

harming their foreign policy interest. The Soviet Union must understand that the release of a few prominent dissidents or refuseniks will not cause the West to reduce the pressure for more fundamental changes in Soviet practices and policies.

In fact, we may be entering a unique time to test the depth of the difference between the Gorbachev regime and its predecessors. If the new Soviet leadership really understands the West, they will know that the enduring image of Anatoly Shcharansky is as the exception that proves the rule of Soviet repression. Words are not enough. Symbols are not enough. Accepting petitions and calling conferences will only be persuasive if they are accompanied by sustained and real changes in the rights of Soviet citizens to speak, to move, to pray as they prefer.

So what can we do to bring about real progress? First, we have to be hard-headed, both about the intransigence of the Soviet system, and about the practical effectiveness of measures open to us. Mere words are not enough for the West either. We want to end the repression, not just condemn it, and we have to determine how best to do that.

Should we refuse to trade or talk with the USSR until they improve their human rights and family reunification record? Many of you will be familiar with the Jackson-Vanik amendment in the United States which links U.S. trade with the Soviet Union to the release of Soviet Jews wishing to emigrate. The Jackson-Vanik amendment has been in effect since 1974 and there has been little discernible impact on Soviet performance to date. Even so, it has been suggested by some people that a similar condition be placed on Canada-USSR trade.

In our view market forces will be much more effective in bringing about change in the USSR than any legislated link might be. The Soviet Union knows that its human rights record remains an obstacle to improved commercial relations between us. The current trade imbalance is heavily in our favour, and the Soviet Union is anxious to increase exports to Canada. They are becoming more aware that their human rights record stops Canadian consumers from buying Soviet products, and that the best way to change that image is to allow more families to be reunited in the West and to cease the repression suffered by those who remain in the USSR.