Canada has stated on numerous occasions that Poland must be left to resolve its political and social difficulties without outside intervention. We believe firmly that only the Poles themselves have the right to determine their national destiny — but it must be all Poles, not just a small ruling class.

In his statement on December 30, 1981, the Prime Minister of Canada called for national reconciliation in Poland. As he put it, "Now is the time to begin the movement towards compromise and renewal. Military rule cannot be a permanent answer in Poland or in any other country. Armies may command the streets, but they cannot command the confidence of the people; that can only be earned through actions which engender political assent. The earnest desire of the Canadian government is that the spirit of reform will be allowed to revive among all those forces in the society that can contribute to a peaceful and constructive solution of Poland's problems."

But time is moving on and patience wears thin. I therefore call for an immediate amelioration of the situation which, in addition to a genuine and visible movement towards reconciliation, would include the lifting of martial law and the release of those now held in detention. Early movement in regard to these considerations will create an environment in which the interest of all of us will be to help Poland to overcome the grave problems which it faces, resume its obligations as a signatory of the Helsinki Final Act, and take its proper place in the concept of Europe.

U.S.S.R. action rejected

The Soviet Union evidently considers that it has the privilege of playing a role in influencing the internal affairs of Poland and other states of Eastern Europe. We reject this position. The political configuration of Eastern Europe is not immutable. The Final Act held out the prospect of peaceful change, and of the development of a constructive understanding in East-West relations. The U.S.S.R. has no right to interfere in the national political and social development of any country. Such action is contrary to the spirit of the Final Act.

The Soviet Union denies it has played a direct role in events in Poland but we see otherwise. The Soviet Union cannot deny that twice in the last year, in an obvious effort to intimidate its neighbour, Soviet forces held unusually large exercises close to the Polish border. The political message was obvious to all. The Soviet Union cannot deny that for months prior to the imposition of martial law, the government-controlled Soviet media undertook a strident propaganda campaign designed to create national antipathy towards the Polish people and to intimidate their efforts to reconstruct their social system.

The Soviet Union must cease its interference. The events in Poland were counselled, induced and abetted by Soviet actions. The threat of direct intervention remains. I call on the Soviet Union to honour its international commitments and allow the Polish people their inalienable right to pursue a policy of national renewal and reconstruction without threat or menace.

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In summary, I believe we now find ourselves confronted with a situation which, if the CSCE process is to retain its credibility, cannot be ignored. Failure to face this situation squarely will do yet further damage both to détente and the CSCE process in which we have all placed so much hope for the future.