

from our doubts whether such sanctions could be effective. All of South Africa's major trading partners would have to be involved and, even then, the size and strength of the South African economy would probably enable it to withstand such economic pressures. Indeed, it might be argued that comprehensive sanctions may hasten rather than avert conflict. Setting aside for the moment the continuing controversy over whom would suffer most by the application of sanctions, we must still squarely face the present reality; if we know that sanctions won't happen or won't work, there must be alternative ways to keep the pressure inexorably on.

One of those ways is through this Assembly. That is why we have these debates year after year. South Africa is not impervious to the international criticism heaped upon its head, nor to the various selective boycotts and black-lists applied to its activities. South Africa's leaders are a beleaguered oligarchy — beleaguered by the growing resistance within; beleaguered by the obloquy without. Pressure is what does it, tenacious and unrelenting.

It is traditional that speeches have a conclusion, but this is one area where our statements and our actions cannot end until every person in South Africa enjoys full and equal rights. In 1960 and 1961, some of my time in Ghana was spent assisting refugees from South Africa. I remember it vividly. That was over 20 years ago. Since then there have been some changes in South Africa, but somehow each step forward seems to be followed by hesitation and retreat. The South African government and those who support *apartheid* must recognize that they cannot retreat into their past. There is no solace in regression. There is no stopping the waves of history. We have been lucky so far; it is truly remarkable that the great black leaders of South Africa — the Luthulis, the Mandelas, the Tutus — have always sought change by peaceful means. Remember Bishop Tutu's words: "We deplore all forms of violence, the violence of an oppressive and unjust society and the violence of those seeking to overthrow that society, for we believe that violence is not the answer to the crisis of our land." Time is running out for those who oppose violence. We too must not rest while peaceful change still has a chance. The Canadian government and the Canadian people stand ready to help.