

S.O. 29

Africa has had to increase its grain imports by 700 per cent since independence, but despite this, the World Bank estimates that about 60 per cent of the people have a daily calorie intake which is below the official malnutrition figure.

Twenty-four African countries face what the FAP term "catastrophic food shortages".

● (1840)

When we look at the map of Africa we do not see many more than 24 countries. He concluded:

If its economy collapses, the one engine of growth—even survival—in the continent will be put out of action, and its fall will drag down all the countries of Southern Africa, indeed perhaps, all sub-Saharan Africa. Then we will count the dead from starvation in tens of millions.

When Buthelezi was in Toronto recently, he said:

Blacks simply do not accept disinvestment as a strategy of their choice. The masses of black South Africans tell me so.

Yet, Buthelezi, Chief of the Zulus, is one of the most outspoken opponents to the apartheid process, and rightfully so. However, at the same time, he does not share the view that sanctions are the route to go and nor do I believe that economic sanctions are the route to go. Rather, the process for peace is by way of reason, relievers of the economy used in forms other than sanctions, direct approach to the business community and the labour movement, and by perhaps bypassing a very rigid, authoritarian Government.

**Mr. Dan Heap (Spadina):** Mr. Speaker, I am glad to have this opportunity to take part in this discussion on South Africa. Sanctions is the general subject of this discussion and there is fairly broad agreement, although not unanimous, on sanctions. The last speaker expressed his disagreement, but I think most other speakers have expressed agreement. At any rate, there is no specific motion on the matter so this is a discussion rather than a debate with two clearly defined sides. It has been a search for some clarity on the way we should go.

This has been a very good debate. I was particularly pleased with the comments of the Member for Nepean—Carleton (Mr. Tupper). Others have already referred to what he said. I found his account of his experience in South Africa very moving. It was particularly moving because of his restrained and gentle yet blunt and honest way of speaking.

Like many others, I am also very moved by what I have heard or read of the words of Bishop Tutu. He is quoted today in *The Globe and Mail* as saying:

Only intervention by the outside world can avoid Armageddon. What is the world waiting for?

We know what kind of intervention Bishop Tutu is asking for. He is asking for sanctions. While that is not the unanimous view of the black people of South Africa, there is every reason to believe and every evidence to support the proposition that it is the great and growing view of the majority of people of South Africa, that is to say the black people.

Bishop Tutu asks for interventions but we should not get hung up on the word "intervention" which more often means a military, violent or aggressive intervention. He is asking for intervention, which is much like the action of a labour union

when it withdraws its labour from an employer because negotiations have broken down.

Previous speakers spoke about the need for negotiations and reasoning with business and labour. I would go on from that to say that sanctions are in fact an ultimate form of negotiation. They are not a war-like form of intervention because they leave people still able to talk, think, change their minds and reach agreement. In effect, Bishop Tutu is not asking that we should intervene in the conventional sense, but almost that we should stop intervening. The western powers have been intervening in South Africa for years and years by profiting from apartheid.

We have been profiting from the cheap labour which produces such nice, cheap agricultural products and such nice, cheap and rare minerals. It is not the only place in the world where we can get them, but they are cheap. We have been intervening in South Africa and supporting the violence of the apartheid state by profiting from the minerals and other products which we can get from South Africa. Bishop Tutu is really asking us to stop intervening in support of violence in South Africa. We should, instead, intervene through sanctions.

There were a few comments earlier today which indicated a desire to change the subject by burying it in Soviet bashing or Communist bashing, by complaining about this, that or the other Communist-led country, or what some people imagine to be Communist-led countries. I will not bother answering those because they are merely a diversion from the subject. The fact is that Canada and its allies are engaged in South Africa. We have been engaged on the side of the oppressor. It is no use changing the subject by talking about someone else's violence. We are on the side of the oppressors by virtue of our trading relations with South Africa. Until we withdraw much more than we have already from those trade relations, we are still on the side of the oppressor.

I think it would be a good thing to cut out agricultural imports. There is already a move to reduce the sale of South African wines in Canada. That is something which practically every ordinary consumer can address himself to, whether it be wines, fruits, preserves, or any other agricultural product. Since most people cannot get into the more high-powered stuff, that is worth doing. However, it is also important, and in one sense more critical, for our country to stop the trade in minerals in South Africa. It is shameful that we are refining uranium which is stolen by South Africa from its neighbour, Namibia, at the cost of the murder of Namibian people. Some of it is shipped to Ontario for refining. Of course, some Canadians make a buck out of stolen goods which are the product of murder. That is one thing we should stop.

There has been a story spread by some extremists, such as President Reagan, that we are strategically dependent on the minerals of South Africa. I will take a few minutes to put that story on the record with the aid of some documentation provided by the South African Committee for Trade Union Solidarity. There are, of course, a good deal of minerals being