefit the world community as a whole. The book is a collection of the information provided at a SIPRI/Tokai University symposium on "An International and Regional Satellite Monitoring Agency".

Parts II and III of the book deal with the findings of fourteen experts from seven countries on the technological requirements for monitoring arms control agreements through satellite monitoring. The conclusions state that there is now no legal or technical reason for not being able to implement an initial phase of an International Satellite Monitoring Agency.

Available from:
Oxford University Press,
Walton Street,
Oxford, OX2 6DP, England
Cost: £19.50



US National Guard In Honduras

Three Witness for Peace members in Comayagua, Honduras learned from Florida Guardsmen that US National Guard and Regular Reserve troops have been involved in fighting with Nicaraguan troops across the Honduran-Nicaraguan border. According to a report by RECON, a Pentagon watchdog group, on December 7, 1986, Honduran troops accompanying Florida National Guardsmen were

sent into battle with the Nicaraguans. The Florida Guard then "went in to show the Hondurans how to fight a war". Official US military policy is that troops are to be no closer to the border than seven miles.

Other National Guard and Regular Reserves have been operating close to the border as well. Artillery units from Oklahoma were present in Mocoron, 18 miles from the border last November, and Arkansas Guard

last spring. Mocoron is said to be the most likely place from which the US would launch an invasion of Nicaragua.

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As philosophers, dedicated to the pursuit of understanding, we believe that all conflicts, including conflicts between nations, should be resolved by discussion and compromise, rather than, as at present, by confrontation, intimidation, and preparation for war. The attempt by nations or blocs to achieve security at each others' expense can only result in greater insecurity for all. The belief that the best guarantee of peace is to prepare to fight a war—involving now the suicidal use of nuclear weapons—makes the search for alternative means of conflict resolution an absolute necessity.

Our resources—human, material and technological—should be devoted to ensuring justice, a clean environment, and decent living conditions for all, and not to military research or arms production, nor to efforts to 'win' the arms 'race', that is, to achieve military superiority in order to paralyze 'the enemy' through fear. Real security can only be achieved through the establishment of mutual trust and good will.

In particular, at this time, we call upon the Government of Ontario to

take specific steps, including the introduction of legislation as required, to implement the resolution recently passed in the provincial legislature declaring Ontario a nuclear weapons free zone. This entails no production, transportation, development, deployment or testing within the province, or shipment beyond it, of nuclear weapons systems or any of their components, or of goods or materials used in their construction or deployment. Tritium, used to trigger hydrogen bombs, must not be exported from Ontario nuclear facilities such as Darlington, as is currently planned. Litton Industries at Rexdale must be required to discontinue development of guidance systems for U.S. cruise missiles. U.S. warships possibly carrying nuclear weapons should be barred from Ontario Great Lakes ports.

We also call upon the federal Government of Canada to declare the country a nuclear weapons free nation. U.S., Soviet and all other warships which either carry or may be carrying nuclear weapons should be barred from all Canadian waters, including the Bering Sea, and follow-

ing the example of New Zealand, should be barred from all Canadian ports. By rejecting the U.S. 'nuclear umbrella' as an illusory means to our security, Canada can set an example to the world.

The great powers now have in their possession the equivalent of one million nuclear weapons of the Hiroshima type. In spite of this, they continue to believe that peace may be secured through war preparations. But a war without winners, as nuclear war will be, is senseless, and so too are the plans to fight it. Moreover, the reduction and eventual elimination of nuclear weapons is not enough. Even a so-called 'conventional' war would today be a disaster of the first magnitude. Such forces as remain must be usable only for genuine defense, and not as elements of an offensive strategy. They must also be seen to be purely defensive, and hence not perceived as threatening. Only then will war be finally eliminated.

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