

I do not know if we will find a way that works. Certainly, it is easier to pass resolutions than to put together effective packages. A characteristic of the Commonwealth is that we have been as interested in real solutions as in resolutions. That is the spirit in which Canada - and every Commonwealth country I have spoken to - is approaching the Vancouver meeting.

Prime Minister Mulroney has made clear our willingness, if other measures fail, to end completely our economic and diplomatic relations with South Africa. It may come to that, but, before we end our influence, we want to use it in the most effective ways we can. The purpose, after all, is not just to conde to end it.

I want to make one reference to violence. The Canadian Government does not condone violence by anyone - not the Government of South Africa; not the African National Congress; not the violence that is at the core of apartheid. It is that basic violence - the violence at the heart of apartheid - which must be ended if the other is to end. Public opinion, particularly in Western countries like mine, must be brought to understand that organizations like the ANC practised non-violence for decades; that leaders of the UDF, explicitly non-violent, are thrown in prison anyway; that the deaths that shock us all come far more often from the actions of the Government than the actions of the ANC. Since 1976, it is estimated that there have been 100 to 200 deaths attributable to ANC guerrilla attacks. A recent survey by Pretoria University alleges the South African Government was responsible for over 2300 deaths in 1984 to 1986 alone. No discussion of Southern Africa can ignore those facts.

The Commonwealth of nations will be here long after apartheid is gone. A changed South Africa may be a member again, back in the family. And then there will be other dominating issues - as there were when the Colombo Plan was created; when Zimbabwe grew out of Rhodesia; when programs were launched specifically to help small States. The nature of those issues can't be foreseen - but the way of resolving them can be. The best way for the world to solve problems is to bring together the different peoples, the different parties. Most international organizations try to do that. In 1987, and for the foreseeable future, few do it better than the Commonwealth.