

independent of normal morality, will respond in terms of its own power interests if it sees that the rest of mankind finds its action to be a moral outrage. Even in terms of power politics and the rather cynical calculation of self-interest, what the Soviet Union has done, at whatever level of authority the decision was reached, is unacceptable, and if the rest of the world responds as it ought to morally, and we all say to the Soviet Union that this is unacceptable and we are not going to forget, in the future the Soviet Union might at least think twice before so acting.

Beyond that, in this cynical world in which we are living, if nations come together as a result of this deplorable incident to develop the kind of international instruments I have talked about, maybe not only the Soviet Union but any other state—God protect us all—which might contemplate such action, would also think twice. Ultimately, Mr. Speaker, if we continue with an expression of our moral concern about man's obligation not only to his fellow men and women in his own state, but to all of mankind, we might at some period in the future get a genuine international community established which is totally committed to international peace.

**Hon. Allan J. MacEachen (Deputy Prime Minister and Secretary of State for External Affairs):** Mr. Speaker, the Government of Canada has been prompt and vigorous in its reaction to this brutal violation of all the norms of international behaviour. I am pleased that the comments of the Leader of the New Democratic Party (Mr. Broadbent) have exactly reflected the moral outrage that all Canadians have felt as the result of this incident and has also reflected the deep sorrow we all share with the bereaved families.

We have acted not only to reflect the outrage of the Canadian people, which has a world wide reaction, but also to bear in mind at all times the human dimensions of this tragedy, the loss of innocent lives and the bereaved persons who have been also the victims of this terrible act.

● (2020)

On September 1, within hours of this event, my colleague, the Minister of State for External Affairs (Mr. Pepin), summoned the Soviet Chargé to account for this action, describing it as totally incomprehensible and unacceptable. On September 2, I expressed the uncertainty and apprehension which this wanton and seemingly uncontrolled resort to the use of force must cause in the minds of all those who had hoped for an improved level of trust in East-West relations. I also said that the world expects the Soviet leadership, which itself is no stranger to the tragic and senseless loss of life, expects the Soviet leadership to abandon its current stonewalling and come clean about this terrible hit and run tragedy.

That evening, at a special emergency session of the U.N. Security Council, which Canada along with other nations requested, our ambassador who was recalled from leave on this occasion said as follows:

The deliberate in-flight destruction of this civilian, unarmed, easily identifiable passenger aircraft by sophisticated fighter aircraft of the Soviet Union, no matter where it occurred, is nothing short of murder. It is a flagrant attack on

the safety of international civil aviation which should never have occurred and must not be allowed to occur again.

On September 3, I sent personal messages of condolence to all the Canadian families who had suffered a loss and I stated that the grief of those Canadians is made more difficult to bear by the callous and incredible Soviet reaction. To the grave injury they have caused, the Soviet authorities are now adding the insult of a blatant cover-up.

On September 5, in announcing Canadian measures against Soviet aviation interests in Canada, I urged that our action prompt a review by the Soviet authorities on the merits of continuing to evade their responsibility for the deaths of Canadians and so many other innocent passengers.

On September 7, speaking at the concluding session of the Conference on Security and Co-Operation in Europe, my colleague, the Minister of State for External Relations, reiterated in the presence of Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko, Canada's now firm demand for an urgent investigation under U.N. and ICAO auspices for the improvement of aviation regulations to prevent a recurrence of such a tragedy; for immediate compensation and for the Soviet Union to meet international obligations of the most fundamental and humanitarian kind.

Our bilateral representations directly to the Soviet Union encompassed first, the stiff diplomatic note presented by the Minister of State for External Affairs on September 1 demanding an explanation; a parallel action in Moscow by our ambassador in that capital and my own direct personal message to Foreign Minister Gromyko requesting his urgent and personal attention to our national demands which I now hope will be backed up by the voices of Members of Parliament speaking in this House of Commons.

Our assessment of the Soviet response is that it still falls far short of what we all expect and have a right to demand. Whether to Canada bilaterally or to the world at large, the Soviet reaction is a form of confession by instalment. Their statements have at least begun to express regret at the loss of human life, although not to us directly, and have begun to replace the initial cover-up with a process of selective disclosure.

I regard the facts of the Soviet case as disputed, the logic distorted and the evasion of responsibility as despicable. Nevertheless, the force of international pressure continues to produce new detail and we as Canadians play an important part in that international process.

Canada has held the Soviet Government to account for the lives lost in this tragedy. We have underlined our demands by action and in every instance we have shown the way by taking the lead as a clearly aggrieved nation. Canada was the first country to suspend Aeroflot's landing rights and no one else has decided on as lengthy a suspension as Canada. Canada was the first country to suspend arrangements to expand facilities for Aeroflot at no small cost to our own Canadian interests. We were the first country to call for generous and immediate compensation for the families of the victims. We