Canada's Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, and the Head of the Canadian Delegation, Address the Stockholm Conference

On June 10, the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. James H. Taylor, addressed the opening plenary of the eleventh session of the Stockholm Conference and outlined how Canada thought the Conference could be brought to a successful conclusion. Excerpts from his statement follow.

"As this negotiation moves into the home stretch, we must focus more precisely the energy of our broader political purpose and direct it with care and determination towards hammering out a full solid agreement.

And broader political purpose there most certainly is. We seek a new generation of confidence- and securitybuilding measures which will inject vitality into the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and the arms control process. After investing two and a half years in this enterprise, it would surely constitute a failure — and a disappointment — if we produced only a marginal embellishment of the measures in the Final Act.

We are beginning a process. It will clearly not be possible in this phase of the Conference to solve all the problems of confidence-building in all its aspects. The subject is as vast as its concrete manifestations are essential to the underpinning of peace.

But it is crucial that this Conference produce a result which is substantial enough to justify the effort to date, and to make it worthwhile to continue. This means that effort must now be concentrated — and quickly — on negotiating a set of measures covering the activity of land and combined forces which — no one can seriously doubt — poses the highest risk of war in Europe....

The Soviet Union has recently stated that it is no less interested in effective verification than are the Western States and it has recognized the potential usefulness of on-site inspection as a means of verification. We await here a confirmation of this interest through positive and specific suggestions for cooperative and reciprocal verification measures accessible to all the participating States.*

Verification measures have both political and military value as a means of ensuring compliance. Since military potentials on each side in Europe are very high, any major lack of compliance would require a considerable military effort which could not go undetected. While minor non-compliance might not jeopardize the other side's military situation, any would-be violator would hesitate, weighing carefully the political consequences of any such action.

A cooperative and reciprocal inspection regime would help to clarify a situation before it could lead to a serious misunderstanding, or miscalculation, or worse, and, recognizing that the real world in which this system will operate is full of ambiguities and uncertainties, here as elsewhere flexibility will be required.

But the essential principle remains: an agreement lacking effective verification is not better than no agreement at all. An agreement that is permissive towards violations, or could give rise to allegations of non-compliance because it lacked effective verification provisions, could be a greater danger than no agreement at all. It could lead to tensions arising from dubious compliance when national security is seen to be at risk. Efforts to control or reduce armaments in Europe must sooner or later involve the full range of political interests of all the participating States. Verification is essentially a cooperative and reciprocal process. Thus, all States assuming

obligations under any agreement adopted here should be assured that they can effectively verify compliance with it.

This Conference could take a major step forward in the verification process. Here is a forum where a common political commitment combined with technological expertise and multilateral diplomacy could produce a verification arrangement that will ensure that the agreed measures really do build confidence and security.

Verification is not an end in itself, but it will be of vital importance as a component of the final result here, because it enhances the confidence of the parties and creates a sense of predictability, and that comes close to the heart of our purpose....

Canadian Statement of June 30, Made on Behalf of NATO Caucus

In order to promote the possibility of achieving an agreement prior to the Stockholm Conference's adjournment on September 19, the NATO participating States decided to offer several concessions in the Allied negotiating position. These were outlined on behalf of the NATO caucus by the Head of the Canadian Delegation, Mr. W.T. Delworth, in a statement on June 30. Excerpts from his statement follow.

"This negotiation is still spinning its wheels on the sands of political indecision, and time is passing quickly. We are halfway through this session, which we have all called critical, in the search for mutually acceptable solutions based on the common ground identified so far.

We can no longer afford to repeat old arguments, valid though some of them may be. We need to reassess our respective positions, taking into account the interests and perceptions expressed by others here.

Initiatives now seem called for, to unlock the road ahead towards an agree-

^{*}A Soviet proposal allowing for a limited number of on-site inspections in each country per year was announced in the Conference on August 19.