

*Apartheid*

they can use or which movie theatres they can go to. It is the systematic repression, under-development and exploitation of the majority of the population of South Africa. It forms the basis of national policy on education and health, and it also has the effect of regrouping a large number of citizens in geographical areas that are, for the most part, arbitrarily designated. It is also characterized—and this is the most important point—by the way it totally deprives the majority of all political rights, so that the majority cannot use the political process to change the situation.

South Africa is the only country where this repressive system of racial discrimination is legislated. Canada raises its voice in protest whenever and wherever human rights are violated, but South Africa has put itself in a different class altogether. Since its citizens espouse values that are diametrically opposed, Canada has no choice but to take a stand against apartheid with all the means at its disposal.

When it started to exercise pressure with a view to the peaceful dismantling of apartheid, Canada immediately made two decisions. First, if its action against apartheid was to have any real weight, this country had to have a clear view of the position it would take as a last resort. The Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) clearly indicated that Canada was prepared to apply total sanctions and to break off diplomatic relations with South Africa, once it had exhausted all other means. Second, it was decided that it would be more effective for Canada to join other countries in intensifying international pressure on apartheid than breaking off, suddenly and spectacularly, its relations with South Africa. Our ties with that country, commercial and otherwise, are not crucial enough for Canada to be able to force a change in policies through sanctions and incidental measures. To exercise any influence at all, Mr. Speaker, we must therefore join forces with other countries.

Sanctions are obviously not an end in themselves. They are only a way to exercise pressure, and that is how they should be evaluated. One can, of course, debate their effectiveness. In fact, a large number of very clear-headed opponents to apartheid in South Africa, as well as discerning public figures in other countries, have some reservations about economic sanctions.

Nevertheless, Mr. Speaker, sanctions are among the only peaceful methods that countries have to clearly express their opposition to apartheid and to demonstrate that they are prepared to go beyond mere speeches.

To the average South African, sanctions are tangible evidence that the world considers his country's system repugnant. They also have a concrete effect. All the sanctions now in place have without any doubt played a role in the growing number of private sector decisions to withdraw investments in an increasingly unstable system. Sanctions add to the costs and difficulties of maintaining apartheid.

Black South African leaders have called for sanctions. Thousands of black South Africans have voted for effective international measures with the only means at their disposal:

strikes, rent boycotts and demonstrations. They are also concerned with the immediate and future consequences of sanctions. However, their first priority is freedom.

As for exports, we have forbidden the delivery of products that contribute to apartheid. Regarding imports, we have emphasized products that are most important for the South African business community. These measures have cut in half our trade with South Africa. The other measures we have taken affect the South Africans who can afford to travel abroad, government representatives and large South African corporations.

Nevertheless, we recognize that sanctions do have an impact on the victims of apartheid. Even so, this is a price that many black South Africans seem prepared to pay as part of the pressure to end a system that systematically deprives them of their most basic rights. And this price is very small compared to what the great majority of the country always pays in the form of unemployment and poverty directly related to apartheid.

South Africa sets itself in a different class altogether. Apartheid is a unique system of racial prejudices enshrined in the Constitution. This deliberate inequality under the Constitution is all the more scandalous in a hypocritical society which maintains that it respects the values of Western democracies and free societies. It should be pointed out that South Africa itself imposes on its neighbours sanctions and trade restrictions that have more impact than the obstacles set up against it.

Canada's policy also includes scholarships for poor South Africans, support for NGOs, aid to victims of apartheid, a code of ethics for Canadian companies doing business in South Africa and other measures. Together with the sanctions, they are a package that clearly shows Canada's commitment to change in South Africa. Were they not combined with sanctions, the other measures would be incomplete. We now see signs of a growing malaise in South Africa. That country's government is spending more and more money on propaganda. It is trying to convince the world that it is making basic changes, although they are only superficial. These attempts show that sanctions have an effect.

Mr. Speaker, there is no doubt that economic measures have given rise to a vigorous operation aimed at circumventing sanctions or lessening their impact. This is an understandable and predictable reaction on the part of the South African government. Its activities in this respect should not be ignored.

At a meeting in Canada last October, Commonwealth heads of State adopted the Okanagan action program on Southern Africa. They set up a Committee of Foreign Ministers, chaired by The Right Hon. Joe Clark, to ensure that the program would take off with full force. As far as sanctions are concerned, the Committee will concentrate in the coming months on expanding, tightening and intensifying their application. The Committee held its first meeting in Lusaka last February, and will be meeting soon in Canada this summer.