



# Statements and Speeches

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No. 85/8

## **CANADA'S MEASURES AGAINST APARTHEID**

Statement in the House of Commons by the Right Honourable Joe Clark, Secretary of State for External Affairs, in Ottawa, September 13, 1985

I want to speak to the House about *apartheid*, and about what Canada can do to end a repugnant racist system. I am guided in these statements by two realities: first, that Canadians are offended by, and abhor the practice of institutionalized racism by a society that claims to share our values. Second, that Canada's influence is limited but real, and our challenge in this government, in this country is to take practical steps which help to end *apartheid*.

Expressing our outrage is part of our duty, and those Canadian citizens who join in peaceful protest and in demonstrations help to show the South African government how deeply the people of this country are offended by their racist practices.

It is also part of our duty to make clear to South Africa that Canada is prepared to invoke total sanctions if there is no change. As a general principle, we believe that diplomatic and economic relations should exist even though governments might disagree. Indeed, if we had accepted six months ago the advice of some groups that we then break all diplomatic and commercial relations with South Africa, we would be in no position today to act individually or in concert with other nations to add to the pressure being felt by the South African government.

We fully recognize, however, that Canada has a responsibility to provide both moral and practical leadership. The government of South Africa should have no doubt that we will invoke full sanctions unless there is tangible movement away from *apartheid*.

I will be reviewing today the actions Canada has taken, announcing some new initiatives today, and asking the House to consider avenues of influence which we, and our fellow citizens, and our friends in the world can pursue. But first, I think it helpful to indicate some of the changes we seek to bring on those norms of behaviour we expect of all civilized countries, changes which would prove that South Africa is moving away from *apartheid*.

In terms of broad principle, we would look for:

- The introduction of common citizenship. That implies common political rights including the right to vote, and an end to different categories of citizens.
  - An end to laws which classify South Africans according to colour or race.
  - Freedom for all South Africans to live, move and work unimpeded by arbitrary restrictions.
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— Independence for Namibia under UN resolution 435. This would be an important sign that South Africa is willing to accept its neighbours as they are and to live at peace with them.

None of these is as important, however, as the final principles I would cite:

— The release of political prisoners and detainees: the release of the African National Congress (ANC) and United Democratic Front (UDF) leaders who have been driven to resist the system of *apartheid*.

— The initiation of a process of consultation and negotiation with the genuine leaders of those who are called Indian, blacks, and coloureds. This means that such consultations cannot be confined to the homeland leaders.

— And finally, the initiation of a process of reform based on consent not imposition or coercion. Such a process would clearly lead to representative institutions which include blacks.

These are the key steps, for it is not Canada's — nor any other country's — consent or support which is crucial to this process. It is the consent and support of South Africans of every race and colour which counts.

What we are witnessing in South Africa, rather than change, is a deepening crisis. Demonstrations, strikes and acts of resistance against an unjust system continue. They continue to be met with violence, arbitrary arrest and detention-measures of repression and control rather than conciliation.

We condemn the detention of the leaders of the UDF-professor Farouk Meer, and others. We are shocked by the detention of Allan Boesak, the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, who a short while ago visited Canada and spoke to us not of revolution or violence but of justice, equality and reconciliation. We deplore the heartlessness of a government which keeps behind bars the now seriously ill Nelson Mandela.

We call on the South African government to release all those whose offence is simply to oppose *apartheid*. We add the names of Tutu and Boesak to that of Mandela among those who should be invited for dialogue, not rebuffed not relegated to silence, not dismissed with contempt. It would indeed be tragic if history were to repeat itself and the UDF were to be cast into the role of the ANC as something to be stopped, repressed, rendered illegal.

Bishop Tutu can no doubt bear his rebuff from President Botha. Both Nelson Mandela and Allan Boesak may bear their imprisonment. But can South Africa bear the result? It is clear that one more community in South Africa, the business community, is beginning to have its doubts.

Their confidence shaken, business and investors within and outside South Africa have fostered a wave of disinvestment, without the prompting of governments, but surely reflecting both the events on the ground in South Africa and the signals many governments have sent.

If some South African entrepreneurs have, for too long, lent support to *apartheid*, the consequence of their movement now cannot be overstated.

Canada's contribution to bringing about those new realities recognized by South African business has been significant. Our policy, through several administrations, has been one of consistent opposition to *apartheid*.

More recently, at Baie Comeau on July 6, I issued a statement of policy on behalf of the government of Canada. Basing ourselves not on our own righteousness, but on our common humanity, we introduced ten steps, including certain economic sanctions, to strengthen our opposition to *apartheid*, and two measures to foster peaceful change.

We ended the program for export market development (PEMD) and the global insurance policies written by the Export Development Corporation in so far as they applied to South Africa. That lived up to the pledges of the former government and stopped all official support for trade and investment in South Africa. Those two trade measures sent very distinct signals.

We broadened and tightened application of the United Nations arms embargo so as to include a broader range of high-technology items, including computers. We have been the only government to announce the abrogation of our double taxation agreements.

We drew to the attention of Canadians the Security Council resolution prohibiting the sale of *kuggerands*. Our confidence that the Canadian sellers of *kuggerands* would take note of our wishes was well placed; sales have virtually come to a halt.

We developed and clarified policies on sporting contacts and official contacts and co-operation. Notice was served that the toll-processing of Namibian uranium would end with current contracts, despite the costs involved.

We announced the assignment of an office charged with responsibility for labour affairs to our embassy in South Africa, to maintain direct contact with South African workers who are agents of reform. That officer will be chosen in consultation with the Canadian Labour Congress.

We more than tripled the funds available for the education and training of the black community. That increased grant will make possible the award of 40 scholarships in the current fiscal year. We applaud the priority which has been placed by the Canadian labour movement on providing training for South African blacks, and we would welcome initiatives and contributions by others in this regard.

But that has not been all. Other levels of government have also sent strong signals. A number of provinces have seen this as a special case and have shown by their actions that Canadians in all parts of this country abhor *apartheid*. In addition, private Canadian companies have voluntarily announced that they will no longer purchase South African products. Canadian labour has consistently spoken out

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against *apartheid*, and now some Canadian unions have refused to unload a ship carrying South African steel. Universities are debating disinvestment of their South African holdings. This issue has, in a dramatic manner, affected Canadians as a people, and South Africans who condone *apartheid* should know that they offend not just the government of Canada, but our people and our values.

In focussing that anger, in applying steady pressure for change, we must have the best information and judgments we can get on how to use our influence most effectively.

We will work closely with our friends. The distinguished African leader, the chairman of the Front Line States, President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania has been invited by the Prime Minister to pay an official visit to Canada September 24-26. The Secretary-General of the Commonwealth will visit Canada in early October. We will seek their advice, and that of other leaders opposed to *apartheid*, particularly in the Commonwealth and among the Front Line States. We expect the meeting of the heads of government of the Commonwealth, in mid-October, to provide an opportunity for common action against *apartheid*.

We are taking a number of further measures as the government of Canada as part of our continuing pressure against *apartheid*.

First, I am meeting a number of representatives of Canadian businesses and finance in order to examine areas of co-operative action against *apartheid*. Because I believe that there is a very real possibility that where governments may not have influence on some levels of the business community and the bureaucracy in South Africa, Canadians active in business could well have that influence that could do what governments, Parliament and public officials are trying to do. The first meeting took place on September 9. The others will follow shortly, on September 17 and September 20.

Second, the Canadian government is introducing a voluntary ban on loans to the government of South Africa and all of its agencies. We are asking all Canadian banks to apply such a ban and we have reason to believe that they will do so. Some have already acted on their own and we welcome that. The ban will not affect any outstanding credits nor prevent loans. That could clearly be to the benefit of blacks.

Third, I am announcing the appointment of Mr. Albert Hart as administrator of the Canadian code of conduct for the employment practices of Canadian companies operating in South Africa. Mr. Hart has had a distinguished career as a public servant, including assignment as High Commissioner to Ghana. Mr. Hart will take up his duties shortly and will be in touch with the companies concerned. We are today issuing a standard reporting format for the annual public reports which have been requested by the government under the code of conduct.

Fourth, the Canadian government will apply a voluntary ban on the sale of crude oil and refined products to South Africa. To this end, we are asking Canadian companies not to enter into any contracts for the sale and export of these goods to South Africa. Our sales in this area have been limited in the past. This measure is being taken now to ensure that Canada does not become an alternative source of supply in the future.

Fifth, we are bringing in an embargo on air transport between Canada and South Africa. It will cover both cargo and passenger flights. As we have no bilateral air agreement, neither country's airlines have obtained traffic rights from the other country for scheduled international services. Direct air transport between the two countries has, in consequence, been limited to occasional charters. The effect of this measure is therefore to stop those charter flights and rule out reciprocal air service at least until the process of dismantling of *apartheid* is well engaged.

Sixth, a register has been opened for the voluntary measures which Canadian provinces and municipalities, as well as private institutions, organizations and firms have taken against *apartheid*. Thousands of Canadians have acted quietly on their own in protest, and we encourage others to do so. Individuals and institutions which wish to do so are invited to register their actions by writing to me and indicating what they have done. The list of measures will have an exemplary impact and will be conveyed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations in the expectation and with the recommendation that other nations might follow suit so that there will develop a world-wide register of the actions of individuals who abhor *apartheid*.

Seventh, in view of the increasing numbers of arrests of non-violent opponents of *apartheid*, I am today announcing that an additional \$1 million will be allocated on humanitarian grounds to assist the families of political prisoners and detainees in South Africa. These funds will be channelled through organizations such as the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (IDAFSA) and Canadian groups which are actively supporting the victims of *apartheid*.

In the prevailing circumstances, we must proceed with prudence and determination so that the words we say and the actions we take, alone or in concert with other countries, will help end injustice and violence. There have been some hopeful signs in recent days regarding the past laws and common citizenship. We do not know whether the reforms hinted at will be realized but we certainly wish to encourage movement in that direction and encourage the efforts of those South African business people who have long supported reform and who have now taken the initiative to encourage dialogue with the true representatives of blacks in South Africa. The days and weeks ahead will be marked, on our side, by a continued search for steps that may help to bring justice to South Africa and greater harmony to the region. For Canada that search will centre on consultations with our partners in Africa and elsewhere in the world, but particularly on the Commonwealth. Nor, of course, do we exclude talks with South Africa if the door remains open and we can influence events.

Seven of South Africa's close neighbours are Commonwealth countries, and an eighth, Namibia, has been invited to join. Their people are closely linked; their economies are deeply dependent on one another; their security and their standing cannot be separated.

There can be no peace in the region while South Africa remains at odds with its Commonwealth neighbours, and while they live in fear of it. *Apartheid* is a Commonwealth problem. The question is not whether the Commonwealth has a role: by force of circumstance, it must be concerned and involved.

And more than that, the Commonwealth has traditions, and historic ties with South Africa, that have

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prepared it to pay a reconciling part if the government of South Africa opens the door to it. Despite the sharp differences which have divided governments, the people of the Commonwealth and the people of South Africa are from the same traditions. There is a disposition to be helpful and to seek reconciliation among South Africa's neighbours. What we must know is whether it will be reciprocated.

Another forum, whose unanimous resolutions have consistently been ignored by the South African government, is the United Nations. At the imminent General Assembly, as it has in past, Canada will encourage upon the world community the sort of concerted action which should leave South Africa with no doubts about the repugnance of its policies.

As the world speaks, the unusual phenomenon of growing pressure on the South African government from within that country will be given an opportunity to bear fruit. Our actions today, those taken by other governments and those actions which will be taken by other governments will, collectively, keep the pressure on. If the government of South Africa remains unbending to that pressure, then Canada will be left with no resort but to end our relations absolutely.

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