

# Statement

Secretary of  
State for  
External Affairs



# Déclaration

Secrétaire  
d'État aux  
Affaires  
extérieures

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**NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY  
THE HONOURABLE BARBARA MCDOUGALL,  
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
TO THE  
CAPE TOWN PRESS CLUB**

**CAPE TOWN, South Africa  
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External Affairs and  
International Trade Canada

Affaires extérieures et  
Commerce extérieur Canada

**Canada**

I am very happy to be here today as a Canadian, as a former journalist and as one who has come to South Africa to savour first-hand the new winds of freedom and justice that are blowing across this very beloved special country. They carry with them the hopes and dreams of many South Africans, blacks and whites.

Whispering in these winds also are the voices of those who have gone before in this valiant struggle, many of whom, like Steve Biko, died to bring democracy to all South Africans.

It is an exciting time for South Africa, but also one that is fraught with difficulty and danger. Change -- any change -- brings out both the best and the worst in people. Individuals respond to change according to their own visions of where they see themselves in the future.

A nation is the sum total of these individual visions and the corresponding emotions that they generate -- the courage, the honour, the anger, the will (or lack of will) to forgive and the determination to live together in peace.

You have seen that courage here in South Africa -- leaders like Nelson Mandela, and Walter and Albertina Sisulu, and Beyers Naude and President de Klerk. Politicians like Helen Suzman, writers like Alan Paton and Nadine Gordimer, and journalists who would not allow their South Africa to remain silent when fellow human beings were being oppressed and tortured.

You have also seen the anger -- and in many the anger continues.

If South Africa is to make a truly lasting change and assume its rightful place among the nations of the world, the violence must end -- violence from the right and violence from the left, violence by blacks and violence by whites -- all violence -- because violence not only kills those unlucky enough to be in the path of its fury, it also maims those that remain alive. It injures the spirit and it nourishes the anger and the urge for revenge that can contaminate generation after generation.

South Africa's future cannot and will not be built on a river of blood. Those extreme groups who believe that they can subvert the movement toward a basic "culture of democracy" are short-sighted; those leaders who incite their followers to use the force of arms instead of the force of reason, condemn all South Africans to a continuing legacy of death and disorder.

There are fundamental human rights that must be recognized and respected, if peace and order are ever to come to South Africa.

There was a time in the histories of our two countries when our views on human rights converged. I am speaking of 1948, when both our countries were signatories to the United Nations universal Declaration of Human Rights. Your great wartime leader, Jan Smuts, helped write that declaration.

Canada has not been without its own pressures and strains on the rights of its citizens since 1948. We have worked hard on defining and, more importantly, on giving life to those rights, and we continue to work to find accommodations that allow Canadians to live their lives to their full potential, in peace and with dignity.

No country is immune to the baser forces which can erode its integrity from within. But nations must also speak out when they believe that the human rights of an individual or group beyond their own borders are threatened.

Canada's position with regard to South Africa has always been clear. John Diefenbaker spoke for Canada when he declared in 1961 that we would not accept apartheid in any form. We have been active and vocal in the international campaign to bring democracy to all the inhabitants of South Africa ever since.

We have spoken out vigorously at the United Nations and in the Commonwealth. We sharply curtailed official bilateral relations.

We sustained contact with the leadership of the mass movement, in exile and here in South Africa, offering solidarity, education, legal aid and technical co-operation. And we actively encouraged the freedom of the press, financing part of the struggle against censorship.

We also promoted sanctions, a measure that gives no joy or comfort to anyone.

Sanctions are a blunt instrument, a crude mechanism designed to induce change, often at enormous cost to trade, investment and employment in the countries involved.

There are also very real and very high social costs to sanctions -- the loss of human contact, broken family ties and disruption in the free flow of ideas, cultural enrichment, and the sharing of experiences and values.

A woman I spoke to on the weekend who had obviously weathered the "economic" impacts of sanctions quite well, spoke of the "isolation" that she felt, as fewer and fewer people came to visit, to debate, to perform, to stimulate or to share.

There is no question in my mind that sanctions have forced a quickening of the pace for change. It is now time to turn the page and get on with the challenges of a new South Africa because South Africa does matter, not just to South Africans, but to its African neighbours, and to all the nations of the world who share a common destiny, bound up in the harmony of the human race.

Try to imagine a future where the majority of countries in Africa are democratic, working together on behalf of all the peoples of this enormous continent. In a shrinking world, there is tremendous potential for Africa to become a renewed frontier in the twenty-first century!

South Africa can be a beacon of hope for Africa and the world -- hope for reconciliation, development and progress.

The world can certainly use some new models for change. Much of the progress that has been made toward universal standards of human rights unfortunately has come from what Canadian John Holmes has called "the mobilization of shame".

And there is still much to be ashamed of!

The evil of racism is far from vanquished. Throughout much of Africa, catastrophic post-Colonial political and economic failure has left millions of people in misery, their leaders in urgent need of effective principles for political stability and economic progress.

We believe that it is senseless to address these various problems in isolation. Consequently, Canadian foreign policy has been focused on the need to make progress in three basic areas: the establishment of basic human rights; the development of democratic institutions, including free elections and an independent judiciary; and the establishment of "good governance" -- in other words, the sound administration of public resources, including recognition of the needs of the poor, of women, and of minorities and other disadvantaged groups.

In the case of South Africa, Canada has provided assistance to the process of expanding the definition of democracy. We do not seek to prescribe our constitutional system, or any other. Every state must find its own path to freedom. But we do advocate strongly that a political settlement must be secured through a process of peaceful negotiation and ratified through free and fair elections.

For this reason, the world is eagerly watching the first steps toward the sharing of powers in South Africa because those steps will provide an indication of the prospects for peace, stability and equality in South Africa.

As Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, I want to express Canada's recognition of and admiration for the progress that has been made toward democracy and our strong support for future efforts. During my visit, I have had broad discussions on the status and progress of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) negotiations and the prospects for agreement on mechanisms for the transition to democracy.

I will also be sharing my findings with my Commonwealth colleagues.

As you know, Commonwealth leaders at Harare made the sharing of power a major condition for relief of trade and investment sanctions, and I chair the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers, which is responsible for this assessment.

I know that my Commonwealth colleagues share my hope and expectation that through CODESA, agreement on transitional mechanisms will be reached, leading to further normalization of our relationships.

As a Canadian, I have been pleased to learn during my visit that, despite our differences and tensions over the years, Canada is held in high regard in South Africa.

And from those South Africans whose views on apartheid we have shared through the years, I am heartened to learn that in their minds Canada made a material difference in the prospects and pace of reform.

But now we must look to the future. I would like most energetically to explore the bases for new, much closer links between our two countries, greater trade and economic relations, political co-operation and extensive contacts between our peoples.

Our two countries are natural multilateral partners, linked by size, economic orientation, language and significant shared background. We will be able to work well together in the United Nations and its special agencies, and in the Commonwealth. We need to work together on the environment, on arms control and on ending famine in Africa. And there is vast scope for bilateral co-operation between our peoples.

In many ways our economies are complementary. We are both exporters of natural resources, struggling to maintain our market share in an increasingly competitive trading environment. We need to work together in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) to strengthen the rules of international trade and ensure continued market access in a world of monolithic trading blocs.

We want to sell you the world's best water bombers (to put out the fires faster on this beautiful table mountain) and telecommunications and transportation equipment (which we have had to master because of our geography) and much more.

And we will buy your fine wines again, and we hope you will try some of ours, of which we are very proud. And we will see your art, hear your music and watch your plays -- as you will ours. We will welcome your athletes, artists, professors, scientists, students and tourists.

The so-called "people to people" sanctions have already been lifted, and we have the opportunity to develop strong human links between our countries. All now is possible; a promising future beckons. But none of us is naive. The future course is not easy -- it never was.

In fact, Canada and South Africa, though thousands of miles apart, have many of the same issues on their public agendas. We too are dealing with the challenge of accommodating diverse peoples within a sovereign state. We too are addressing problems of adapting our Constitution, resolving the division of powers and protecting the rights of those who feel they have been left out in the past.

The promotion of human rights and the protection of language, gender equality and pluralism -- are social values that challenge us both in their fulfilment. We also face the common challenge of developing transportation and communication systems and of providing economic development for a small population spread out over a vast territory.

But we in Canada have been spared much of the social, economic and political upheaval that has gripped your country for decades.

Your course is more complicated. But its early milestones are clearly evident:

- Difficult negotiations must proceed.
- Agreement must be reached on mechanisms for the transition to democracy.
- The sharing of power must begin.

The benefits of the success of this process will be real and lasting. They include:

- political stability in a democratic culture;
- institutions which serve all the people;

- the rule of law;
- a growing outward-looking economy;
- broadly shared wealth and opportunity; and
- participation in an increasingly interdependent world.

In short, the legacies of apartheid will be buried forever and Canada is eager to play a constructive role in the new South Africa.

We are extremely proud of the contribution that Canada has made in the past few years in the preparation for constitutional negotiations, in defence of human rights, in the promotion of dialogue and in human resource development. But, as South Africa changes and adapts to democratic development, so should our assistance programs adapt to changing conditions.

Our support for research needs to be broadened from the constitutional field into social and economic policy. Political and economic freedom both require strong, responsive social and economic policies, generated through a vigorous popular debate. As a contribution to this process, Canada will be supporting a range of policy research initiatives in economics, education and urban policy.

As a first step in this direction, I am pleased to announce a 2.5 million rand (\$1.03 million) contribution to the newly created macro-economic research group.

Human rights has clearly been recognized as a high priority for the new South Africa. But in the drive toward democracy, the rights of women risk being taken for granted. As one distinguished women's leader told me earlier this week, women are inadequately represented in the CODESA process. They risk "being spoken for, reasoned for and being done for."

Canada intends to make women's issues, ranging from their participation in the political process to the question of family violence and equal access to education, a central element of our development policy in South Africa.

We will continue our activity in support of dialogue, but will place a greater emphasis on grass-roots cultural and sporting initiatives targeted to children and youth. These programs offer tremendous scope for breaking down community barriers and promoting reconciliation and understanding in a long divided society.

Finally, we will be focusing our extensive education program in South Africa in a more strategic fashion toward the training of

future leaders in the civil service and private industry. They need to be trained now if they are to shoulder the tremendous burdens of development effectively in the future.

Looking further ahead, we envision a potential partnership between two pluralistic, democratic nations -- two nations whose pluralism and democracy have been achieved not without pain. In the past, history has driven us apart. In the future, we shall concentrate not on what divides us, but on what brings us together.

I am optimistic that despite the many difficulties that lie ahead, through CODESA your search for a peaceful path to democracy will succeed. I am hopeful that continuing progress will sooner rather than later lead to the removal of the sanctions that still stand as barriers between our nations.

But the lifting of sanctions will not, by itself, restore economic confidence in South Africa. I have heard from all sides that South Africa desperately needs foreign investment. And I can tell you that the Canadian business community is eager to come here. But they won't come until they are quite certain that South Africa is set on a steady course, that your leaders are committed to economic as well as political freedom, and that the terrible scourge of violence has left these shores.

As I leave South Africa, I grieve over the continued hatred and violence which I fear continues to divide South Africans. Good intentions must be translated quickly into steadfast action. This is a time for leadership, courage and vision.

I pay tribute to the leadership of President de Klerk who has seized the opportunity to move South Africa forward to an era of universal democracy. I pay tribute to the leaders of the mass democratic movement who have changed history against overwhelming odds through unswerving dedication to the destiny of their people. I also pay tribute to the courage of those South Africans, black and white, who refused to accept a system that was unfair and inhumane, and who risked their lives for its removal.

And I pray for all South Africans to see the benefits of change, to acknowledge that individuals and nations are enhanced when there is freedom and justice for all.

They say that "it is an ill wind that blows no good." The winds of change blowing over South Africa must cool the fury and the passions and yet warm the spirit of South Africans to the future greatness of this magnificent country. But the wind knows no borders, and whether it is a puff or a gale, its impact will be felt thousands and thousands of miles away. May it be a healing wind for South Africa; may it be a favourable wind for the world!