

anean, as well as a reduction of armed forces and a decrease of tension in the area.

**FAMILIES:** Pledges are given to make it easier for families to unite across borders and visit one another, and for citizens to marry foreigners.

**CONTACTS:** Tourism, youth meetings and many other forms of contact are to be facilitated. Freer flows of information and printed matter are pledged, as are improved exchanges in education and culture.

**JOURNALISTS:** The states promise to reduce visa and travel difficulties, and not to expel foreign journalists without giving a reason and a chance for appeal.

**FOLLOW-UP:** The participants will send experts to a meeting in Belgrade on June 15, 1977, to discuss how the agreement has been applied, and whether there should be further meetings, or even a new full-fledged conference.

Apart from the signing ceremony, the sessions heard 35, mostly mechanically-read, speeches. Leonid Brezhnev, the Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the driving force behind this conference, did not even refer to the Final Act, stating the conference was "a necessary summing-up of the political outcome of the Second World War." He warned that "no one should try to dictate to other peoples, on the basis of foreign-policy consideration of one kind or another, the manner in which they ought to manage their internal affairs."

President Ford of the United States was sceptical about the Helsinki Declaration, stating, "History will judge this conference not by what we say today but by what we do tomorrow; not by the promises we make, but by the promises we keep." He warned that "peace is not a piece of paper," and stressed the importance of balanced East-West reductions and strategic arms limitation by the two super-powers.

Prime Minister Wilson of the United Kingdom emphasized that détente meant little "if it is not reflected in the daily lives of our people." He could not understand why there could not be free movement of people and exchange of ideas across all European borders in modern times.

Prime Minister Trudeau warned that state activity alone could not produce security and cooperation. He stated, "Without the promise of family reunification, without the interchange of ideas and opinions, the new era of harmony we seek will not be found." His talk with Mr. Brezhnev paved the way for a settlement of the Soviet-Canadian fisheries dispute.

One wonders about the importance to the government of the Helsinki Declaration, when it took so long to be tabled in the Canadian Parliament. It was not tabled until December 22, 1975—four months later. I believe that the tabling of the document was brought about by the inquiry of Senator Eugene Forsey, who spoke on the topic the previous week, on November 27. He is to be warmly commended for introducing this topic, which subsequently was only briefly discussed in the other chamber.

The statement of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, The Honourable Allan MacEachen, was rather terse. He was of the opinion that the Final Act of the CSCE: "is intended to establish the basis for the development of future relations between their countries and peo-

[Senator Zuzyk.]

ples... it does not look back to the past." Further on the minister emphasizes:

Not one word of the Final Act justifies the claim that it constitutes recognition of Soviet hegemony in eastern Europe or of the post-war *de facto* borders.

Mr. MacEachen was happy with Canada's achievement—the incorporation of "measures to assist the freer movement of people and ideas." This is all very well on the surface. There was no statement in the house from the Prime Minister of Canada, who signed the agreement. I believe that the Canadian Parliament is entitled to a report from him. Much more attention should have been devoted to this conference in Helsinki by the members of the elected chamber in view of the developments that could emanate from this meeting.

We can be grateful to Senator Forsey for his analysis and critical comments of the text of the Helsinki Declaration. His "warnings, doubts, hesitations and fears" regarding the motivations of the Soviet leaders and the leaders of the democratic states, and the implementation of this agreement, should be a cause of concern to Canadian parliamentarians, leaders and people. Canada will be greatly affected by the outcome of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Consequently, I believe that this document should not go unnoticed, or be taken lightly, but should be thoroughly studied by the standing committees on external affairs of both houses. Expert witnesses should testify at the hearings and recommendations should be forthcoming, so that Canadians will be aware of all the implications of such an international agreement.

Canada is not a large, influential power; it is only a pawn in the game of international politics. At least, we should be aware of how we are being used and what could happen to us in the world.

Only at great peril can we obliterate the past. In approving this accord, Canada must remember that the Soviet Union is a communist totalitarian police state governed by a ruthless dictatorship having complete control over the lives of hundreds of millions of people of various origins in the largest empire in the world. It is a mistake to assume that communists keep their agreements; they have always followed Lenin's dictum: "Promises are like pie crusts, made to be broken." Stalin expressed it more fully in 1913 in these words:

Words must have no relation to action—otherwise what kind of diplomacy is it? Good words are a mask for the concealment of bad deeds. Sincere diplomacy is no more possible than dry water or iron wood.

● (1440)

Therefore, it should not be surprising that the Soviet Union has violated more than 100 treaties and agreements.

The United States Senate Judiciary Committee in its investigations has recorded the details of over 100 Soviet treaty violations, which were published under the title *Soviet Political Agreements and Results* in 1964. The following is the conclusion of the Chairman, Senator James Eastland:

—since the Soviet Union came into existence, its Government had broken its word to virtually every country to which it ever gave a signed promise. It signed treaties of nonaggression with neighbouring states and