

*Routine Proceedings*

When the influential and respected South African newspaper *Business Day* was quoted as saying "the smell of moral decay can be felt at all levels of government", all of us have to be deeply concerned.

We have to recognize that while the minister has spoken of violence and of the importance of putting an end to the cycle of incredible violence, the destruction, the death and the bloodshed, the minister has been far too vague in describing responsibility for that violence.

She says that the violence must end. We all agree with that. She says: "I was discouraged by the tendency of leaders and groups to cast blame on others rather than to accept collective responsibility for ending this climate of violence". Let us look at the facts, at some of the shocking revelations just in the last month about who is responsible for violence in South Africa.

In the last 10 days the current Government of South Africa released a former police officer and member of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Khethani Shange, who was described by the judge at his trial for the murder of five innocent people as being a "beast in policeman's clothing". The judge sentenced him to 26 years in prison. He was released after nine months of his sentence by the current government in power.

Second, another Natal policeman, Constable Thulani Philip Choeni, who had been sentenced to 18 years for two counts of murdering innocent black people, was released after 17 months of serving his sentence. As well just recently, within again the past couple of weeks, a white judge in sentencing a white policeman to hang for killing 11 blacks in 1988 found substantial evidence of a police cover-up in the investigation of that massacre.

Finally on the subject of violence and most disturbingly in the present political context, there were revelations just last week about General C. P. van der Westhuizen in 1985 who is today the chief of military intelligence in South Africa. He was then a senior officer who ordered the murder of Matthew Goniwe, one of the most important and respected anti-apartheid leaders. At the time the government blamed it on violence between black groups.

Westhuizen, who today is South Africa's chief of military intelligence, said in a 1985 memo: "It is proposed that the above-mentioned persons are permanently removed from society as a matter of urgency".

That person is still in charge today. Those assassinations were agreed to by the state security council of South Africa which included senior cabinet ministers, among them President F. W. de Klerk.

Let us be clear when they talk about the ending of violence. We all agree. Let us be clear that the primary responsibility for this rests with the government and the security forces of South Africa. Beyers Naude, the respected church leader of South Africa said when he appeared before the external affairs committee recently that unless there is international monitoring of violence in South Africa demanded or requested by the Commonwealth of the United Nations there will not be any meaningful process toward successful negotiation in that country.

On the constitutional front, Canada must be much clearer in stating that we will not lift economic and trade sanctions until there has been fundamental and irreversible change toward a truly democratic South Africa.

Even the minister is speaking in the vague rhetoric of power sharing. She talks about power sharing. It is interesting that those are the same words President de Klerk is using.

I want to quote from Beyers Naude that respected church leader from South Africa who said: "The question is whether this thing called power sharing really means anything except apartheid in disguise. It is our belief that it means absolutely nothing but that, so we think the choice should be quite obvious".

We know that the minister is under considerable pressure from the Canadian Exporters Association. The association appeared before the committee and demanded that sanctions be lifted immediately. In fact, it has been demanding for years that sanctions be lifted.

I want to appeal again to the minister and this government to recognize that those sanctions must remain. Canada must continue to show leadership within the Commonwealth on the question of economic sanctions until that change is truly irreversible.

CODESA is taking place tomorrow. But as Nelson Mandela has said in discussing the transitional executive council which has been proposed, that transitional executive council must be given executive powers immediately.