

Party and many others. It is the most ambitious attempt yet to end the tragic communal violence which has erupted in the wake of political change in South Africa. Continuation of violence will do its perpetrators no good. The Accord is also a persuasive model for a multi-party conference, to develop transitional arrangements which would make it possible for all the parties to participate fully and freely in negotiations. We hope that the first stage of these negotiations, the multi-party conference, will be launched well before year's end.

The past two years have indeed taken us a long way down the path towards democratization in South Africa. But we are not there yet. Apartheid is still alive and well. Black South Africans are still denied access to hospitals and schools, and are intimidated when they try to use the legally integrated community facilities. They continue to fear and mistrust the state security forces. They are still, too often, victims of violence. They are still denied the vote. Prime Minister Manley said yesterday we need progress which is irreversible. We should avoid self-congratulation which could be premature. We agree.

Our challenge in the Commonwealth Foreign Minister's Committee over the past two years has been to give credit when change has taken place; to encourage all the parties to proceed to negotiations as rapidly as possible; and to sustain the pressure for further change.

The major issue confronting us has been the management of Commonwealth sanctions. On this issue, we were very much guided by the Kuala Lumpur Statement on South Africa which declared that the only justification for sanctions against South Africa was the pressure they created for fundamental political change. Their purpose was not punitive, but to abolish apartheid by bringing Pretoria to the negotiating table and keeping it there until that change was irreversibly secured.

My colleagues and I firmly believe that international sanctions have played and continue to play an indispensable role in bringing about change in South Africa. We have proposed maintaining sanctions pressure through all stages of the negotiations process, up to and including the adoption of a new constitution. We also emphasized the importance of the Commonwealth remaining united and purposeful in its application of sanctions, and continuing to lead world opinion concerning South Africa.

At the Special Session in London, Foreign Ministers adopted a Programmed Management Approach to sanctions. It links changes in the application of our sanctions not to mere statements of intent but to the adoption of real and practical steps in the dismantling of apartheid.