Cornwall Proposal

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A PROPOSAL
SUBMITTED TO:

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE BRIAN MULRONEY
PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

CFB CORNWALLIS:
CANADA’S PEACEKEEPING TRAINING CENTRE

September 1991
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The express purpose of [the United Nations] Charter is to spare future generations from "the scourge of war"...the dreams of the visionaries who created the United Nations can now be realized. But old ways die hard.
- The Honourable Brian Mulroney, Prime Minister of Canada
  February 1991

Canada is one of the leading nations in the world in terms of numbers of troops serving in international peacekeeping operations.
- The Honourable Marcel Masse, Minister of National Defence
  July 1991

The United Nations, with a revitalized Security Council at its heart, represents perhaps the only hope that the complex and daunting global problems facing mankind now, and into the 21st century, can be resolved effectively and by collective action.
- The Honourable Mary Collins, Associate Minister of National Defence
  January, 1991

Peacekeeping in the future must anticipate as well as react...Institutions must grow if they are to remain relevant. Peacekeeping is no exception. Peacekeeping must adapt to new opportunities and new challenges.
- The Honourable Joe Clark, former Secretary of State for External Affairs
  November 8, 1990
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EXECUTIVE SUMMARY</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROPOSAL</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BACKGROUND INFORMATION</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada should develop a peacekeeping training centre</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peacekeeping training within Canada's future defence structure</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A successful precedent</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cornwallis: The appropriate location for a peacekeeping training centre</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Feasibility</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constituency of support in Canada and abroad for developing the centre</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF THOSE CONSULTED</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

On the verge of a new world order, the Canadian Government has a unique opportunity to build on its commitment to international peace and security, the United Nations and peacekeeping. CFB Cornwallis could be cost-effectively multi-tasked with its present responsibility to conduct tri-service recruit training and sea-cadet training as well as a new mandate as Canada’s peacekeeping training centre.

Peacekeeping is internationally recognized as an essential requirement for maintaining world order. Canada is now engaged in ten United Nations peacekeeping operations. Within the last three years, the Canadian Government has agreed to participate in five new missions. With an unprecedented number of new peacekeeping operations involving a wide array of new tasks, the establishment of a Canadian peacekeeping training centre is imperative.

In 1986 the Special Joint Committee on Canada’s International Relations recommended that Canada continue to make its peacekeeping expertise available to the armed forces of other countries. Cornwallis could be used to train Canadian armed forces as well as multinational forces for U.N. peacekeeping operations. There is a growing constituency of support in Canada and abroad for the development of a Canadian peacekeeping training centre. CFB Cornwallis is ideally equipped to be North America’s first peacekeeping training centre.
PROPOSAL

Over the past four decades, Canadian governments have earned considerable respect, both at home and abroad, for maintaining an exemplary commitment to the United Nations and multinational peacekeeping. The award of the Nobel prize to both Prime Minister Pearson in 1956 and to U.N. peacekeepers in 1988 signifies the sincere appreciation of the international community. It can be argued that peacekeeping has been the least expensive and yet also the most high profile commitment of the Canadian Armed Forces. Canada's Chief of Defence Staff, General de Chastelain acknowledges that peacekeeping is viewed by most Canadians as the raison d'etre of our defence effort. Professor Albert Legault, a Canadian defence analyst, also notes that in a thirty-one year period between 1949 and 1980, the non-recoverable cost to Canada for our participation in peacekeeping operations was $266 million dollars, approximately 0.4 percent of the total defence budget in that period. In short, this relatively minor investment has brought Canada remarkable international credit.

A renaissance of interest in both the United Nations and multinational peacekeeping operations has accompanied the end of the Cold War. Several longstanding conflicts are slowly being resolved and there are now greater prospects that peacemaking will follow from peacekeeping. Whereas most analysts concur that there is a low probability of being involved in a major conventional war in the near future, there is a high likelihood Canada will be involved in a wide range of future peacekeeping operations. Canada's past Chief of Defence Staff, General Paul Manson acknowledges that the demand for Canadian peacekeeping expertise is likely to continue. He writes:

*With their reputation and experience, the Canadian forces will surely be able to make an important contribution to international stability through peacekeeping in the coming years. For this effort to be most effective, however, Canada should work with her peacekeeping partners and the United Nations to develop new and better ways to keep the peace in a changing world.*

(Canadian Defence Quarterly, Summer 1989)

Recent peacekeeping experiences have demanded innovation and entailed new tasks in areas such as election-monitoring, verification, policing and the provision of humanitarian assistance. In the aftermath of the Gulf war, serious consideration is being accorded to expanding the scope of operations to include preventive peacekeeping, maritime peacekeeping as well as the collective security enforcement operations that were initially envisaged under Chapter Seven of the U.N. Charter. Security Council members have submitted proposals for the development of rapidly deployable stand-by forces. Last year, the U.N. Secretary General appealed to member states to identify troops and material that can in principle be made available to the U.N. through regional co-operation and burden-sharing. In May 1991, Parliamentarians for Global Action also called on governments to set up U.N. peacekeeping training centres in each region of the world.
The international community is beginning to respond. For example, the Netherlands recently made a commitment to allocate air, land and naval forces to future U.N. missions. The Scandinavian countries have already established four peacekeeping training centres and arranged cost-saving areas of specialization.

Canada’s involvement in nearly every U.N. peacekeeping mission to date has provided considerable experience and expertise in areas such as communications and logistics. Yet insufficient attention has been devoted to consolidating, building-upon or sharing this knowledge. Although there are numerous combat training facilities in Canada, we have yet to develop a peacekeeping training centre. In fact, there is no on-going or institutionalized peacekeeping training programme in Canada.

In the opinion of several internationally-acknowledged experts, Canada’s peacekeeping training programme has been neglected. With an institutional bias toward acquiring combat training and equipment, there has been a reluctance to devote scarce resources or a facility to train for peacekeeping. Brigadier-General Clay Beattie (ret.) credits Canada with having great experience and expertise in peacekeeping but as he says, "with the new challenges and tasks, there is much to be done to improve our training programme. We can meet the new challenges if we are better structured and more formally prepared. A number of crucial areas now deserve special attention."

Now, in the event of a peacekeeping posting, a one-to-two week programme of briefings and seminar instruction is usually all that supplements regular training. More specialized training in the important areas of conflict resolution and negotiation is neglected. Canadian experts in this field acknowledge that there are problems and risks in deploying peacekeepers who have not been provided with adequate information regarding their posting, the foreign culture, the political climate or with basic language training. This ad hoc and reactive approach to preparation is difficult to understand when there are currently 1,926 Canadian armed forces personnel deployed to 10 U.N. peacekeeping operations. As former Chief of Defence Staff, Admiral Robert Falls acknowledges "if Canada is going to be in the peacekeeping business, it ought to be training people adequately for the job."

The objectives of a peacekeeping training centre are straightforward: it would facilitate the development of standardized training and operational procedures and it would ensure that the necessary expertise and forces were readily available. In turn, it would serve to enhance the planning and safe management of future operations. Lieutenant Colonel Christian Harleman, a former Commander of the Swedish UN Training Centre, writes that the purpose of their training programme is "to give individuals and units a wider specialized knowledge of their various fields and to acquaint them with current security, political, cultural, religious and ethical conditions in those places of the world where they will be called upon to serve."
The development of a peacekeeping training centre would make it possible to conduct operational training for officers, civilians, and for complete military units in their peacekeeping roles. With the benefit of advance training, Canadian forces could be much more rapidly mobilized and deployed to a theatre of operation.

A Canadian peacekeeping training centre would also offer the opportunity to host a larger multinational training programme. The co-ordination and co-operation required in multinational operations could be pre-planned and rehearsed in joint exercises and simulations conducted on the base and in the surrounding communities. Brigadier General William Yost (ret.), Director of the Conference of Defence Associations acknowledges that Canada has a lot to contribute to teaching other armed forces about peacekeeping and in this respect "we shouldn’t hide our light under a bushel".

A number of internationally-recognized experts now recommend the development of a Canadian centre that could also host a multinational peacekeeping training programme. General Indar Jit Rikhye emphasizes, "such a training centre should not only be for Canadians, who are invited to almost all missions, but for other countries especially those who lack the ability and resources to organize such a training establishment." Lt. Colonel Christian Harleman, Director of Peacekeeping Operations at the International Peace Academy, also recognizes Canada’s extensive experience in this field and suggests that it is time to support other countries with this knowledge and understanding of peacekeeping. As well, Sir Brian Urquhart, a former Under-Secretary General of the United Nations states:

[A Canadian peacekeeping training centre] could be extremely beneficial not only to Canada's participation in peacekeeping operations but also to a number of neighbouring countries. Existence of such a training centre for the countries of the Western hemisphere could be a great advantage at a time when there is going to be increasing demand for peacekeeping contingents from a far wider range of countries than hitherto.

With an identified training centre and ear-marked forces, Canada would also be well positioned to host one of the first U.N. stand-by forces. As the Honourable Barbara McDougall, Secretary of State for External Affairs recently stated, "the other major lesson of the Gulf War is that if we strengthen the capacity of the UN to respond to breaches of security more effectively, in the future, we shall render such breaches less likely."

Joint funding arrangements for multinational training could be negotiated through the Canadian Government's Military Training and Assistance Programme (MTAP). At a minimum, participating member states would have to be responsible for providing return transportation and salaries to their respective contingents. Indeed, Canada could develop such a centre and programme without great expense.
CFB CORNWALLIS: Canada's Peacekeeping Training Centre

CFB Cornwallis is virtually unique in already having facilities for this type of training. As a longstanding school for basic training, it includes an array of residences, administrative offices, training halls, drill areas, class rooms and recreational centres. Given the recent decision to reduce recruit enrolment at Cornwallis by 56 percent, there will be ample space and facilities for a peacekeeping training centre.

Situated on the Annapolis Basin, Cornwallis provides easy access to a range of resources and terrain. In addition to the 615 acre base, there is a 3000 acre site ten miles away in Granville that currently accommodates a firing range. Air transport is presently available within 50 miles at CFB Greenwood. An under-utilized airfield near Digby is within 10 miles. The Annapolis Basin and nearby Bay of Fundy would also provide a challenging environment for future maritime peacekeeping training. In addition, Cornwallis has an ideal geo-strategic location for rapid deployment to operations in the Middle East, Central America, Eastern Europe, and Africa.

Over the past four hundred years, the surrounding Annapolis community suffered numerous violent conflicts, changing hands on seven occasions in the struggle to establish control over North America. From these conflicts a new country emerged -- Canada -- a nation that has since set numerous international precedents in its commitment to promote peace and security.

The prospect of accommodating a peacekeeping training centre would be appealing to the local community, the larger Annapolis Valley region and the province of Nova Scotia. This is a common security initiative with obvious advantages to all related parties. As a clear commitment to regional development and constructive internationalism, the decision to develop a peacekeeping training centre at CFB Cornwallis would receive widespread popular and political support.
BACKGROUND INFORMATION

(I) Canada should develop a peacekeeping training centre.

(a) Canada has been at the forefront of efforts to encourage the strengthening of the United Nations and a multilateral approach to the co-ordination of international peace and security. Canadian governments have established a tradition of contributing resources and armed forces to United Nations peacekeeping operations.

(b) As a result of this experience, we have developed expertise in a number of important peacekeeping skills such as communications, logistics and verification. As Professor David Dewitt, Director of the Centre for International and Strategic Studies at York University notes, "There are few countries which could bring the necessary mix of skills, capabilities and reputation to arenas in which the protracted nature of the conflict, the sophistication of the weaponry, the complexity of the political situation require sustained management if not resolution. Canada is, could become, one of those few." (Canadian Defence Quarterly, forthcoming Sept. 1991)

(c) Modern peacekeeping requires expertise in new types of tasks. Peacekeepers are increasingly called upon to perform in areas such as election-monitoring, policing, verification, and the provision of humanitarian assistance. In the near future, we can anticipate that there will be a demand for preventive peacekeeping, maritime peacekeeping, and peacemaking.
As the Honourable Joe Clark recently acknowledged:

_The superpowers have discovered that the UN can be a help and not a hindrance. What before constrained peacekeeping now pushes it forward. Peacekeeping is moving towards peacemaking. Conflict control is beginning to become conflict resolution. And peacekeeping is shifting from the separation of forces to the supervision of societies._

("Peacekeeping and Canadian Foreign Policy", November 8, 1990)

(d) Canada’s current peacekeeping training programme is not sufficiently organized or institutionalized. Peacekeeping training is conducted on an _ad hoc_ basis and participants are often insufficiently prepared for the new range of operations. While the reliance on traditional military professionalism and combat training may have served to prepare peacekeepers for past missions, many analysts believe there is a need for specialized training. For example, the former Chief of Staff of UNICYP, Canadian Brigadier-General Clay Beattie (ret.) writes that "...having been assured of the operational competence of troops in a combat situation, there remains a need to make certain adjustments in national tasking and to emphasize specific peacekeeping techniques not normally associated with traditional combat roles" (in H. Wiseman, editor, _Peacekeeping: Appraisals and Proposals_, 1983).

(e) Traditional military training does not ensure that a soldier will be well prepared for peacekeeping. As a senior Canadian General acknowledges, soldiers are trained to react in a conflict and to react with force but when peacekeeping, the soldier must not over-react in a crisis, and he must not react with force.
(f) General Emmanuel Erskine of Ghana, the first Commander of UNIFIL and a former Chief of Staff of UNTSO states:

Like any other profession, peacekeeping is a technique which has to be properly learned and operated. Not only the troops but also the officers at all levels of command and staff have got to be thoroughly familiar with its governing principles, operating procedures and system. This requirement suggests the need to provide an effective training institution for the officers and men. So far, this requirement has only been met by the Nordic countries. Additional training institutions to supplement the Nordic efforts would be extremely helpful.

Officials in the Departments of National Defence and External Affairs recognize that to remain competitive and up-to-the-mark, greater efforts will be required in pre-planning and training for peacekeeping.

(g) The development of a peacekeeping centre would make it possible to conduct training at several levels. The armed forces could receive training about the general principles of peacekeeping from officers with a wide range of experience. Complete military units could obtain more in-depth training at the centre about conflict resolution; mediation; crisis management; the regions of their likely deployment; as well as further training in the skills they are best suited to provide. In the weeks before actual deployment, a unit could also receive accelerated training about the foreign culture; the political situation; the causes of the conflict as well as basic language training.

(h) A peacekeeping training centre could also provide officers and the growing number of diplomats and civilians involved in peacekeeping with an advanced curriculum, experienced lecturers, as well as an atmosphere conducive to learning about
CFB CORNWALLIS: Canada's Peacekeeping Training Centre

the increasingly complex range of peacekeeping operations. As Brigadier-General Clay Beattie (ret.) has written:

_Much more can be done through the development of common doctrine, instruction and appreciation of the special political skills and requirements of peacekeeping. Preplanning, research, and design of future operations of different types, as they may be applied to varied political conditions, must be pursued if only for the purpose of drawing lessons and ideas from such hypothetical studies. Such training could go a long way toward improving the current and future practice of peacekeeping._ (Ibid)

Prior to deployment, officers could attend the centre for short yearly programmes and for refresher courses. Strategic analysts and visiting experts could concentrate more fully on the planning, logistics and special requirements of particular operations. Several universities in the province might also provide valuable assistance. For example, Professor Middlemiss, Director of the Centre for Foreign Policy Studies at Dalhousie University notes that their Centre could assist in the development of a curriculum and that they would support co-operative ventures in developing exchanges and joint workshops.

(i) One of the issues now confronting the UN Security Council and the Secretariat is the integrative training of all national units earmarked for UN peacekeeping missions (John Blodgett, _Washington Quarterly_, 1991). The establishment of a peacekeeping training centre would offer the opportunity to host a larger multi-national training programme. Other countries could profit from training their forces using Canadian military expertise -- expertise which many Canadian officers have garnered from participation in numerous peacekeeping and NATO operations. A former Minister of National Defence acknowledges that a new Canadian peacekeeping training - 9 -
establishment need not be restricted to our own troops. As he recently wrote:

Accepting students and instructors from other countries could achieve two goals. Obviously, we would be equipping others to become peacekeepers, but we would also be educating the participants about the merits of this special and beneficial intervention in a nation's affairs. Thus, they might well be instrumental in having their countries seek such a solution when threatened. At the very least, they would be invaluable in helping our peacekeepers learn about the various cultures and political environments in which they might be called upon to serve.
(Barnett Danson, Globe and Mail, June 5, 1991)

(j) The establishment of a peacekeeping training centre for both Canadian and multinational forces would also facilitate important research and development in this field. As Sir Brian Urquhart states, "based on operational experience and on Canada's very active participation in all the other activities of the United Nations, such a centre could develop an important role in research, evolution of new peacekeeping techniques and functions and in the study of particular problems." For example, given the extent of international interest in maritime peacekeeping, it is conceivable that the Department of National Defence would be willing to invite other countries to use facilities such as the Maritime Tactical Warfare Simulator in Halifax. This simulator, which ranks as one of the world's most sophisticated, would certainly facilitate the practice of large scale, multi-lingual naval vessel co-ordination for future maritime peacekeeping operations.
(II) Peacekeeping training within Canada's future defence structure.

(a) Peacekeeping has long been a Canadian defence commitment. The Government's 1987 Defence White Paper, Challenge and Commitment states:

As a responsible member of the world community and an active and committed member of the United Nations, Canada has a respected record of peacekeeping service and a proven capacity for difficult assignments in pursuit of the peaceful settlement of disputes...the use of our armed forces for peacekeeping or truce supervision, under United Nations or other international auspices, serves our national interest as well as the broader community.

(b) Canada is now participating in 10 peacekeeping operations -- a marked increase in this activity. Since 1988, Canada has agreed to participate in five new missions. In July, the Government approved the deployment of 741 Canadian armed forces personnel to a new mission in the Western Sahara. This commitment will bring the total of Canadian armed forces personnel currently active in peacekeeping operations to roughly 1,926.

(c) Due to unprecedented international co-operation in the post Cold War era there is a better prospect of peacekeeping leading to peacemaking. In the absence of bipolarity and East-West conflict, however, analysts fear that there will be a higher incidence of ethnic, religious and regional conflict. Although many analysts concur that there is now little chance of Canada being involved in a major conventional war, there is a high probability that Canada will participate in a number of future peacekeeping operations.
(d) As a result of German unification and the withdrawal of Soviet troops, Canadian armed forces are unlikely to remain stationed in Europe beyond 1995. The land forces are to be restructured away from an emphasis on a mechanized heavy armour force prepared for high intensity combat. We can anticipate the development of a smaller expeditionary force (i.e., a flexible, light-armed, rapid-deployment force) that can be tasked to either NATO duties, UN peacekeeping or ‘peace enforcement’ operations. The army is already interested in attaining a more relevant role. Although it may be somewhat premature to forecast a new commitment in this respect, the 1989 Report of the Special Committee of the Senate on National Defence, entitled Canada’s Land Forces, acknowledged that one of the options to be reviewed was the development of a peacekeeping army.

(e) Canada’s NATO allies are beginning to accept that our participation in peacekeeping represents a contribution to ‘out-of-area’ operations and burden-sharing. A 1989 report of NATO’s Defence Planning Committee acknowledges that Canada’s peacekeeping efforts form an important contribution to Western security by strengthening regional stability.

(f) Canada has numerous combat training centres. The Department of National Defence has yet to task a base as a centre for peacekeeping training.
CFB CORNWALLIS: Canada's Peacekeeping Training Centre

(III) A successful precedent.

(a) The Scandinavian countries have established a peacekeeping training programme. Their four national centres are organized to develop specialized areas of expertise and responsibility. Some of these peacekeeping training centres are located on bases which are double-tasked to other military activities. As Lt. General Martin Vadset of Norway, former Chief of Staff of UNTSO, notes, "there is no doubt that the Nordic peacekeeping training centres have been a success and operate very well today in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden."

(b) The Swedish UN Training Centre was organized in 1984. It now has approximately 2,000 participants yearly. There are departments for administration, training and special courses. The permanent staff is reinforced by lecturers and visiting experts. Participating in the training are senior staff officers pre-designated to serve at UN headquarters, UN battalions, principal sections of the Swedish UN Stand-By Battalion, civilian police units and disaster relief units.

(c) Aside from training military professionals and civilians, the Scandinavian training centres manage a staff officer’s course that is open to participants from all around the world. As the past commander of the Swedish UN Training Centre, Lt. Colonel Christian Harleman notes, this programme "...is a good example of the international cooperation aimed at creating a uniform international UN force to achieve predefined objectives."
(IV) Cornwallis: The appropriate location for a peacekeeping training centre.

(a) CFB Cornwallis provides easy access to a range of resources and terrain. There are sufficient drill areas, class rooms, recreational facilities, firing ranges, and obstacle courses. The Department of National Defence has over 3,600 acres in the immediate region. Numerous indigenous assets could be cost-effectively utilized to serve this training centre: an excellent climate conducive to year-round training; a bilingual region; access to inexpensive land; and a community which welcomes the military's presence. According to a very senior military officer, the fact that CFB Cornwallis is a base for basic training, and not extensively prepared for combat training, argues well in its favour as a future peacekeeping training centre. Veteran UN peacekeepers also support the establishment of a peacekeeping training centre at CFB Cornwallis and believe that its facilities would certainly meet training requirements.

(b) Situated on the shores of the Annapolis Basin, Cornwallis provides easy access to the challenging waters of the near-by Bay of Fundy. Professor Dan Middlemiss, Director of the Centre for Foreign Policy Studies at Dalhousie University concurs that "Cornwallis would be an appropriate location for a peacekeeping training centre, especially given the new interest in maritime peacekeeping."

(c) Cornwallis also has an ideal geo-strategic location for rapid deployment to peacekeeping operations in the Middle East, Eastern Europe, Central America, and Africa. Air transport is currently available within 50 miles at CFB Greenwood. The
proposed expansion of the under-utilized Digby airport could provide the military with reliable, fog-free access to within 10 miles of CFB Cornwallis.

(d) CFB Cornwallis currently has a capacity to host 2,100 recruits for basic training at any one time. The recruit programmes are conducted in a series of 10 week courses. As there are now plans to reduce tri-service recruit training at CFB Cornwallis by approximately 50 percent, the base will have the capacity to accommodate a contingent of more than 1,000 peacekeepers.
(V) Economic Feasibility.

(a) CFB Cornwallis is presently tasked with tri-service, mixed gender recruit training. In this capacity, the base can handle approximately 5,500 recruits annually. Cornwallis is also home to HMCS Acadia, a sea-cadet school that trains 1,400 young Canadian and American cadets each summer. Moreover, in 1991, four platoons of Nova Scotian militia units received an intensive basic training course at this base. These supplementary programmes enhance the cost-effectiveness of the base. They also demonstrate that Cornwallis can be successfully multi-tasked with several training roles.

(b) Cornwallis has the necessary resources and facilities for accommodating a peacekeeping training centre. As a longstanding base for basic training, there are a sufficient number of currently under-utilized barracks, residences, administrative offices and class rooms.

(c) In the first phase of its operation, the Department of National Defence could send a small contingent to Cornwallis to plan and administer the new centre and the training programme. In a year, the centre could be ready to begin training Canadian forces for peacekeeping and UN peace enforcement operations. Within two to three years, it is conceivable that the centre would be sufficiently developed to train multinational forces. It could be possible to make an arrangement whereby multinational forces were trained for these tasks at Cornwallis for six months and then stationed on the base for a further six months under contract as a UN rapid-deployment force. For the first time in over forty years, arrangements of this nature are being discussed by

(d) Joint funding arrangements for multinational training could be negotiated through the Canadian Government's Military Training and Assistance Programme (MTAP). Alternative funding arrangements might be negotiated through the UN Secretary General.
(VI) Constituency of support in Canada and abroad for developing the centre.

(a) Canadians take pride in the international reputation earned as a result of our longstanding commitment to peacekeeping. A recent opinion poll indicates that 90 percent of Canadians believe it is important for Canada to be involved in United Nations peacekeeping efforts (Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security, December 1990).

(b) All parties in the peace and security community are likely to support this type of initiative. There is reason to believe that there would be little, if any, political criticism from either opposition party.

(c) The federal government could also expect widespread international support for the development of a peacekeeping training centre. The UN Secretary General appealed just last year for states to identify troops and material which could be made available for peacekeeping. The idea that governments set up UN peacekeeping training centres in each region of the world is rapidly gaining currency. Lt. General Martin Vadset of Norway states that the training of UN personnel is vital and of increasing importance. "A training centre in Canada [would] no doubt contribute splendidly to achieve and keep up professionalism and thus increase UN standards and authority."

(d) Over 80,000 Canadian armed forces personnel have participated in peacekeeping training operations. A multi-million dollar statue commemorating our commitment to UN peacekeeping was recently commissioned. Within a year this monument will be
located on a corner adjacent to the National Art Gallery. It will stand as one symbol of Canada's commitment to peacekeeping. A UN peacekeeping training centre at CFB Cornwallis would serve as an enduring contribution to international peace and security.