

*Government Orders*

this morning to discuss this will be very helpful in outlining a form for Canadian policy in this direction.

As I said, the member for Halifax West will shortly give further thoughts from his considerable experience on this subject as to what future directions might be.

The second area that I will speak on and conclude with, Mr. Speaker, relates to the security aspects of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and particularly the confidence-building measures.

Toward the end of this month, as the parties meet in Paris, there will be another stage reached in the creation of a more secure future for Europeans and North Americans. Canadians have played a big role in getting to this stage. The stage will be marked by the development of a further framework through a treaty to reduce and limit conventional forces in Europe.

These are the so-called CFE negotiations, conventional forces in Europe. They are drawing to a close. In parallel with those negotiations, there have been other meetings by the CSCE participants on a range of measures to build confidence—what are often called security-building measures. These have been under discussion. The goals of these confidence and security-building measures, unlike the negotiations for armament reductions, are not to reduce military capabilities, but rather to expose what exists to public scrutiny and the scrutiny of other sides.

I want to say at this juncture that this is actually one of the most revolutionary concepts, when you think about it. It came through in the open skies concept which Canada has been doing a lot to support. We held a conference here in Ottawa earlier this year.

Anyone who has read anything about military strategy knows that one of the key elements always is the element of surprise. What we are talking about here, this openness or transparency, is to remove totally the element of surprise by permitting rivals, or thought to be rivals, the opportunity to see and to know clearly and concisely what the other side has available, where its troops, armed forces personnel, carriers, tanks, and aircraft are located, and the strength and deployment of those forces.

The intent of this approach is to create an atmosphere of openness and trust, trust about the military intentions of other countries. The end result is quite significant because national security measures taken by countries are very much based on the anticipated threat of what the other side may be intending to do. Military planners

through the ages, and certainly in this century, have had to plan and develop strategies, and commit significant expenditures of government money by anticipating the worst possible threat, what they call the worst case scenario. Often in an atmosphere of mistrust, and the cold war certainly gave us sample doses of that, fear is the common denominator on all sides, the fear of being caught less prepared than the enemy. In that context, a significant arms buildup took place.

• (1150)

We all know of the billions and billions of dollars that have been spent on the arms race in this century. It is a deplorable miscalculation and misallocation of resources that could have been spent so much better on the underlying causes of instability. It would have made a better world rather than an arms buildup.

That is why these measures are of a revolutionary nature. Fostering trust and having openness is a way to create an entirely new atmosphere in which peace can prevail, military expenditures can be reduced, and the risk of war can be minimized.

In the final act at Helsinki, which was concluded in 1975, there were a number of relatively modest confidence-building measures. For examples, nations were encouraged voluntarily to notify each other of their plans to conduct certain large military exercises so that others would not think that there was some planned invasion afoot.

The CSCE is a continuing series of meetings and discussions as these ideas take hold and are reflected in governmental policy of all the participating European and North American countries. At the Madrid meetings which were held between 1981 and 1983, new security-building measures were developed.

The hon. member for Parkdale—High Park, who will be speaking in just a moment, was a participant at the Madrid conference. I am sure he will take the opportunity to elaborate somewhat on that aspect of this.

We are getting down to the present time, and I do not have time to go on to outline in detail what these subsequent measures specifically have been, but they are significant and include great arms reductions. For example, the U.S.S.R. will have no more than 13,300 battle tanks in Europe. This is compared to more than 41,000 which were present just in the middle of 1988. It is a reduction from 41,000 to 13,300. With artillery, there will be a reduction from over 42,000 to fewer than 14,000 artillery pieces. In terms of armoured personnel carriers,