

supplement deterrence with reassurance. And, as the nature of European security expands beyond military balances to political stability and economic prosperity, there is a central role for the CSCE in the areas of human rights, economic cooperation and environmental action.

Until now, the CSCE has functioned on an intermittent basis. It has lacked the institutional framework now required for effective and ongoing cooperation and confidence-building. If the CSCE is to become the preferred forum for comprehensive discussions in the political, economic, security and human dimensions, it must develop the tools to perform those tasks.

Canada believes that continuing political direction from the highest level is required on a regular and ongoing basis if the CSCE is to realize its full potential. Canada proposes that the CSCE should meet annually at the level of foreign ministers and biannually at the level of heads of government. This political body could serve as the beginning of a Council for European Cooperation, a future, permanent forum for dialogue on pan-European issues.

The CSCE should develop a forum to reflect the increasingly democratic character of its membership. Therefore, we also propose the establishment of a CSCE Assembly where parliamentary delegations from member states would meet on a regular basis to discuss issues of common concern.

In the security area, the CSCE will have a role in mandating a further round of conventional force reduction talks. These talks should be conducted among all 35 members of the CSCE, rather than solely the members of NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

The CSCE should also increase its role in verification and confidence-building. Here, I have in mind a CSCE Verification Agency which would facilitate and coordinate verification and confidence-building activities mandated by the negotiations on conventional force reductions and confidence- and security- building measures. In addition, there is a potentially valuable role to be played by the CSCE in crisis prevention

and conflict resolution. This could involve the creation of a mechanism whereby panels could be established to facilitate dialogue if a crisis develops involving any participating state and to conduct fact-finding investigations if required. This mechanism could recommend a strategy to resolve the crisis — whether it be mediation, arbitration or even peacekeeping. If the crisis develops into conflict, the CSCE could initiate mediation activities. These activities could be supported by a permanent Institute for the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes which would provide expertise for crisis prevention and conflict resolution activities...

In designing a new role for the CSCE, we must avoid duplication and new bureaucracies. The goal is concrete progress, not talkathons. In this connection, if the CSCE is to assume an activist role in the new Europe, it may well have to modify, perhaps on a selective basis, the current principles of unanimity in its decision-making process...

I would like to address briefly one issue at the centre of Europe's evolution: the unification of Germany. The degree to which that historic union is accomplished smoothly and without rancour will determine the future pattern of European relations. We have articulated many times our strong support for a free, united and sovereign Germany — within NATO and the European Community — a Germany which will be a powerful instrument of stability, unity and prosperity at the heart of Europe.

The so-called "two plus four" talks now underway — and initiated in Ottawa at the Open Skies Conference — are looking at the external aspects of German reunification. Those talks must succeed.

There are delicate and important issues to resolve at those talks and elsewhere — within NATO, the European Community, at the Vienna talks and between a united Germany and its neigh-



The Right Honourable Joe Clark.

bours. These include the future of Germany in the Alliance, the size and status of stationed and German armed forces, and the implications for NATO's nuclear deterrent.

As these crucial issues are addressed, two realities must be borne in mind: the fact that the Soviet Union has legitimate, central security preoccupations which must be accommodated; and the requirement to ensure that

The CSCE can become a true instrument of cooperative security, supplementing deterrence with reassurance.

Germany's role retains the popular support of the German people. On these two points more than any other, success and stability will rest.

A new direction for NATO, an expanded role for the CSCE, and an intensified relationship with the European Community: those are the institutional pillars of our new policy towards Europe. They reflect our assessment of the most effective means by which the new Europe can be built. And they also reflect Canada's interests and assets — political, security and economic — in ensuring that we are at the table, that trans-Atlantic links are maintained and that our priorities are addressed...