

resort to the use of force raises further doubt in the minds of all those who had hoped for an improved level of trust in East-West relations.

We were to gather here, Mr. Chairman, to reaffirm our commitment to security and co-operation in Europe, and by extension, throughout the world. After three long years of negotiations we thought we had arrived at an agreement which would help to bring a greater degree of peace, confidence and security to a troubled world. We had planned to come to take note of what we have been able to achieve and to express our expectations for the future.

We arrive today with those expectations gravely diminished. What are we to make of this sad demonstration on the part of the Soviet Union of their inability to meet international obligations of the most fundamental and humanitarian kind? The challenge of co-operation which we all face here at the CSCE has been made all the more difficult as a result of this latest affront.

The destruction by the Soviet Union of the Korean Airlines jet is the most recent violation by the Soviet Union of its Final Act commitments. Other violations of similar and even greater magnitude, have been primarily responsible for the halting progress here at Madrid.

The Madrid meeting began in the aftermath of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, a blatant violation of the principles of sovereignty, self-determination, and the inviolability of frontiers. It was further set back by the imposition of martial law in Poland and subsequent developments in that country. These events were strongly protested here in Madrid by the foreign ministers of many of the participating states in February 1982, and led directly to an eight-month adjournment of our meeting.

Despite commitments to the freer movement of people, emigration has been drastically reduced by the Soviet Union even as our delegations have been meeting here in Madrid. Members of Helsinki monitoring groups have been harassed in the Soviet Union. These actions contravene both the spirit and the letter of the Final Act. They created the need for a lengthy review of the record of implementation of the Final Act, greatly prolonging the Madrid meeting. These actions are a regrettable step backwards, away from our goals of increased security and co-operation in Europe. To have passed them over in silence would have cast a shadow on the credibility of this conference. We will no more pass these violations over in silence than we will remain silent over the unprovoked attack on an unarmed civilian aircraft by the Soviet air force.

Despite the failures brought out so clearly here, and raised once again today, we must not, however, in the interests of peace in Europe and in the world, forget the potential for future progress that is inherent in the achievements of the Madrid meeting. This potential lies embedded in the draft concluding document. Throughout the course of this meeting, the Canadian delegation has worked diligently to ensure a balance in this document between the security aspects of our conference on the one hand and the human dimension of the CSCE on the other. I believe the document we have now before us strikes the needed balance.

We can point with very considerable satisfaction to the prospects for the Conference on Disarmament in Europe and the major contribution it could make to enhancing our security.