

general scepticism about the effectiveness of sanctions anywhere. A second is the question as to why, in a world where human rights are too regularly violated, South Africa is singled out. The third is an apprehension about the methods and the motives of the African National Congress. Those concerns sometime mask more suspect sentiments, but each issue is legitimate itself, and must be addressed if we are to continue to build the consensus in Canada against apartheid.

Reservations about sanctions are shared by many of the most articulate opponents of apartheid in South Africa, and by other serious people everywhere in the world. Let me summarize their concern. Sanctions can be circumvented. They were in the case of both Rhodesia and the Soviet Union, and the ingenuity of the sanctions-busters has been mobilized again in South Africa. Sanctions distort and restrict the international trade and payment system, upon which world prosperity depends. They can harm some of the victims of apartheid, and certainly impose some price upon countries invoking sanctions. Their burden falls unequally upon the nations most exposed to South Africa, most vulnerable to retaliation.

Certainly, it seems to us that a policy based solely on sanctions would not mount the pressure we need. For one thing, we see little likelihood of the governments of major economies applying sanctions on the scale that would be required to force Pretoria to change. That result may come in time, and certainly Canada will use our influence to build the weight of sanctions, but it is not realistic to expect an impenetrable wall to be set up suddenly, or even quickly.

On the other hand, sanctions are one of the few peaceful options open to countries opposing apartheid. They are visible and tangible proof to the average South African that the world sees their system as repugnant, and they demonstrate to the victims of apartheid that other nations are prepared to do more than talk. The current set of sanctions has undoubtedly contributed to the growing stream of private decisions to take money out of a system that is evidently less stable. Sanctions add to the cost and to the inconvenience of maintaining apartheid.