

I had the honour, in 1979, to lead the Canadian delegation to the Commonwealth Conference in Lusaka. That was a summer of three major international conferences. The first was the Economic Summit, in Tokyo. The second was the Commonwealth Conference in Lusaka and the third was the meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement in Havana. No nation attended all three. No one from Tokyo was at Havana; no one from Havana at Tokyo. However, countries from the Economic Summit and the Non-Aligned Movement came together in the Commonwealth - and found ways, in the intimacy of that family meeting, to make progress that would have been impossible issuing communiqués across the distance between the Economic Summit and the Non-Aligned Movement. I think part of Lord Carrington's inspiration in inventing the phrase "megaphone diplomacy" is that he had experience of the opposite, in the intimacy of the Commonwealth, where there is often a real will to work together.

On difficult questions, the Commonwealth must often choose between staying united and being effective. In some cases, obviously we are most effective by being united. In others, unity must prevail, even at the cost of action. But it is Canada's view that, on the question of fighting apartheid, it is more important that the Commonwealth be effective than we be united. In 1961, and certainly since Nassau, this Commonwealth has played a central role in building steady international pressure to end apartheid. The Eminent Persons Group, while it failed to achieve the negotiations it sought, demonstrated the unique credentials and capacity of the Commonwealth in seeking a peaceful end to apartheid. We are, after all dealing with a former member of the Commonwealth family, in a region where our cooperation has already helped achieve profound change in Zimbabwe and real progress in economic cooperation and human development. The pressure against apartheid, by the Commonwealth and others, has unquestionably been effective both economically and psychologically. So far, tragically, the initial reaction in South Africa has been to become more brutal - but that very repression drives more moderate members of the white community to take their own stand for reform. External pressure encourages that internal change, and we must find the ingenuity to apply pressures that contribute materially to the certainty that apartheid cannot endure, and must be ended.