

Obviously, we also use other instruments - sanctions, both mandatory and voluntary; direct aid to organizations who support the families of the victims of apartheid; scholarships to black South Africans; diplomatic initiatives to seek to influence the policies of our allies.

Canada alone has not much influence on South Africa. Our economic impact is small, compared with that of countries like Britain, Germany, France, Switzerland, Japan and the USA. Our moral and our diplomatic influence is best applied systematically, rather than wasted in one burst of drama. We have decided deliberately on a policy of step-by-step pressure, and upon the Commonwealth as a central means to make that work.

Here is what has happened so far.

At the Nassau Commonwealth Conference last year, Mr. Mulroney and other Heads of Government established a small group of Eminent Persons, to seek a dialogue between South African authorities and genuine leaders of the black opposition. Archbishop Ted Scott of the Anglican Church of Canada was one of that Group, and they did everything possible to create conditions for peaceful change. In the end, South Africa rejected that effort at peaceful change, but by their rejection demonstrated to the world the depth of their opposition to real reform.

In London, in August, Canada, India, Australia, Zambia, Zimbabwe, the Bahamas and Britain met to review the Eminent Persons report. Six of those nations, including Canada, agreed on a wide list of common actions against apartheid. All seven, including Britain, agreed on a narrower list. The impact of Britain's actions is greater because its economic ties with South Africa are strong. Britain's participation in the package of measures would not likely have happened at all without its sense of connection to the Commonwealth.

That leadership, by the Commonwealth, has now been followed by the European Community, the United States, and Japan, whose collective economic impact on South Africa far exceeds that of Canada alone. The private sector, in several countries, has joined that pressure, steadily withdrawing economic support from a regime which practices apartheid.