

S.O. 29

important action if the Government of Canada had finally said enough of that? That would have been an important step which might have had the kind of heavy symbolic value for which we are looking.

Representatives of businesses involved in South African trade say that it is business as usual and nothing has changed. The Government called for voluntary sanctions and we supported that. We thought that was a good step. However, it was taken months ago and the report today is that one representative after the other says that it has made no difference and they are still doing things as usual.

We know that if there is to be any change at all in South Africa, it will not come from its Government but from its private sector recognizing that its network of connections and its economic survival is at risk. We know that that is the kind of action we must take. Even a man of such passive resistance as Bishop Tutu who previously said that we should wait is now calling for that action. He is saying that the time is now and that we should not wait.

The opportunities existed for taking many other kinds of actions, actions far stronger, far more evocative and far more demanding. If these actions had been adopted, it would have provided for that magnet that could have mobilized actions in other countries around the world. That then may have been sufficient to tell the South African Government that enough is enough and it must start negotiating and making progress.

In a matter of days, people in South Africa will be marking the anniversary of the Soweto massacres. It will be the culmination of a time of enormous frustration. Is it not crucial that all those brave souls in South Africa who are fighting day in and day out against the worst kind of repression know that outside their boundaries, they are joined in harmony and sympathy by others? It is not enough for them to hear the words. They have to see that action is being taken. It is not enough to simply make one more rhetoric flourish. The only way we can be seen to be a part of them is by taking action.

I do not want to get theological about this, but in the kind of religion I practise, at least, one is known not by one's words but by one's deeds. That is the reason for this emergency debate. It is not to condemn or to be critical but to say that we now have an opportunity, an obligation and a responsibility to act. We give full credit to the commitments the Prime Minister expressed at the United Nations, in Nassau and elsewhere. We do not argue with that at all. However, we do say that now is the time to give effect to those words.

Franklin Roosevelt said that there are many ways to go forward but there is only one way of standing still. If we add it all up, we will see that we are really only treading water. We are not doing all that we can. We are not giving our words their full force and weight. This could be a coming of age for Canada. We could take advantage of all the years we have developed good offices, good reputations and a good standing and put them on the line for the people of South Africa. If we

are to be a country that will take a leadership role in demanding the expression of human rights in South Africa, the Soviet Union, Nicaragua or Central America, we have to be bold about it. We cannot hide our light under a bushel.

Perhaps the Hon. Member for Mount Royal (Mrs. Finestone) might help me, but I believe that there is a saying in the Talmud that if you save one life, you have saved the whole world. It may be within our power as a country to save some lives in South Africa by our actions. It may be within our power to provide that invitation to other countries to take similar action.

Other countries have taken action. The Danes have full economic sanctions in place and the Swedes are beginning to do the same thing. These are countries with which we have long associated ourselves, countries that try to represent a higher standard of behaviour in world affairs. They are waiting for us. It is our time and place to do something about it. We are using this debate to say to members of the Government that they have made a commitment and they should now live up to that commitment by their actions and deeds.

Ms. Pauline Jewett (New Westminster—Coquitlam): Mr. Speaker, I thank you for granting this emergency debate today because the situation is an emergency. We want to see the Government of Canada take action this weekend and therefore it is absolutely essential to have this debate today. We are grateful to you, Mr. Speaker, for making it possible.

I would like to begin by reminding the House of the words of the Secretary of State for External Affairs (Mr. Clark) spoken exactly nine months ago today in the House. On September 13, 1985, the Secretary of State for External Affairs said the following:

—Canadians are offended by, and abhor, the practice of institutionalized racism by a society that claims to share our values—

It is very important that he went on to say the following:

The Government of South Africa should have no doubt that we will invoke full sanctions unless there is tangible movement away from apartheid.

That is what the Secretary of State for External Affairs said so eloquently and forcefully nine months ago today. He said that the Government of South Africa should have no doubt that we will invoke full sanctions unless there is tangible movement away from apartheid.

● (1520)

A month later, in October 1985, the Commonwealth Accord was agreed to in Nassau. It imposed a very limited set of sanctions upon South Africa but, most important, it called upon that Government to take a number of steps in a genuine manner and as a matter of urgency.

There were five particular steps. First, declare that the system of apartheid will be dismantled and specific and meaningful action taken in fulfilment of that intent. Second, terminate the existing state of emergency. Third, release immediately and unconditionally Nelson Mandela and all