

MADRID

MR. CHAIRMAN, ~~MAY I BEGIN WITH~~ AN EXPRESSION OF APPRECIATION

TO THE GOVERNMENT OF SPAIN FOR THE OUTSTANDING WORK IT HAS DONE

IN PLAYING HOST TO THIS MEETING, I DOUBT IF ANY DELEGATION COULD

HAVE ANTICIPATED THAT THIS SECOND FOLLOW-UP MEETING OF THE

CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE WOULD LAST OVER

TWO YEARS--A PERIOD OF TIME EASED CONSIDERABLY BY THE GENEROUS

HOSPITALITY AND SMOOTH ORGANIZATION OF OUR SPANISH HOSTS. AND ON

BEHALF OF THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION, WHICH I HAVE THE HONOR TO

SERVE AS VICE-CHAIRMAN, I WOULD LIKE TO CONVEY OUR 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

*were met
in the
shadow of
a fallen
leader. On
behalf of my
colleagues
and the American
people we
represent,
may I extend
to the finest
delegation our
condolences on the death
of President
To General
Secretary
Andropov -
and in
particular,
to his son
Jury, who
is serving his nation
as a member of its delegation
here in Madrid - I would also
like to ~~take~~ convey our hope
that together, we might ~~make~~
convey the time of interest and
unity into one of
release of both sides.*

*to try to
bridge
our
dif-
ferences.*

*We note and pleasure
in history
is watching
no with
fixed eyes
and raised
eyebrows. She
will be a harsh judge
above fail*

SEEM MAINLY TO ILLUMINATE OUR DIFFERENCES--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 US. AND THERE IS SUBSTANTIAL INTEREST, BOTH PUBLIC AND CONGRESSIONAL, THAT ATTACHES TO THESE PROCEEDINGS IN THE UNITED STATES. THIS 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 ARE A POWERFUL INCENTIVE TO FOLLOW CLOSELY, NOT ONLY WHAT YOU AND I SAY HERE IN MADRID, BUT WHAT YOU AND I 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 HELSINKI NATIONS. ALONG WITH THOSE ROOTS GOES A CONTINUING INTEREST IN THEIR NATIONAL HERITAGE, THE FATE OF THOSE WHO CONTINUE TO LIVE IN THE LANDS OF THEIR PARENTS AND GRANDPARENTS, AND THE VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS THAT SCAR TOO MANY OF THOSE LANDS AND MOCK THE ASPIRATIONS FOR LIBERTY THAT SERVED AS MIDWIFE TO THE INFANT AMERICAN REPUBLIC, OVER 200 YEARS AGO. 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 HELSINKI PROCESS AND THE ABILITY OF WESTERN GOVERNMENTS TO CARRY FORWARD THE PROCESS KNOWN AS DETENTE. I FURTHER STATED THE CONVICTION THAT TRIALS OF POLITICAL DISSIDENTS COULD HAVE A PROFOUND NEGATIVE IMPACT ON PENDING OR SUBSEQUENT BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL AGREEMENTS. SADLY, EVENTS SINCE THEN HAVE BORNE OUT MY ASSESSMENT. TODAY, IN MANY MINDS AND MANY COUNTRIES, PEOPLE ARE LOOKING FOR SINCERE GESTURES OF GOOD FAITH ON THE PART OF THE SIGNATORIES. NOWHERE IS THIS MORE SO THAN IN AMERICA.

EAST-WEST HARMONY: HOW?

I HAVE JUST RETURNED FROM THE SOVIET UNION WHERE THE IMPROVEMENT OF U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS WAS DISCUSSED. WHAT I SAID THERE I WILL SAY HERE. THE U.S. CONGRESS AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE SEEK TO DEVELOP GENUINE COOPERATION WITH ALL SIGNATORIES, NO MATTER WHAT THEIR SOCIAL SYSTEM. EAST-WEST HARMONY IS A FUNDAMENTAL OBJECTIVE OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. THE OPPORTUNITIES TO

ACHIEVE THAT HARMONY--THE POTENTIAL FOR IMPROVED RELATIONS--EXIST
HERE IN MADRID, WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE CSCE. YET, THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE ASK HOW IT CAN BE ACHIEVED WITHOUT ANY EVIDENCE
OF GOOD FAITH IN 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 DR. ANDREI SAKHAROV, THE WORLD-FAMOUS PHYSICIST,
REMAINS ILLEGALLY EXILED? HOW, ASK OUR LABOR LEADERS, CAN WE
INCREASE INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION WHEN THE POLISH GOVERNMENT OUTLAWS
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TELEPHONE LINKS, ON THE ONE HAND, WITH THE NOBLE IDEALS EMBODIED

IN THE FINAL ACT AND ESPOUSED BY ITS SIGNATORIES. THEY EXPECT US TO LIVE UP TO THESE WORDS, WHICH TO THEM REPRESENT SO MUCH MORE THAN THE LANGUAGE OF DIPLOMATIC ETIQUETTE.

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 LESSENER. THESE BRIGHT SPOTS, UNFORTUNATELY, ARE OVERSHADOWED BY A DARK CANOPY OF REGRESSION. EQUALLY DISTURBING IS THE CONTINUING DETERIORATION IN EASTERN BLOC COMPLIANCE SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THIS FOLLOW-UP CONFERENCE.

THE PAINFUL IRONY OF POLAND

THE EVIDENCE OF THIS IS BOTH TRAGIC AND COMPELLING. THE DELICATE STRUCTURE OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN POLAND, THE FOUNDATIONS OF WHICH WERE LAID PRIOR TO THE BRUTAL IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW LAST YEAR, HAS BEEN ALL BUT DESTROYED. THE SOVIET UNION, VIOLATING BOTH THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT, WAS INSTRUMENTAL IN THIS DESTRUCTION. RECENT ACTIONS, SUCH

AS THE BANNING OF SOLIDARITY, HAVE DONE NOTHING TO RESTORE CONFIDENCE
IN POLISH AND SOVIET FIDELITY TO THEIR FINAL ACT OBLIGATIONS.

*Surely, not
all the prisoners
of politics
have gone free.*

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT'S TREATMENT OF THE HELSINKI MONITORING
GROUPS HAS ~~WORSENE~~ ^{shown no improvement,} ITS MEMBERS, WHO TOOK SERIOUSLY THE HELSINKI

PLEDGE BY THEIR OWN COUNTRIES 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 PRISONS, LABOR CAMPS, SPECIAL PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS

AND INTERNAL EXILE. INDEED, IN THIS VERY MONTH, AMERICANS ARE

COMMEMORATING THE SIXTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF

BOTH THE UKRAINIAN AND LITHUANIAN HELSINKI GROUPS, BOTH OF WHICH

HAVE BEEN PARTICULARLY HARD HIT.

THOUSANDS OF OTHER INDIVIDUALS INCUR VARIOUS FORMS OF REPRESSION

AS A RESULT OF ACTIVITY WHICH IS COMPATIBLE WITH THE TENETS

The United States is, of course, pleased with the recent release of Lech Wabasa. And we look forward to further actions on the part of the Warsaw government that suggest a greater willingness to trust those it governs with the welfare of Poland.

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OF THE FINAL ACT. JEWISH, ETHNIC GERMAN AND ARMENIAN EMIGRATION HAS REACHED ITS LOWEST POINT IN TEN YEARS: LESS THAN 5,000 SOVIET JEWS, ETHNIC GERMANS, ARMENIANS AND OTHERS ARE EXPECTED TO BE GRANTED EXIT PERMISSION THIS YEAR, OR ROUGHLY ONE-TWELFTH THE NUMBER AS RECENTLY AS 1979. MOREOVER, THOSE COURAGEOUS ENOUGH TO TRY TO OBTAIN EXIT PERMISSION HAVE FOUND SEVERE OBSTACLES PLACED IN THEIR PATH. THERE ARE ALSO TRAGIC CASES, AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE DIVIDED FAMILY HUNGER STRIKES THAT TOOK PLACE THIS SUMMER IN MOSCOW, OF SEPARATION FROM LOVED ONES. PERSECUTION OF BELIEVERS, NATIONALISTS, INDEED, ANYONE WHO DOES NOT PRACTICE A CONFORMITY SWALLOWED LIKE PILLS, CONTINUES ON A DAILY BASIS AND HAS EVEN INTENSIFIED. JAMMING OF WESTERN RADIO BROADCASTS HAS NOT CEASED.

THESE ARE ONLY A FEW EXAMPLES WHICH ILLUSTRATE SOVIET LACK OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN PRINCIPLES OF THE FINAL ACT. IS IT ANY SURPRISE THAT THESE VIOLATIONS HAVE SEVERELY DAMAGED THE CREDIBILITY OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT IN THE EYES OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE? CAN IT SURPRISE THE SOVIET

GOVERNMENT THAT THIS LACK OF FAITH IN ITS WILLINGNESS TO ADHERE TO ITS OWN COMMITMENTS HAS SPILLED OVER INTO OTHER AREAS--INCLUDING ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT? THE SOVIET UNION, AS WELL AS OTHER EAST-BLOC SIGNATORIES, MUST REALIZE THAT 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

DIFFICULT PROBLEMS CONFRONT US. WHAT CAN BE DONE TO ALLEVIATE THEM? PRETENDING THAT SERIOUS VIOLATIONS DO NOT EXIST WILL NOT MAKE THE PROBLEMS DISAPPEAR. NOR WILL THEY ENHANCE THE CREDIBILITY OF THE CSCE PROCESS. ON THE OTHER HAND, GOOD FAITH GESTURES ON THE PART OF THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER EASTERN SIGNATORIES TOWARDS IMPROVED COMPLIANCE WOULD CERTAINLY ALLEVIATE THE PRESENT TENSION. THEY WOULD PROVIDE A FAVORABLE CLIMATE FOR FURTHER, MEANINGFUL DIALOGUE. THE ACCEPTANCE OF TWO PROPOSALS DEALING WITH HUMAN RIGHTS AND FAMILY REUNIFICATION WHICH HAVE ALREADY BEEN INTRODUCED WOULD BE A START.

CONCRETE STEPS CAN ALSO BE TAKEN TO IMPROVE THE SITUATION IN POLAND, A SITUATION PARTICULARLY DISTURBING TO THE U.S. CONGRESS AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. ANY GENUINE IMPROVEMENTS IN POLAND--THE RELEASE OF INTERNED TRADE UNIONISTS AND POLITICAL PRISONERS *besides* ~~INCLUDING~~ LECH WALESZA, 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 PROMPT WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET TROOPS FROM AFGHANISTAN WOULD HELP US BEGIN TO REBUILD THE CONFIDENCE ON WHICH TRUE SECURITY AND COOPERATION DEPENDS. IT WOULD ALSO CLEAR THE WAY FOR A POLITICAL SOLUTION THERE--ONE LEADING TO THE RESTORATION OF A TRULY INDEPENDENT AFGHANISTAN.

THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES, AND ESPECIALLY I MIGHT ADD, DO THOSE OF US IN THE U.S. CONGRESS, THAT THERE ARE OTHER MEASURES THE SOVIET UNION MIGHT TAKE IN THE HUMANITARIAN AREA, WHICH WOULD BE VIEWED POSITIVELY BY THE WEST. AMONG THEM ARE:

1. THE EASING AND REMOVAL OF BUREAUCRATIC IMPEDIMENTS TO THE EMIGRATION PROCESS;

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 FURTHER PERSECUTION OF THESE GROUPS;

4. A CESSATION OF ARRESTS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, NATIONAL RIGHTS AND RELIGIOUS RIGHTS ACTIVISTS;

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.

POSITIVE MOVEMENT IN ANY OF THESE FIELDS WOULD BE LOOKED UPON FAVORABLY NOT ONLY BY THE U.S. BUT BY ALL SIGNATORIES.

NEEDLESS TO SAY, THEY WOULD BE WARMLY WELCOMED.

A REALISTIC ATTITUDE

WE OF THE UNITED STATES REALIZE THAT THE PATH TOWARDS THE

IDEALS WHICH THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT REPRESENTS IS STREWN WITH OBSTACLES. WE RECOGNIZE THE IMPERFECTIONS OF OUR OWN COUNTRY; WE ACKNOWLEDGE A NEED TO IMPROVE OUR OWN IMPLEMENTATION. 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 CHANGE REALITY SO THAT IT MORE CLOSELY CONFORMS WITH THE IDEAL. LIKE THE CSCE PROCESS ITSELF, OURS IS AN ONGOING AND EARNEST DIALOGUE. TO ENSURE CREDIBILITY, WE, NO LESS THAN ALL OF YOU, MUST BE FRANK AND OPEN. ALTHOUGH AT TIMES OUR WORDS TAKE ON A SHARP TONE, THEY ARE FAR BETTER THAN SILENCE, OR THE MUFFLED ASSENT THAT LOOKS THE OTHER WAY AS BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS ARE STIFLED, AND THE FINAL ACT ITSELF RENDERED A FALSE FRONT OF GLOBAL EXPEDIENCY.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LET ME ASSURE THE DELEGATIONS REPRESENTED HERE THAT THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION TO THIS MEETING WILL

CONTINUE TO WORK TOWARD THE HARMONY I MENTIONED EARLIER--SOMETHING WHICH HAS PROVED ELUSIVE BUT SOMETHING WHICH IS ESSENTIAL TO THE INTERESTS OF US ALL. I HOPE THOSE EFFORTS MIGHT SUCCEED. I HOPE THAT I MIGHT ATTEND THE NEXT FOLLOW-UP MEETING OF THE CSCE IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF RELAXED TENSIONS, ENHANCED COOPERATION AND LASTING SECURITY IN EUROPE.

SIXTY-FOUR YEARS AGO THIS MONTH, A SHATTERED EUROPE CRAWLED OUT OF THE TRENCHES TO SURVEY THE MUD AND BLOOD AND HUMAN WASTAGE OF WAR. A CONFERENCE OF STATESMEN GATHERED AT VERSAILLES, TO PLAN A PEACE THAT TURNED INTO PREPARATION FOR RENEWED FIGHTING, AND TO SIGN THEIR NAMES TO ELOQUENT SENTIMENTS THAT BARELY SURVIVED THE CONFERENCE ITSELF. A GREAT AMERICAN PRESIDENT NAMED WOODROW WILSON BROUGHT THE PEACE TREATY HOME, AND ASKED HIS PEOPLE TO SHED ONCE AND FOR ALL THEIR ISOLATION FROM AN EVENTFUL WORLD.

"THE STAGE IS SET, THE DESTINY DISCLOSED," HE TOLD THE UNITED STATES SENATE." IT HAS COME ABOUT BY NO PLAN OF OUR CONCEIVING, BUT BY THE HAND OF GOD WHO LED US INTO THIS WAY.

WE CANNOT TURN BACK. WE CAN ONLY GO FORWARD, WITH LIFTED EYES AND FRESHENED SPIRIT, TO FOLLOW THE VISION...THE LIGHT STREAMS UPON THE PATH AHEAD, AND NOWHERE ELSE."

MR. CHAIRMAN, FELLOW DELEGATES: THE WORLD AVERTED ITS ATTENTION FROM WOODROW WILSON'S VISION, AND THE CARNAGE WAS FRIGHTFUL. TODAY, WE MEET, THE DIPLOMATIC DESCENDANTS OF VERSAILLES AND ALL THE OTHER CONFERENCES CALLED TO BRING PEACE AND GUARANTEE THE RIGHTS OF HUMAN BEINGS TO ENJOY THAT PEACE. THE WORLD LOOKS TO US FOR SOMETHING BETTER THAN AN UNEASY STATUS QUO. IT EXPECTS SOMETHING NOBLER THAN CYNICISM, SOMETHING FINER THAN PROMISES MADE AND BROKEN. THE STAGE IS SET, THE DESTINY DISCLOSED...~~AND~~ IN THE WORDS OF WOODROW WILSON, "DARE WE REJECT IT AND BREAK THE WORLD'S HEART?"

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P-1-3

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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 LESSENER. THESE BRIGHT SPOTS, UNFORTUNATELY, ARE OVERSHADOWED BY A DARK CANOPY OF REGRESSION. EQUALLY DISTURBING IS THE CONTINUING DETERIORATION IN EASTERN BLOC COMPLIANCE SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THIS FOLLOW-UP CONFERENCE.

THE PAINFUL IRONY OF POLAND

THE EVIDENCE OF THIS IS BOTH TRAGIC AND COMPELLING. THE DELICATE STRUCTURE OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN POLAND, THE FOUNDATIONS OF WHICH WERE LAID PRIOR TO THE BRUTAL IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW LAST YEAR, HAS BEEN ALL BUT DESTROYED. THE SOVIET UNION, VIOLATING BOTH THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT, WAS INSTRUMENTAL IN THIS DESTRUCTION. RECENT ACTIONS, SUCH

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AS THE BANNING OF SOLIDARITY, HAVE DONE NOTHING TO RESTORE CONFIDENCE IN POLISH AND SOVIET FIDELITY TO THEIR FINAL ACT OBLIGATIONS.

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT'S TREATMENT OF THE HELSINKI MONITORING GROUPS HAS WORSENERED. ITS MEMBERS, WHO TOOK SERIOUSLY THE HELSINKI PLEDGE BY THEIR OWN COUNTRIES 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 PRISONS, LABOR CAMPS, SPECIAL PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS AND INTERNAL EXILE. INDEED, IN THIS VERY MONTH, AMERICANS ARE COMMEMORATING THE SIXTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BOTH THE UKRAINIAN AND LITHUANIAN HELSINKI GROUPS, BOTH OF WHICH HAVE BEEN PARTICULARLY HARD HIT.

THOUSANDS OF OTHER INDIVIDUALS INCUR VARIOUS FORMS OF REPRESSION AS A RESULT OF ACTIVITY WHICH IS COMPATIBLE WITH THE TENETS

OF THE FINAL ACT. JEWISH, ETHNIC GERMAN AND ARMENIAN EMIGRATION HAS REACHED ITS LOWEST POINT IN TEN YEARS: LESS THAN 5,000 SOVIET JEWS, ETHNIC GERMANS, ARMENIANS AND OTHERS ARE EXPECTED TO BE GRANTED EXIT PERMISSION THIS YEAR, OR ROUGHLY ONE-TWELFTH THE NUMBER AS RECENTLY AS 1979. MOREOVER, THOSE COURAGEOUS ENOUGH TO TRY TO OBTAIN EXIT PERMISSION HAVE FOUND SEVERE OBSTACLES PLACED IN THEIR PATH. THERE ARE ALSO TRAGIC CASES, AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE DIVIDED FAMILY HUNGER STRIKES THAT TOOK PLACE THIS SUMMER IN MOSCOW, OF SEPARATION FROM LOVED ONES. PERSECUTION OF BELIEVERS, NATIONALISTS, INDEED, ANYONE WHO DOES NOT PRACTICE A CONFORMITY SWALLOWED LIKE PILLS CONTINUES ON A DAILY BASIS AND HAS EVEN INTENSIFIED. JAMMING OF WESTERN RADIO BROADCASTS HAS NOT CEASED.

THESE ARE ONLY A FEW EXAMPLES WHICH ILLUSTRATE SOVIET LACK OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN PRINCIPLES OF THE FINAL ACT. IS IT ANY SURPRISE THAT THESE VIOLATIONS HAVE SEVERELY DAMAGED THE CREDIBILITY OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT IN THE EYES OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE? CAN IT SURPRISE THE SOVIET

GOVERNMENT THAT THIS LACK OF FAITH IN ITS WILLINGNESS TO ADHERE TO ITS OWN COMMITMENTS HAS SPILLED OVER INTO OTHER AREAS--INCLUDING ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT? THE SOVIET UNION, AS WELL AS OTHER EAST-BLOC SIGNATORIES, MUST REALIZE THAT 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

DIFFICULT PROBLEMS CONFRONT US. WHAT CAN BE DONE TO ALLEVIATE THEM? PRETENDING THAT SERIOUS VIOLATIONS DO NOT EXIST WILL NOT MAKE THE PROBLEMS DISAPPEAR. NOR WILL THEY ENHANCE THE CREDIBILITY OF THE CSCE PROCESS. ON THE OTHER HAND, GOOD FAITH GESTURES ON THE PART OF THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER EASTERN SIGNATORIES TOWARDS IMPROVED COMPLIANCE WOULD CERTAINLY ALLEVIATE THE PRESENT TENSION. THEY WOULD PROVIDE A FAVORABLE CLIMATE FOR FURTHER, MEANINGFUL DIALOGUE. THE ACCEPTANCE OF TWO PROPOSALS DEALING WITH HUMAN RIGHTS AND FAMILY REUNIFICATION WHICH HAVE ALREADY BEEN INTRODUCED WOULD BE A START.

CONCRETE STEPS CAN ALSO BE TAKEN TO IMPROVE THE SITUATION IN POLAND, A SITUATION PARTICULARLY DISTURBING TO THE U.S. CONGRESS AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. ANY GENUINE IMPROVEMENTS IN POLAND--THE RELEASE OF INTERNED TRADE UNIONISTS AND POLITICAL PRISONERS, INCLUDING LECH WALESZA, 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 PROMPT WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET TROOPS FROM AFGHANISTAN WOULD HELP US BEGIN TO REBUILD THE CONFIDENCE ON WHICH TRUE SECURITY AND COOPERATION DEPENDS. IT WOULD ALSO CLEAR THE WAY FOR A POLITICAL SOLUTION THERE--ONE LEADING TO THE RESTORATION OF A TRULY INDEPENDENT AFGHANISTAN.

THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES, AND ESPECIALLY I MIGHT ADD, DO THOSE OF US IN THE U.S. CONGRESS, THAT THERE ARE OTHER MEASURES THE SOVIET UNION MIGHT TAKE IN THE HUMANITARIAN AREA, WHICH WOULD BE VIEWED POSITIVELY BY THE WEST. AMONG THEM ARE:

1. THE EASING AND REMOVAL OF BUREAUCRATIC IMPEDIMENTS TO THE EMIGRATION PROCESS;

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 FURTHER PERSECUTION OF THESE GROUPS;
4. A CESSATION OF ARRESTS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, NATIONAL RIGHTS AND RELIGIOUS RIGHTS ACTIVISTS;
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.

POSITIVE MOVEMENT IN ANY OF THESE FIELDS WOULD BE LOOKED UPON FAVORABLY NOT ONLY BY THE U.S. BUT BY ALL SIGNATORIES. NEEDLESS TO SAY, THEY WOULD BE WARMLY WELCOMED.

A REALISTIC ATTITUDE

WE OF THE UNITED STATES REALIZE THAT THE PATH TOWARDS THE

IDEALS WHICH THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT REPRESENTS IS STREWN WITH OBSTACLES. WE RECOGNIZE THE IMPERFECTIONS OF OUR OWN COUNTRY; WE ACKNOWLEDGE A NEED TO IMPROVE OUR OWN IMPLEMENTATION. 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 CHANGE REALITY SO THAT IT MORE CLOSELY CONFORMS WITH THE IDEAL. LIKE THE CSCE PROCESS ITSELF, OURS IS AN ONGOING AND EARNEST DIALOGUE. TO ENSURE CREDIBILITY, WE, NO LESS THAN ALL OF YOU, MUST BE FRANK AND OPEN. ALTHOUGH AT TIMES OUR WORDS TAKE ON A SHARP TONE, THEY ARE FAR BETTER THAN SILENCE, OR THE MUFFLED ASSENT THAT LOOKS THE OTHER WAY AS BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS ARE STIFLED, AND THE FINAL ACT ITSELF RENDERED A FALSE FRONT OF GLOBAL EXPEDIENCY.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LET ME ASSURE THE DELEGATIONS REPRESENTED HERE THAT THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION TO THIS MEETING WILL

CONTINUE TO WORK TOWARD THE HARMONY I MENTIONED EARLIER--SOMETHING WHICH HAS PROVED ELUSIVE BUT SOMETHING WHICH IS ESSENTIAL TO THE INTERESTS OF US ALL. I HOPE THOSE EFFORTS MIGHT SUCCEED. I HOPE THAT I MIGHT ATTEND THE NEXT FOLLOW-UP MEETING OF THE CSCE IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF RELAXED TENSIONS, ENHANCED COOPERATION AND LASTING SECURITY IN EUROPE.

SIXTY-FOUR YEARS AGO THIS MONTH, A SHATTERED EUROPE CRAWLED OUT OF THE TRENCHES TO SURVEY THE MUD AND BLOOD AND HUMAN WASTAGE OF WAR. A CONFERENCE OF STATESMEN GATHERED AT VERSAILLES, TO PLAN A PEACE THAT TURNED INTO PREPARATION FOR RENEWED FIGHTING, AND TO SIGN THEIR NAMES TO ELOQUENT SENTIMENTS THAT BARELY SURVIVED THE CONFERENCE ITSELF. A GREAT AMERICAN PRESIDENT NAMED WOODROW WILSON BROUGHT THE PEACE TREATY HOME, AND ASKED HIS PEOPLE TO SHED ONCE AND FOR ALL THEIR ISOLATION FROM AN EVENTFUL WORLD.

"THE STAGE IS SET, THE DESTINY DISCLOSED," HE TOLD THE UNITED STATES SENATE." IT HAS COME ABOUT BY NO PLAN OF OUR CONCEIVING, BUT BY THE HAND OF GOD WHO LED US INTO THIS WAY.

WE CANNOT TURN BACK. WE CAN ONLY GO FORWARD, WITH LIFTED EYES
AND FRESHENED SPIRIT, TO FOLLOW THE VISION...THE LIGHT STREAMS
UPON THE PATH AHEAD, AND NOWHERE ELSE."

MR. CHAIRMAN, FELLOW DELEGATES: THE WORLD AVERTED ITS
ATTENTION FROM WOODROW WILSON'S VISION, AND THE CARNAGE WAS
FRIGHTFUL. TODAY, WE MEET, THE DIPLOMATIC DESCENDANTS OF VERSAILLES
AND ALL THE OTHER CONFERENCES CALLED TO BRING PEACE AND GUARANTEE
THE RIGHTS OF HUMAN BEINGS TO ENJOY THAT PEACE. THE WORLD LOOKS
TO US FOR SOMETHING BETTER THAN AN UNEASY STATUS QUO. IT EXPECTS
SOMETHING NOBLER THAN CYNICISM, SOMETHING FINER THAN PROMISES
MADE AND BROKEN. THE STAGE IS SET, THE DESTINY DISCLOSED...AND
IN THE WORDS OF WOODROW WILSON, "DARE WE REJECT IT AND BREAK
THE WORLD'S HEART?"

REMARKS BY SENATOR ROBERT DOLE
PLENARY OF THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND
COOPERATION IN EUROPE (CSCE)
NOVEMBER 23, 1982

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."

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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

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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 commemorating 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.

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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.

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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.