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For the blacks of South Africa, it is indeed a time for heroics. I say to Canadians, in this country so far away and so protected, that it is time for boldness on our part. It is time to apply sanctions across the board that will somehow meet—belatedly but finally—the challenges which that black degradation has posed to us for so many years.

Mr. Bill Tupper (Nepean—Carleton): Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to rise on behalf of my constituents of Nepean—Carleton and share with them and you some of my thoughts about the debate this afternoon. I want to congratulate my colleagues in the House of Commons for making this debate a priority. I want to commend my colleagues for the enormous thoughtfulness of the debate and the sincerity with which they have addressed the House and, through it, our constituents across the country.

Today we are debating the urgent situation in South Africa, on the eve of the tenth anniversary of the Soweto massacre. We are doing this against the unprecedented backdrop of a total and Draconian state of emergency in South Africa, which I believe highlights the enormous responsibility facing western Governments today over the vital issues that centre in South Africa.

In the past hours I have had the privilege to read the report of the Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons. I was struck by many things in their report, but nothing struck me more than the second to last recommendation in their conclusion. It states:

The question in front of heads of Governments in our view is clear. It is not whether such measures will compel change, it is already the case that their absence in Pretoria's belief that they need not be feared, defers change. Is the Commonwealth to stand by and allow the cycle of violence to spiral or will it take concerted action of an effective kind? Such action may offer the last opportunity to avert what could be the worst blood-bath since the Second World War.

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Each of us will have different attitudes about South Africa. Some of those attitudes were cultivated against quite different backgrounds. Like some of my colleagues in the House, I had the privilege in the early part of this decade to spend several months in South Africa as a visiting professor. I was there in large part to investigate certain economic developments within the mining industry. Throughout most of my period there, if I had a headquarters, it was within the University of Witwatersrand. Perhaps my experiences there were different from those of some of my colleagues, but I am confident the conclusions of that experience are the same for all of us.

I recall in my, I suppose, unwitting approach to life, my first morning in Johannesburg taking the bus to go downtown and unwittingly getting on a black person's bus. Perhaps that was to set the tone for my whole visit. Few white persons ever ride those buses.

I recall many conversations with a third year black student at the University of Witwatersrand, the first black student in the history of that institution to study geological engineering. I had many discussions with him as to why he would choose

perhaps the most terrible profession for a black student, knowing how the mining community operated in that country. I recall being out in the field with him and others, and arriving in a mining community on an evening after our work was over. All of us stayed together in what was referred to as the "club" and early in the evening we met with the manager of the club as we made plans for our evening meal and other activities. The manager pointed out to us that the regulations of the club forbade that black student, that black person, to eat with us or to stay with us.

I think it is worth noting, as we think about this stituation, that the manager said to the leader of our party: "Forget about the rules and allow the student to eat and live with you". When we arrived for the evening meal, the others in the party noted the absence of this black student and asked where he was. The leader of my party said: "He is not allowed to be with us". That white person, that great professor, that great engineer, lied to everyone who was present. When the rest of the party learned in the following few minutes exactly what the situation was, they left the club, sought out their black companion and had supper elsewhere.

In other days I had the privilege of visiting Soweto, seeing the poverty, visiting schools, hospitals, homes and hovels, and I travelled widely to other black townships. I also spent many hours underground in South African mines at depths greater than 10,000 feet. The rock temperatures were of the order of 110 degrees, 120 degrees and 130 degrees fahrenheit. The air temperatures were cooled perhaps to 100 degrees. For a person such as myself who had been in other mining situations earlier, the struggle was just to exist and to be able to move about. And it is in that environment, of course, that thousands upon thousands upon thousands of black miners are forced to work daily.

I want to share something with Hon. Members in the House. I visited a mining complex one day at which 36,000 migrant workers worked—36,000—and that evening I visited the compounds in which they lived, compound after compound which had thousands after thousands after thousands of men living in them. I want you to try to imagine, Mr. Speaker, fitting into that sort of situation. These men were living and working for a wage which was probably only about one tenth of what the typical white miner received.

Like my colleague, the Hon. Member for Essex—Windsor (Mr. Langdon), because of my interest in agriculture I had the opportunity of visiting several of what we would call farming and ranching operations. While my experiences there might have been slightly different from his, nevertheless the tremendous dichotomy between the white and black population in the rural community is there, and cannot be underestimated. We look at South Africa, at its industry, its universities and its churches, and we look at the Government and try to rationalize in our minds where these great institutions stand.

I came away from that experience with the feeling that if there was leadership in South Africa, a liberal style of leadership, it lay in the industrial world. The businessmen I