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Mr. Chairman, today we meet in the shadow of a fallen leader; on behalf of my colleagues and the American people we represent, may I extend to the Soviet delegation our condolences on the death of President Brezhnev. To General Secretary Andropov and the Soviet delegation, I would like to convey our hope that together we might transform this moment of international uncertainty into one of opportunity.

But before going further, may I also express our appreciation to the Government of Spain for the outstanding work it has done in playing host to this meeting. I doubt whether any delegation could have anticipated that this second follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe would last over two years -- a period of time eased considerably, I am told, by the generous hospitality and smooth organization of our Spanish hosts. As Vice-Chairman of the United States delegation, I would like to convey my gratitude.

It is both a pleasure and a challenge for me to share my thoughts on the CSCE process, along with those of my colleagues in the United States Senate. A pleasure because the very dialogue that takes place in this hall is one instrument of a peaceful world. Initiated in Helsinki, maintained in Belgrade, and now continued in Madrid, this frank exchange of views may sometimes seem to illuminate our differences more than to resolve them --but how much better it is to throw a light on matters otherwise confined to the dark rooms of suspicion or distrust.

It is a challenge as well for me to address you this afternoon, for there are issues that divide the nations represented here. And in the United States there is substantial interest, both public and congressional, that attaches to these proceedings. This reflects the American desire to enhance East-West security through arms control and to strengthen economic cooperation as much as possible. And it reflects a sentiment noted by President Ford when he signed the Final Act: "The deep devotion of the American people and government to human rights and fundamental freedoms and to the pledge this Conference has made regarding the freer movement of people, ideas and information."

To the American people, such words speak to the heart of those principles written into the charters of their freedom. They suggest a time and world where no one wields a sword and no one drags a chain. And they provide a powerful incentive to follow closely, not only what you and we say here in Madrid, but what you and we do after this conference takes its place in the thick volume of modern diplomatic history.

A NATION OF NATIONS

The United States is a nation of nations, an immigrant crossroads. The ancestors of most Americans have their roots in European nations, East and West. Along with those roots goes a continuing interest in their national heritage, and in the fate of those who continue to live in the lands of their parents and grandparents. But in many of those lands, the aspirations for liberty that served as a midwife to the infant American republic, over 200 years ago, have too often been frustrated. For us to lose our interest in the liberty of others would be to disregard the guiding light of our history and heritage. And while the American people retain an undiminished faith in the Helsinki process itself, they are disaffected, perhaps to the point of disillusionment, with the lack of compliance on the part of some signatories.

Five years ago, on November 25, 1977, I had the privilege of addressing the CSCE Review Meeting in Belgrade. I expressed the opinion at that time that a direct connection existed between public perceptions of the integrity of the commitments made at Helsinki and the ability of Western governments to carry forward the process known as detente. I also stated the conviction that abridgements of human rights, in particular, could have a profound negative impact on pending prospective bilateral and multilateral agreements between East and West. Sadly, many events since then have only increased my concern. Today, in many minds and many countries, people are looking urgently for changes in the actions of many of the signatories. Nowhere is this search keener than in America.

EAST-WEST HARMONY: HOW?

I have just returned from the Soviet Union where the improvement of U.S.-Soviet trade relations was widely discussed. With several of my colleagues from Congress, I took part in the meetings of the US-USSR Trade & Economic Council, where scores of international businessmen expressed their interest in renewed and closer East-West economic ties. I also met with Prime Minister Tikhonov, Acting President Kuznetsov, and many other Soviet officials who were clearly eager to find a way for us to improve relations not only in trade but in other areas as well, including arms control.

What I said in Moscow I will say here. The U.S. Congress and the American people seek to develop genuine cooperation with all the European countries, no matter what their social system. East-West harmony is a fundamental objective of American foreign policy. The opportunities to achieve that harmony can be enlarged by what we do here in Madrid, within the framework of the CSCE. Yet, how can we make progress without abiding by the Final Act's provisions? How, ask our scientists, can we engage in cooperative scientific endeavors, while Soviet scientists are prohibited from working in their fields, and while Dr. Andrei Sakharov, the world-famous physicist, remains in exile? How, ask our labor leaders, can we increase industrial cooperation when the Polish government outlaws the free trade union Solidarity? How, ask our religious leaders, can we promote expanded religious contacts when some of their co-religionists languish in labor camps and prisons?

What we have is a crisis of confidence: the American people cannot reconcile these harsh realities with the noble ideals embodied in the Final Act and espoused by its signatories. They expect us to live up to our word.

There have been some bright spots in the last seven years. Important efforts have been made by a number of Eastern signatories to resolve outstanding family reunification cases, indicating some movement to take seriously the Final Act pledge to "deal in a positive and humanitarian spirit with persons who wish to be reunited with members of their family." Similarly, travel restrictions to Eastern Bloc countries by Western citizens for family visits have been eased. In countries such as the German Democratic Republic, Hungary and Poland, steps to explore church-state relations were taken, consistent with the commitment in the Final Act to expand religious freedom. Other positive actions have been taken by Czechoslovakia, Hungary and the German Democratic Republic in the area of religious contacts and the dissemination of religious information. Progress in economic, technical and scientific cooperation has been achieved. In the security area of CSCE, confidence building measures generally have been implemented. Finally, a number of signatories have studied their own implementation records and have analyzed ways in which they can be improved.

Although much more work needs to be done in these areas, at least some concrete progress has been made. As a result, tensions have been eased and potential areas of concern have been at least somewhat lessened. These bright spots, unfortunately, are overshadowed by a dark canopy of regression.

THE PAINFUL IRONY OF POLAND

The evidence of this is both tragic and compelling. The hopeful transformation of political and social life that had

begun in Poland, has been all but destroyed with the imposition of martial law, and we know that the Soviet Union has been instrumental in this. Recent actions, such as the banning of Solidarity, have done nothing to restore confidence in Polish and Soviet fidelity to their Final Act obligations. Americans and many others, are, of course, most pleased with the recent release of Lech Walesa. We also look forward to a renewal of the precious dialogue that briefly warmed relations between the Government of Poland and the Polish people.

Sadly, not all the prisoners of politics have gone free. In the Soviet Union, members of the Helsinki monitoring groups --who took seriously their own countries' Helsinki pledge and their recognition in the Final Act that "institutions , organizations and individuals have a relevant and positive role" to play in fostering the aims of the accords--have suffered harsh reprisals, Thirty-eight currently imprisoned members of the Moscow, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Georgian and Armenian groups are serving a combined total of almost 400 years in prison, labor camps, special psychiatric hospitals and internal exile. Indeed, in this very month, Americans are commemmorating the sixth anniversary of the establishment of the Ukrainian and Lithuanian Helsinki groups, both of which have been particularly hard hit.

Moreover, emigration from the Soviet Union has reached its lowest point in ten years: Less than 5,000 Soviet Jews, ethnic Germans, Armenians and others are likely to be granted exit permission this year, or roughly one-twelfth of the number that received permission to leave as recently as 1979. There are also tragic cases of separation from loved ones, as illustrated by the divided family hunger strikes that took place this summer in Moscow. Furthermore, jamming of Western radio broadcasts has not ceased. No one would be surprised that these violations have severely damaged the credibility of the Soviet government in the eyes of the American people. And this factor has spilled over into other areas of negotiation including trade and arms control. For us, and for our allies, the quest for disarmament and the search for peace is inextricably interwoven with respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. The two go hand in hand.

THE ROAD TO CREDIBILITY

Pretending that the problems we have noted do not exist will not make them disappear. On the other hand, genuine moves towards fulfilling the promises of Helsinki would provide a favorable climate for reconciliation of a wide range of differences between us. The acceptance of proposals outlined in the western package of amendments, particularly those dealing with human rights and family reunification, would be a start.

Also, the release of interned trade unionists and other political prisoners in Poland, the lifting of martial law, and the renewal of dialogue between the three major sectors of Polish society--the government, the church and Solidarity --would be highly welcome. The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan would help further to rebuild the confidence on which true security and cooperation depends.

The United States, and especially those of us in Congress, would encourage the Soviet Union to take a series of further steps that would be viewed positively throughout the West. Among them are:

1. The easing of impediments to emigration.

2. The resolution of long-term family reunification and binational marriage cases;

3. The release of imprisoned or exiled members of the Helsinki monitoring groups, especially those with severe health problems, and a halt to the harrassment of these groups;

5. The restoration of direct dial telephone circuits;

6. An improvement in the availability of economic and commercial information;

7. The improvement in working conditions for journalists;

8. And a halt to jamming of Western radio broadcasts.

A REALISTIC ATTITUDE

We of the United States realize that the path towards the ideals of the Helsinki Final Act is strewn with obstacles. We recognize the imperfections of our own country; we acknowledge a need to improve our own behavior. We are not afraid to admit our shortcomings. For that is the catalyst of progress, the first indispensable step on the road to achievement. Various sectors of our government as well as private individuals and organizations are engaged in continuing dialogue on how to move closer to the ideals we have espoused. Like the CSCE process itself, ours is an ongoing and earnest dialogue. Although at times our words both at home and here with you take on a sharp tone, they are far better than silence.

Mr. Chairman, let me assure the delegations here that the United States will continue to work toward the harmony I described earlier--a harmony that has proved elusive but remains essential to the interests of us all. I hope those efforts might succeed, and that I might attend the next follow-up meeting of the CSCE in an atmosphere that reflects the achievement of enhanced cooperation and indeed, of lasting security in Europe.

To that end, I challenge all of us gathered here today to seize the opportunity this moment offers for a decisive step toward enduring peace. For five days last week in Moscow, high officials of the Soviet government told me that they strongly desired a new and better relationship with us and our allies. Last night, President Reagan reaffirmed his commitment to far-reaching arms control objectives--a clear signal of our willingness, in turn, to open a new era of mutual confidence and cooperation between East and West. We can demonstrate, by concrete actions, our full good faith and our will to reach toward security and lasting freedom for all mankind.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.