

The South African Government may finally understand that it does not hold all the keys to the future of South Africa. Forced separateness is increasingly difficult to sustain in an era of rapid black urbanisation, and the monopolization of political power cannot withstand forever the pressures of an increasingly politicized majority. Some white South Africans have accepted and work for a non-racial future. Others remain paralyzed by fear, ascribing to their black countrymen their own attitudes, and hence believing there exist only two alternatives - to dominate or to perish. I believe a third alternative - non-racial democracy - is not only viable but also reflects black South Africa's vision of the future. It is this vision of the future that we hope will be promoted through dialogue across the racial divide, and to this end Canada has put in place a \$1.6 million Fund to Promote Dialogue Among South Africans.

If the prospects for fundamental change and negotiations towards non-racial, representative government are better than ever before, it is also due in large measure to sustained international pressure. Economic and other sanctions, particular financial sanctions, are working. South African officials themselves acknowledge the very financial squeeze they are facing. Not only do sanctions directly increase the cost of maintaining apartheid, but, far more importantly, they also have a psychological impact. Our various experts have highlighted the importance of the forthcoming debt rescheduling. Pressure must be maintained until there is concrete evidence of fundamental change.

What in our view represents change? The best starting point is the "possible negotiating concept" of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group. The release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners must be accompanied by the unbanning of the ANC and PAC, the normalization of black politics, an end to the state of emergency, and, in the context of a suspension of violence on all sides, the beginning of a process of meaningful negotiations towards non-racial, representative government.

This is our last meeting before Commonwealth Heads gather in October. Over the past two years we have kept before the international community the need to sustain international pressure, particularly sanctions, to complement internal efforts to promote change in South Africa.

Much can and will happen before the Kuala Lumpur meeting, but the message is constant. Our attitude should not be to wait and see. Pressure has brought us this far, and cannot relent until we see action rather than just talk about fundamental change.