

— Independence for Namibia under UN resolution 435. This would be an important sign that South Africa is willing to accept its neighbours as they are and to live at peace with them.

None of these is as important, however, as the final principles I would cite:

— The release of political prisoners and detainees: the release of the African National Congress (ANC) and United Democratic Front (UDF) leaders who have been driven to resist the system of *apartheid*.

— The initiation of a process of consultation and negotiation with the genuine leaders of those who are called Indian, blacks, and coloureds. This means that such consultations cannot be confined to the homeland leaders.

— And finally, the initiation of a process of reform based on consent not imposition or coercion. Such a process would clearly lead to representative institutions which include blacks.

These are the key steps, for it is not Canada's — nor any other country's — consent or support which is crucial to this process. It is the consent and support of South Africans of every race and colour which counts.

What we are witnessing in South Africa, rather than change, is a deepening crisis. Demonstrations, strikes and acts of resistance against an unjust system continue. They continue to be met with violence, arbitrary arrest and detention-measures of repression and control rather than conciliation.

We condemn the detention of the leaders of the UDF-professor Farouk Meer, and others. We are shocked by the detention of Allan Boesak, the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, who a short while ago visited Canada and spoke to us not of revolution or violence but of justice, equality and reconciliation. We deplore the heartlessness of a government which keeps behind bars the now seriously ill Nelson Mandela.

We call on the South African government to release all those whose offence is simply to oppose *apartheid*. We add the names of Tutu and Boesak to that of Mandela among those who should be invited for dialogue, not rebuffed not relegated to silence, not dismissed with contempt. It would indeed be tragic if history were to repeat itself and the UDF were to be cast into the role of the ANC as something to be stopped, repressed, rendered illegal.

Bishop Tutu can no doubt bear his rebuff from President Botha. Both Nelson Mandela and Allan Boesak may bear their imprisonment. But can South Africa bear the result? It is clear that one more community in South Africa, the business community, is beginning to have its doubts.

Their confidence shaken, business and investors within and outside South Africa have fostered a wave of disinvestment, without the prompting of governments, but surely reflecting both the events on the ground in South Africa and the signals many governments have sent.