

Whatever other lessons might be learned from Africa, the record is consistent that, when majority rule could not be negotiated, it came by violence, fueled by the frustrations of majorities who would not forever be denied citizenship in their own country. That is the lesson of, among others, Kenya, Algeria, Zimbabwe, Mozambique. If the white 14 percent of the population which governs South Africa maintains its racist system, the black majority will respond, inevitably, not with silence but with violence.

We have to take account of both the power and the fear that fuel apartheid. When I met President Chissano of Mozambique in August, he tried to address the understandable fear of white South Africans. "The Afrikaaner", he said, "is as African as I am. We both belong here. There is no other place to which we can return." The African National Congress acted in the same spirit in the meeting in Dakar, Senegal, where white and black South Africans came together to talk about their future together. Zimbabwe itself, with three white Ministers in the Government, and thousands of white citizens involved fully in industry, agriculture, and the public service, is proof that white and black Africans can work together in freedom. The Commonwealth - because of our special reach, across races and around the world - can help ease fears, among both blacks and whites. And Canada, in these circumstances, with our history and our nature, can play a leading role.

But fear is only one element of apartheid; power is another - power defended zealously, exercised ruthlessly.

Sanctions are applied for two purposes - the first economic; the second psychological. There is no doubt that the actions actually taken by Canada and other countries have sent clear messages of disapproval to defenders of apartheid, and of encouragement to its opponents. Nor is there doubt that the economic measures have inspired a vigorous campaign to bust sanctions, or evade them, or frustrate their purpose. Naturally, the South African Government does that; but so may other Governments, so do many businesses. Those actions deserve to be known and, at Lusaka, we authorized terms of reference for two major studies which will bring to light new patterns of trade, new practices of accounting, new routings of shipments.