

by the distinguished representatives of Czechoslovakia and Hungary in Ottawa.

My delegation has worked, and will continue to work, towards an agreement based on these ideas and on the principles I enunciated in my closing remarks in Ottawa.

I also want to look at Open Skies in a wider context. The original Open Skies proposal by President Eisenhower in 1955 represented an attempt to break with past suspicion and mistrust and to take advantage of a possible new opening in East-West relations. The new Open Skies proposal by President Bush is more ambitious in its scope and participation than the original concept, but it represents relatively less of a leap forward than the 1955 proposal.

Unlike 1955, satellites now cross the skies of all our countries, unimpeded by any rules or regulations on sensors, quotas, flight plans or territorial restrictions. The principle of on-site inspection has been accepted in the Stockholm Document and reinforced in the INF Treaty. The distinguished Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze, told ministers assembled to launch the CFE in March 1989 that

the Soviet Union was prepared to accept any intrusive verification measure on a reciprocal basis. We are engaged in an active negotiation to reduce conventional armaments in Europe to parity at levels below those of NATO's current force structure. We are prepared to commence negotiation on SNF immediately after the negotiations on the CFE Treaty are finalized. We are looking forward to a CW treaty. We hope the US and USSR will reach agreement on cutting strategic nuclear weapons.

The walls and curtains that posed physical and psychological barriers dividing Europe have come down. There has been an opening up of Eastern Europe on a scale which no one forecast even one year ago. At the Ottawa Conference, ministers welcomed the agreement on ceilings for US and Soviet forces in Europe outside national territory. In Ottawa, six nations agreed on a process to deal with the international aspects of German unification.

None of these factors was present when President Eisenhower launched his original proposal. Indeed many of them occurred after President Bush's proposal of last May. These developments have led some to conclude that the idea of Open Skies has become redundant, overtaken by events. Canada does not accept that view, but to those who do, I would recall the words of Mr. Shevardnadze in Ottawa that no excess is too much when it comes to verification.

I have also heard it said that the inability to move forward on Open Skies is a price being demanded by some elements of the military of one country to enable them to accept concessions elsewhere. There are two ways of looking at such a hypothesis: one is that the military can be bought off for a relatively small price compared to other more substantive decisions already taken; the other, more serious way, is that those who oppose Open Skies

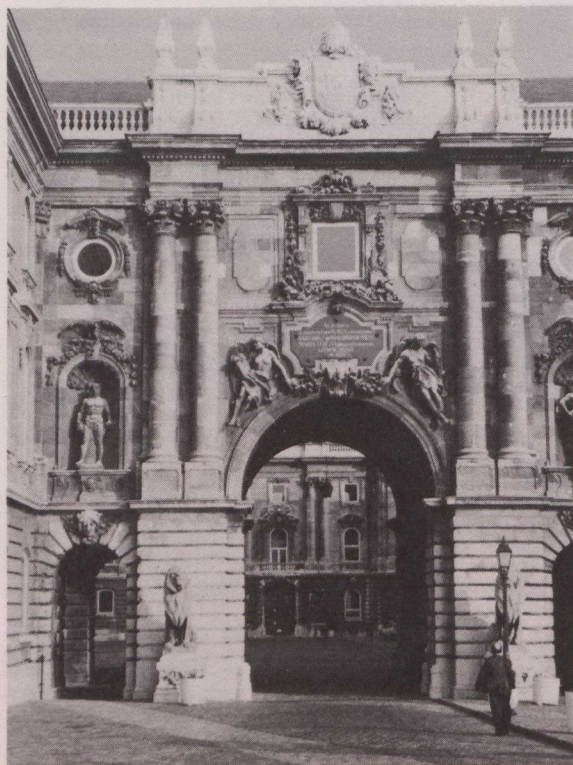
are opposed to aerial glasnost and all the principles that underpin it. Glasnost cannot survive in a climate where fear and suspicion keep the skies of one country open to only its own aircraft and limit even the number of those overflights to two per month.

The concept of Open Skies is an essential element of the new security structure for Europe and North America. That structure must be built on a solid foundation — that of openness. There cannot be a common European home where some countries have restricted or unlit zones that give rise to suspicions and do not create confidence. The concept of the new European security structure cannot be based on old concepts of military power alone. The strength and stability that come from openness are a far better and more durable defence of each country's security interests than the artificial barriers, fears and suspicions of past thinking.

In the last decade of this millennium, as we strive to reach the basis for a better, more secure world, we must not be blown off course by those who wish to extol the ghosts of the past. We must look to a future of openness, which is the basis of confidence and understanding. Our vision of Open Skies not only builds confidence, but provides for equal treatment between the North American and the European participants. We do not seek any advantage; indeed, Canada is prepared to accept the same level of intrusiveness for Open Skies flights as we seek for purposes of aerial verification in the CFE.

Our vision should not be limited to what was feasible in 1986 in Stockholm and in 1988 with the INF Treaty. We are in a new era, and new confidence-building measures like Open Skies must build confidence, not remain static.

As we return to our capitals, key political decisions are required. We all need to reflect on these. Any successful negotiation is a matter of give and take in which no one feels disadvantaged. We are hopeful that the vision that led our political masters to take many of the steps I mentioned previously will prevail in these negotiations too, and the sooner the better.



*Detail of the former imperial palace in Budapest.*