

that aid, and that aid should be denied if a recipient government fails to improve its human rights performance. It is an argument of some force, for aid obviously provides leverage; sometimes it is all that keeps a government in office. But we cannot overlook the counter argument that aid is for people, and for development over the long term, and to deny it to them because they are also being abused by their government is to penalize them twice and to disadvantage future generations as well.

That is a dilemma I have discussed specifically with the Joint Committee studying the Green Paper. I look forward to receiving their considered views.

Another weapon is sanctions. They cover a broad range of action, up to and including the total interruption of all diplomatic and commercial contacts. But it has proven exceedingly difficult historically to select sanctions appropriate to the offence in question, and to secure the degree of collaboration from those whose participation is necessary to ensure the sanctions work. It is a sad truth that there are always people around prepared to argue that their own private interests ought not to be disadvantaged, and others prepared to help in the circumvention of sanctions. And even when sanctions have the desired economic impact, they often don't work in the sense of having the desired political impact.

The recent history of Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union provides an example of how difficult it is to alter the behaviour of a powerful government by economic threats or other pressure tactics. In a broad sense, it could be argued that Soviet willingness to permit Jews to emigrate has waxed and waned with the perceived level of détente. In other words, if the West - and the United States in particular - shows greater sympathy for Soviet interests, more Jews will be granted exit visas. But it is also argued that greater Soviet willingness to conform to its undertakings in the field of human rights - including the U.N. covenant on free emigration - is an essential step in the development of the trust and confidence which underlies any improvement in relations.

Despite the fact that these difficulties remain, for our part we shall continue to press the Soviet Union to live up to its undertakings under the Helsinki Final Act and to take other initiatives to improve relations between East and West.

Obviously it is essential to sustain and enlarge the commitment of Canadians to the protection of human rights everywhere in the world. But I would urge you to help focus the public debate rather less on human rights violations themselves and rather more on what we can actually do to improve particular situations. Rhetoric has its place, but our real purpose is to find practical solutions. I appreciate the help and advice which