CIIPS Occasional Paper No. 9

interests behind them and a detailed knowledge of their interacting constituencies. Adam and Moodley aim at the hidden reality beyond the pious resolutions and public posturing. They lay bare some of the social conditions and constraints under which these leaders act and thereby contribute to a more nuanced understanding of Southern Africa.

A most puzzling question remains as to why a Canadian conservative government with a corporate constituency should pursue a Southern African policy so radically different from its former colonial mentor, Britain. Not only did Ottawa genuinely clash with the Thatcher government, it usurped the moral leadership on this issue in the Commonwealth. While the Trudeau liberals, contrary to their image, would not let morality interfere with profits, most Canadian Tories, again contrary to expectations, pushed a much more activist stance on Apartheid. Whether intentional or not, a major function of anti-apartheid activism was to define Canadian identity rather than affect the South African power equation. The more Canada became economically and culturally integrated into the empire to its South, the more the Apartheid issue lent itself to asserting a symbolically vanishing sovereignty and gaining Ottawa international credibility.

To assess the impact of Canadian and Western involvement on its targets in Southern Africa is a difficult, if not impossible task. Well-reasoned claims about the decisive effects of sanctions on the policy shifts of the de Klerk government are contradicted by equally sharp counterclaims about the influence of other more significant factors, such as the changing world scene, developments within Afrikanerdom, and heightened domestic resistance. However, without doubt, sanctions induced a sense of isolation. South Africa was ostracized by the world. On the basis of survey data, this study probes, probably for the first time, the way in which South African whites deflected outside criticism through a variety of rationalizing self-deceptions and how politicised blacks perceived Canadian support both positively with praise and negatively with scepticism. The chapter on "Images of Canada" among South Africans also reveals deficiencies in the way in which the Canadian stance is communicated.