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care, but it characterizes the Commonwealth as an agency of action, not just talk. So does the quieter progress made on other issues – the survival of small island nations; the pioneering studies on the world financial and trading system, and on indebtedness among developing countries; the nurturing of nearly 300 non-governmental Commonwealth organizations.

I am particularly pleased by the informal practice of having Commonwealth ministers meet just before major UN conferences, to explore the possibility that this particular family might find agreement that could elude larger assemblies. Special Commonwealth consultation in UNESCO has helped bring both progress and perspective to the process of reform required in that organization. The meeting of Commonwealth ministers responsible for women's affairs, just before the end-of-decade conference in Nairobi, helped focus attention on the basic questions of access to technology and credit and ownership of land.

That practice takes advantage of the two characteristics which make the Commonwealth successful. The first characteristic, of course, is that we reach across oceans and languages and races and conditions of development. The second characteristic, just as important, is precisely that we have developed the habit of working together, or looking beyond differences, instead of seeking refuge in them. To return to my own experience, the conference at Lusaka was one of three that summer. It was preceded by an economic summit at Tokyo in which Great Britain and Canada participated. It was followed by a meeting of the non-aligned in Havana, in which Great Britain and Canada did not participate, but much of the rest of the Commonwealth did. Of the three meetings, the rhetoric was calmest, the perspective broadest, at Lusaka. That ability to find common ground, in a world tempted by extremes, is what makes the Commonwealth invaluable.

Our great challenge now, of course, is to apply that tradition to make progress against the scourge of *apartheid*. Many of our national governments have taken individual actions respecting South Africa. In early June, I announced a series of measures by Canada, ending our double taxation agreement and the application of our global export insurance; tightening our Code of Conduct and requiring the publication of compliance reports; stopping exports of sensitive equipment like computers; and increasing substantially our funding of the education and the training of blacks in South Africa and Canada. In our case, these actions and others were the first results of a policy review our new government is conducting. I made it clear that other steps would follow, and that they would be considered in close consultation with other members of the Commonwealth.

Our late prime minister, John Diefenbaker, was a leader in the decision by the Commonwealth Conference of 1961 to expel South Africa. He said, at that time, that there would always be a light in the window for South Africa – an opportunity to resume old ties when *apartheid* was abandoned, and all South Africans were treated on the same basis under their law and constitution.

That conference of expulsion was nearly a quarter century ago and *apartheid* continues and violence grows in South Africa, as the revulsion against *apartheid* grows in my country. We cannot accept that the majority of South Africans should remain on the outside, deprived of dignity and basic human rights, harassed by police, arbitrarily held in detention, denied citizenship, some separated from their families, all deprived of a true voice in their own country's affairs.

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