

Act. The principles are still being called seriously into question by the continuing Soviet armed presence in Afghanistan. This must inevitably have a profoundly negative effect on détente and harm the prospects for a meaningful dialogue between East and West on those issues which divide us.

In reviewing our respective implementation of the provisions of the Final Act, it was also my unhappy duty, and that of my delegation, to draw attention to the manifold violations of human rights which have taken place in the Soviet Union and in certain other participating states. In particular, my country is distressed by the continuing suppression of members of the Helsinki monitoring groups, by state supported anti-semitism, by the denial in some participating states of the fundamental human right to leave one's country and harassment for attempting to do so, and by the persistent denial of fundamental religious freedoms.

Review of implementation is an integral part of our CSCE process. It is not only required by the obligations our countries freely undertook on an August day in Finland in 1975. It is indeed the very foundation for the validity of the CSCE process. What is the sense of drawing up new agreements when old ones are not kept? It is to build on shifting sands.

I cannot say that my government was overly sanguine when the results were in from our initial review of implementation at this Madrid meeting. But as an act of faith, if you will, and appreciating the importance of revitalizing détente, we were prepared to proceed, to try to reach agreements which would develop further the Helsinki Final Act and contribute to the strengthening of security and cooperation in Europe.

Fifteen months of the most difficult, arduous negotiations are now behind us. We have worked assiduously with others to achieve a precisely defined mandate for a conference on disarmament in Europe. We have tried to reach agreement on provisions which would afford protection for Helsinki monitors, and for the basic right of citizens of our respective countries to know and act upon their rights. As is well known, my delegation has sought the agreement of others to hold an experts' meeting which might bring us closer together in our understanding of human rights and fundamental freedoms and thus help to remove a serious impediment to better relations between East and West.