were voluntary and not verifiable, they were of limited value. It is clear that if such measures are truly to create confidence among states, they must be militarily significant, verifiable, and must include provision for challenging any state participating in the system for not carrying them out. The precise mandate for the Conference on Disarmament in Europe is intended to overcome the present deficiencies. Under the criteria specified in this mandate, confidence and security building measures could be adopted which would cover the whole of Europe, without exception. A further advantage is that naval and air activities in the adjoining sea area and air space, which are directly linked to activities on the continent of Europe, would also be taken into consideration.

If such a regime were adopted, it could lay the basis for genuine measures of arms control and future disarmament in Europe. We must be clear about this: the transition to the disarmament stages of the Conference on Disarmament in Europe is not automatic and it is subject to scrutiny by the CSCE. The ambitious goals we have set and the inherent difficulties in achieving them means that we must progress step by step. Confidence that they are being carried out properly will be an important factor in deciding to move to a second stage.

I have also emphasized the human dimension of our endeavours here, an almost unique enterprise in an international political forum. In the area of principles, the Madrid document includes enhanced provisions on religious freedoms and breaks new ground in providing for consultations between state and religious authorities.

It also assures the right of workers freely to establish and join trade unions.

It contains an unqualified condemnation of terrorism.

There are improvements too in the area of freer contacts between our people, of wider dissemination of information and cooperation in culture and education. In particular, there is progress in defining time limits for the processing of applications for exit visas, assuring freer access to foreign publications, and improving cooperation in culture and education. In particular, there is progress in defining time limits for the processing of applications for exit visas, assuring free access to foreign publications, and improving the working conditions for journalists. These are modest steps, but they are practical achievements which would take us further along the path to better understanding.