

entire CSCE process. But I want to reiterate that to turn the hopes embodied in the Final Act and now the Madrid Document into realities requires the concerted effort of all the participating states.

We must recognize that relations between East and West have deteriorated since those bright days of hope in Helsinki in 1975. It now becomes of even more importance that we reverse this trend. The participating states have not taken full advantage, it seems to us, of the opportunities for expanded contacts, dialogue, and cooperation which were opened up by the Helsinki Final Act. It is in the clear self-interest of each and every participating state here to seize the opportunities for cooperation which are presented by an agreement now in Madrid and to take up the challenges which will be presented by the Conference on Disarmament in Europe and other meetings over the next several years.

It has often been said that the course of this Madrid review meeting has been heavily influenced by the events occurring outside it. This is true. How could it be different? Any political forum which is to have any relevance whatsoever in contributing to the resolution of political conflict must always reflect its surrounding political reality, good or bad. But it is also true that to be effective, to be credible, a political forum such as the CSCE must be able to influence those same external events. International events are not predetermined by some capricious Fortuna; they are man-made. We can make a new forward step here in Madrid by expressing our firm resolution to improve upon the record of the past and to adopt a document with engagements which, if treated in good faith, would hold out for the people of all our countries the prospects of enhanced security and understanding. There is still much left to do before we meet in Vienna. Let us hope that when we meet again there will be more of a positive and hopeful nature to discuss.

The Helsinki Final Act of 1975 reaffirmed the objectives of all participating states: to promote better relations among themselves and to ensure conditions in which their people could live in true and lasting peace, free from any threat to or attempt against their security.

Is this undertaking merely a hollow slogan, to be ignored at will by governments in their day to day decisions? I think not. The stakes today are simply too high for our governments to ignore this undertaking. We face in our time the constant threat that small scale, regional or local conflicts could escalate to the horrific spectre of nuclear confrontation