

large development assistance programs or significant trade relations. The Human Rights Committee should work closely with the Standing Committee on External Affairs and International Trade. At the same time we urge the external affairs committees of both the Senate and the House of Commons to keep human rights issues on their agendas and to place them in the broader context of Canada's overall foreign policy. The human rights findings and recommendations of these committees could form an important element in cabinet consideration of the eligibility list for official development assistance if the committees requested a comprehensive response to their reports from the government, as House of Commons committees are empowered to do under Standing Order 99(2).

The investigation and exposure of human rights violations has some value in and of itself. Generally speaking, however, a determination that violations are taking place is only the first step towards some further action, or at least demands for further action by the international community.

There are occasions when public criticism is an essential human rights tool. But in general a successful human rights policy is like an iceberg: largely out of sight. In describing what he called the "unfortunate tendency in Canada to talk about quiet or loud diplomacy", John Holmes observed to the committee:

Well, of course, any intelligent country uses whichever one is more effective. There are times when quiet diplomacy is much more likely to get some warm bodies out. If you are trying to get people out of a totalitarian country, it is often better to do some private negotiations and not score points by making speeches. (25:46)

Visits abroad by the prime minister, other cabinet ministers and parliamentarians are among the most promising opportunities for expressing human rights concerns using a judicious blend of public pressure and private persuasion. We expect and encourage the government to take advantage of such opportunities, as indeed the Prime Minister did successfully on a recent trip to China and South Korea, the Secretary of State for External Affairs did on an earlier trip to the Soviet Union, and the Minister of External Relations did on her trip to Central America in the fall of 1985. In blending human rights concerns with trade, diplomatic and aid discussions, Canada can convey the message that human rights are an integral, not a peripheral, part of its international relations.

Apart from strictly diplomatic actions, Canada has a large development assistance program that can be put at the service of human rights. The issue of whether and how to do so attracted a great deal of attention in the briefs and submissions to the committee. Generally we hear Canadians saying that there should be links between development assistance and human rights, but carefully constructed links. That is our own approach; in this regard, we strongly endorse the recommendations of a parliamentary predecessor, the Sub-committee on Canada's Relations With Latin America and the Caribbean, as they appear in its report, *New Directions for Canadian Foreign Policy*, (78:14-15) which was tabled in the House of Commons on November 30, 1982.

- Canadian development assistance should be substantially reduced, terminated, or not commenced in cases where gross and systematic violations of human rights make it impossible to promote the central objective of helping the poor.
- Where countries systematically violate human rights or otherwise do not qualify for official development assistance, Canada should seek through international organizations to extend humanitarian assistance and to support those struggling for human rights.