



## **Canadian Negotiator Describes Stockholm Conference Agreement as 'Immensely Important for Canada, its Allies and Whole of Europe'**

*The following article was written by Mr. Tom Delworth. Mr. Delworth was Head of the Canadian delegation to the Stockholm Conference.*

Working against time in the negotiation of the last minute details, the Stockholm Conference came to an end on September 22, presenting to the world a remarkable document on confidence- and security-building in Europe. Impressed by the imaginative and in many respects pioneering features of the Stockholm outcome, the international media reported that a page of history had just been written in Stockholm. That is probably true, but only history will show whether that particular page represents the beginning of a new chapter or whether it will be just another page in the old.

Metaphors aside, the outcome of the three-year negotiation which began with a Preparatory Conference meeting in Helsinki in October 1983, leading on to the main Conference's beginning in Stockholm in January 1984, is immensely important for Canada and for Canada's Allies, and indeed for the whole of Europe. The reasons for this importance are not however as widely understood and appreciated as they deserve to be.

The balance sheet reflected in the Stockholm Document is positive, indeed surprisingly so when it is recalled that the Conference began its work in the very inauspicious circumstances of late 1983. It can be argued that the Stockholm Conference was in itself a kind of confidence-building measure in that it both contributed to a better East-West atmosphere while benefitting in turn from the process of improvement.

The concept of confidence-building measures is not new. In one way or another this notion has appeared in a number of international negotiations and agreements, most notably the Helsinki

Final Act of 1975. What is new from Stockholm is, in the first instance, the detailed development of the very general confidence-building measures outlined in the Helsinki Final Act and making such activities mandatory rather than optional: Stockholm changed the verb from "may" to "will." In other words the Stockholm outcome is marked by a very significant and detailed elaboration of confidence-building measures, and of the ways in which they are to be implemented. But above all, there are two features of the Stockholm Document which can be regarded as little short of revolutionary. In the first place, the zone of application for the detailed confidence- and security-building measures (CSBMs) runs from the Atlantic right up to the Urals in the heart of the Soviet Union, which means that a much larger and more significant part of the Soviet Union's territory will be subject to the operation of CSBMs. More

than that, the Stockholm Document prescribes a regime of on-site inspection as a means of verification which obliges participating states within the zone of application to open their territory for inspection on demand and without the right of refusal. The implications of these two factors combined give grounds for hope that progress *can* be made in abandoning the rigid positions of the past in moving towards more cooperative attitudes and activities in matters of security.

It has been argued that the West's basic objective at Stockholm was to reduce the automatic secrecy barricades that have traditionally marked the Soviet Union's approach to confidence-building; put in other terms, this means that any measure or measures that would lower the threshold of suspicion and mistrust would, if carefully managed, nourish a healthier atmosphere of confidence and trust within the network of military inter-relationships within Europe. Western negotiators at the Conference again and again demanded the "de-mystification of military affairs," which is a shorthand way of saying that the West was urging



*Mr. Tom Delworth (left), Head of the Canadian delegation to the Stockholm Conference, exchanging views with Mr. James H. Taylor (right), Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, during Mr. Taylor's visit to the Stockholm Conference in June 1986. In second row are Mr. Chris Anstis (left), Deputy Head of delegation, and Col. C. Namiesniowski (right), Military Advisor. In third row is Mr. Robert Vanier (left), Delegation Secretary.*

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