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one hand condemn an evil regime and on the other hand provide the fuel to drive its economy, I cannot accept that we are no better or no worse than the Soviet Union. We cannot simply say to ourselves that because the Soviets and others of whatever political philosophy have been hypocritical on this question, we are no better. Whenever that kind of thinking—and I do not suggest the Hon. Member opposite suggested it—is allowed to move us into inaction, whenever it is allowed to bog us down in a comprehensive debate about oppression all over the world or about all the jackboots in all countries, it leads to paralysis.

I should like to refer to what is going on in South Africa today and what has gone on there for years. More important, what has happened in the last year or two has become a symbol for oppressed people everywhere in the world. It is not only a symbol of the evil of apartheid or a symbol of the inhuman nature of that kind of regime. What is going on in South Africa has also become a symbol of the inaction or paralysis of societies which profess differently tangible and meaningful ways to act against that kind of regime.

I am one of those persons who becomes concerned in the face of what is going on in South Africa. On the one hand I become concerned when I hear in this Parliament, or in any Parliament of the Commonwealth, an expression of the revulsion all of us should feel about what occurs in South Africa and, on the other hand and almost in the next breath, an expression of concern about saving the Commonwealth. I would not want history to say, in the name of the Commonwealth, of waiting to act until we could all act together, and of ensuring the stresses and strains that might be placed upon the Commonwealth are avoided at all cost, that we as one member of the Commonwealth were struck into a paralytic position of inaction. When I hear the cry "let Canada not be rushed until we move with our Commonwealth partners" or "let Canada not be hasty until we have consulted a month from now, as the blood spills on the streets of South Africa", I say a Commonwealth which cannot respond to what is happening today in South Africa is a Commonwealth not worth saving. I mean that; I believe that.

We have seen laid before us in the living-rooms of the nation the blood which has been spilt and the Government sanctions and manipulated genocide which is going on in the Crossroads settlement. If we cannot respond now in a meaningful and effective way, in the name of Commonwealth solidarity, then that Commonwealth is not worth saving.

It is not the Commonwealth we should be preoccupied with saving. It is not only the people on the streets today that we should be ultimately preoccupied with saving. If we cannot respond to this world regressing to another day decades ago when crystal could be shattered in the night and a whole group of people because of religion or race could be gathered up, put on trains, and carried away never to be seen again, then we should ask ourselves whether we have the ability to save ourselves. If all of us in this Parliament or any other Parliament continue to stand, as well intentioned as we might be, to

abhor and give expression to the revulsion we feel, it is not good enough.

In the case of South Africa, it is a nation which has become the symbol of not only the evil of apartheid, but a symbol of the impotence of the West and of those who profess in a different way to put meaning behind their words. If we stand and do not act in a meaningful way, we will have lost more than a generation of men, women, and children in South Africa. We will have also lost ourselves and have been caught up in returning to a period of history which we promised would never happen again.

That is what happened 45 years or 50 years ago. That is what happened when a political system evolved which said that some human beings were less than human. That is what happened 45 years or 50 years ago when a political system evolved which said that some people were disposable or expendable. That is what happened five decades ago when a system systematically removed what was perceived to be a problem contained within the definition of one race of people by destroying that race of people.

That is what is happening today in South Africa. We see on our television sets black against black, killing each other in the streets, in the townships, and in settlements like Crossroads. We see the metal, brute force of a police vehicle, with weapons being distributed, assisting and provoking a slaughter. When we see those things, we see a replay of the crystal night in the streets of Germany 45 years ago.

Canada has a \$1.1 billion investment in South Africa. Canada is the recipient of substantial exports of South African agricultural products. In demanding today that Canada play a leadership role in imposing total sanctions, Bishop Tutu, the groups of white citizens of South Africa who stand in the streets with their black brothers and sisters, and I, do not profess the eternal destruction of the economy of South Africa. However, what we do profess is that the means of production be removed, to the extent that we can contribute, from those in power in that country until that means of production is allowed to benefit all those who live in South Africa, black and white.

● (1700)

There must be an entire generation of young people on the continent of Africa, not only in South Africa, who are looking, awaiting to see how the West will respond. They must be tempted to see what is going on in South Africa as a black versus white issue. They must be tempted to believe that the reason for their regime and the reason for our frail response to what happens, the reason for our inaction, is white solidarity with white solidarity and an inability to act because the oppressed people are black. Nothing could be further from the truth, Mr. Speaker.

What is happening in South Africa has absolutely nothing to do with black versus white. It has absolutely nothing to do with the colour of one's skin. It has to do with a philosophy, an evil system, that has been allowed to escape the evolution of a