One is the help we give the victims of apartheid, and the opponents of apartheid, on the ground in Southern Africa. That is material help, in the form of aid and education and information. It is also the psychological support we provide through an active Canadian presence. For example, there is a growing view, among the opponents of apartheid in South Africa, that it is valuable to them to have a Canadian embassy in that country

The second element of our influence is in leading other countries to increase international pressure against apartheid. We know the reality that the most significant pressure would come from South Africa's largest trading partners - Britain, the United States, Germany, Japan, and others. Most of those countries are not going to change their policies dramatically. But they are changing them gradually, and part of the reason is that countries like Canada use our influence on our friends to urge more pressure against apartheid. The last two Economic Summits had apartheid on the agenda, because Brian Mulroney insisted. The package of measures adopted by the Commonwealth was designed carefully to encourage South Africa's major trading partners to increase their own pressure against apartheid. The Commonwealth now is embarked on a program to make sanctions more effective and more widespread, and Canada plays a leading role in that initiative.

The apartheid system will not end suddenly. There must be steady, increasing pressure. Canada is almost uniquely placed to lead the application of that steady pressure. We are the only country in the world to belong simultaneously to the Commonwealth, La Francophonie, and the Economic Summit, and we are leaders in each. We have earned the credibility with both Summit countries and the Front Line States, and we use that credibility to build pressures against apartheid. That is a very important role, which could be put at risk, if we took ourselves out of South Africa. The time may come when we must break relations as we served notice we are prepared to do. That would send a strong message but could also end our influence. It is a judgment call. For the time being, in our judgment, it is better to stay and apply our influence.