

more have been injured and imprisoned. The sense of drift towards steadily greater confrontation and massive violence grows daily.

Faced with this situation, the international community has begun to apply concerted pressure on South Africa. The government of Canada, supported by all parties and the overwhelming majority of the Canadian people, has made its opposition to apartheid very clear. Speaking in the House of Commons on September 13, 1985, the Secretary of State for External Affairs declared that "Canadians are offended by and abhor the practice of institutionalized racism by a society that claims to share our values." He went on to say that "the government of South Africa should have no doubt that we will invoke full sanctions unless there is tangible movement away from apartheid." The question before the government and this committee is whether "tangible movement" is occurring and, if not, how and when to apply sanctions.

These questions were debated extensively before the committee. We are persuaded that severe economic sanctions, if widely supported, would be effective in putting pressure on the South African government. As one witness pointed out, the proof of their effectiveness is that South Africa has made advocacy of international sanctions a treasonable offence. Testimony before the committee persuades us that the best means of using this instrument is through unrelenting and co-ordinated step-by-step pressure by the international community.

Canada is currently seeking to work within the Commonwealth as a channel for international influence. The Commonwealth Accord, agreed to in Nassau in October 1985, imposed a limited set of sanctions and called upon the government of South Africa to take a number of steps "in a genuine manner and as a matter of urgency":

- (a) Declare that the system of apartheid will be dismantled and specific and meaningful action taken in fulfilment of that intent.
- (b) Terminate the existing state of emergency.
- (c) Release immediately and unconditionally Nelson Mandela and all others imprisoned and detained for their opposition to apartheid.
- (d) Establish political freedom and specifically lift the existing ban on the African National Congress and other political parties.
- (e) Initiate, in the context of a suspension of violence on all sides, a process of dialogue across lines of colour, politics and religion, with a view to establishing a non-racial and representative government.

The Accord also established a Group of Eminent Persons, including Archbishop Edward Scott, Primate of the Anglican Church of Canada, to promote dialogue between the black majority and the South African government as well as monitor and report on the pace and direction of change. The Group was to report to a Commonwealth group of seven heads of government, including the Prime Minister of Canada, which is responsible for formulating further Commonwealth action.

The committee wishes to give strong but qualified support to this process. It is our hope that the Group of Eminent Persons will be able to play a useful and constructive role in encouraging South African dialogue. Failing that, they may help build consensus about future action. It must be recognized that there are major obstacles—particularly the resistance of Great Britain—in the way of strong, co-ordinated action by the Commonwealth. It is therefore incumbent upon the government of Canada to prepare careful contingency plans of its own and to play a leadership role in the Commonwealth.