

Cam/073/0047/1

NELSON MANDELA Fund

Fonds NELSON MANDELA

November 14th, 1990

TO: MR. PETER MAHLANGU - ANC
FROM: MAC CARIM - NMF
RE: NELSON MANDELA FUND UPDATE

Dear Peter,

Herewith minutes of the recent meeting of our Operations Committee.

The Fund is moving forward slowly, steadily, and surely.

I have been mandated to:

- 1) Begin arrangements as quickly as possible to finance an ANC project inside South Africa according to the terms of our arrangement with Mr. Mandela, amounting to approximately to \$75,000.
- 2) Begin production of NMF Education and Fundraising literature.
- 3) Mobilise University Presidents, and Students bodies across Canada around a Nelson Mandela Day fundraising event on February 11th, 1991. Obviously greater success is possible if like minded groups join together for a "big effort".

Any advice and guidance you can give me in this respect will be much appreciated. I'll call you soon to follow-up.

Stay well,

Mac

Mac Carim

P.O. Box/c.p. 660 Station/Succ "Q", Toronto (Ontario) M4T 2N5

Tel: (416) 965-1664

Fax: (416) 439-6372

MINUTES OF
NMF OPERATIONS COMMITTEE MEETING

PLACE: HOME OF ROY McMURTRY
50 LASCELLES BLVD. TORONTO

DATE: SATURDAY NOV. 10th, 1990
TIME: 09:30 - 12:20

PARTICIPANTS:	Jack Diamond	Archbishop Ted Scott
	Peter Hayden	Lois Wilson
	Carl Masters	Mac Carim
	Roy McMurtry	Pat Pfaff
	Janet MacInnis	

FORMAL RESOLUTION PASSED, TO:

1. Have Mac Carim, Executive Director, as signatory on bank accounts.
2. Close Archbishop Ted Scott in Trust bank account. Transfer funds to Nelson Mandela Fund account.
3. Have Executive Director quickly proceed with identifying several precise projects approved by Nelson Mandela from which NMF trustees may select one to finance.
4. Have Executive Director proceed with the design and production of NMF Education and Fundraising literature pack as discussed. Target first to the Mandela Dinner List as a test mailing.
5. Financially support the establishment of the FNMQ in Montreal out of Federal funds.

OTHER ACTIVITIES AGREED:

- As a priority project mobilize University Presidents (Archbishop Ted Scott to forward letters), Student Leaders, and campus anti-apartheid groups (Mac to forward letters) around a Nelson Mandela Day on Monday February 11th, 1991, the first anniversary of his release.
- Roy McMurtry will set up a meeting with leaders of the Federal NDP and Liberals to mobilise more quantitative and qualitative actual help to the Fund.
- Roy is also setting a McLennan/McMurty/Carim meet on Thursday November 15th re: Advertising Agency volunteer help, Mandela Day idea, Buthelezi visit (Mayor of Toronto action), continuity of help from MIGA after December 31st.

- Jack Diamond to contact volunteer professionals to help with production of education pack.
- Carl Masters to continue working with Lucy Edwards to develop the idea of a corporate and bank visit to S.A. Roy and Ted Scott to assist in mobilising support for this initiative.
- Ted Scott will seek to get NMF involved in S.A. Reference Group meeting in Ottawa, as a positive alternative to NMF calling its own Stakeholder group meeting.

NOTES:

- Ted Scott Lotus software.
- Lois Wilson will talk to Mr. Wilson re: volunteer help.
- Call Xerox to find out what other equipment they supply and inform Janet.
- Jack Diamond accepted a trustee position.
- The following names to be contacted re: acceptance of a trustee position:

- * Archbishop Ted Scott to contact Henry Arthurs (in letter to University Presidents).
- * Roy to contact Stephen Lewis.
- * Janet to contact Boyd Simpson and Gordon Cressy.

NELSON MANDELA FUND

FUNDING ALLOCATIONS

<u>SOURCE</u>	<u>NMF OPERATIONS</u>	<u>CANADIAN EDUCATION</u>	<u>MANDELA PROJECTS</u>	<u>TOTAL \$</u>
External Affairs	\$30,000	-	-	\$ 30,000
CIDA-PPP	45,000	55,000	-	\$100,000*
ICHRDD	<u>20,000</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>30,000</u>	<u>50,000*</u>
	95,000	55,000	30,000	180,000
P. Bronfman			10,000	10,000
OPSEU			10,000	10,000
A. Bennet			10,000	10,000
Ted Scott	2,500			2,500
CCODP	5,000**			5,000
CLC	5,000			5,000
Anglican Church	5,000			5,000
Bishop of Toronto	5,000			5,000
Various Donations			6,636	6,636
TOTAL:	<u>\$117,500</u>	<u>\$55,000</u>	<u>\$66,636</u>	<u>\$239,136</u>

* Anticipated

** Loan advance

WHY WE CHOOSE TO SUPPORT NELSON MANDELA?

EXCERPT OF A LETTER FROM MAC CARIM, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
OF THE FUND, IN RESPONSE TO THOUGHTS EXPRESSED
BY A CONCERNED CANADIAN

DEMOCRATIC STRUCTURES

The Canadian system encourages financial contribution to political parties by allowing such contributions to be "tax deductible". We do this because, in Canada, we believe in the multiparty system. This incentive to make contributions is in no way contingent upon the policies or philosophies of the various political parties.

The Canadian system is concerned, here, with the maintenance and strengthening of democratic structures and freedoms, not with political programmes or internal party policies.

The Nelson Mandela Fund sees its mandate in a similar light. Our stated goal is "to assist in the peaceful establishment of democratic freedoms and structures in South Africa for all South Africans". As Archbishop Ted Scott has explained, "our concern is democratic structures rather than ANC policy", and this raises another big question.

WHY MANDELA AND THE ANC?

It would be unrealistic to expect the governments and people of Canada to support black liberation organizations in South Africa that refuse to accept the idea of a negotiated settlement. Nor can we expect the Canadian people to give aid to political organizations based on tribalism, and who, as public opinion polls seem to indicate, enjoy little support outside their own apartheid-created Homelands.

Mandela and the ANC are recognized nationally and internationally as the legitimate voice of the greatest majority of black people, by such organizations as the U.N., the O.A.U., the Commonwealth, and most governments around the world, including Canada.

The ANC has suspended armed struggle and opted for the process of negotiations. No other black political organization of any significance has done so.

CONVINCING CHANGE IN THE SYSTEM -

The South African Government has chosen to enter into the negotiating process for constitutional reform with Nelson Mandela and the ANC, not with any other group.

Archbishop Ted Scott puts it this way. "Support for this special appeal, (i.e., help for Mandela and the ANC), affirms the right of, and the need for the ANC, recognized by the South African government as the major anti-apartheid group, to become established in the country to take part in negotiations. It does not necessarily involve agreement with ANC positions".

Consciousness by and large reflects the real positions of people in society and in social conflict. It develops in, and out of, their experiences and activities in cooperation with the assimilation of relevant theories, ideas, and knowledge. The fact is that it is only in relation to reality of the conflict in other arenas -- at the material and political levels, in terms of physical oppression and mental coercion in relation to cultural aggression (cultural invasion) and cultural resistance, that people develop an understanding of the real nature of domination and of the fight against it. While consciousness drives people on in their opposition to domination, it also grows out of it in a mutually interacting process. Education, as an organized system of teaching and learning, has an important role to play in this process of shaping consciousness, but only within the context of the social forces at work.

Like Culture, Religion, and Economics, Education is not neutral.

THE TREND OF APARTHEID EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE NEED FOR
GENUINE CHANGE IN THE SYSTEM -

Curtis Nkondo-Neusa President

EDUCATION is the planned and systematic shaping of Consciousness.
It serves as an instrument of Social transformation.

Consciousness by and large reflects the real positions of people in Society and in Social conflict. It develops in, and out of, their experiences and activities in conjunction with the assimilation of relevant theories, ideas, and knowledge. The fact is that it is only in relation to reality of the conflict in other arenas -- at the material and political levels, in terms of physical oppression and mental coercion in relation to cultural aggression (cultural invasion) and cultural resistance, that people develop an understanding of the real nature of domination and of the fight against it. While consciousness drives people on in their opposition to domination, it also grows out of it in a mutually interacting process. Education, as an organized system of teaching and learning, has an important role to play in this process of shaping consciousness, but only within the context of the Social forces at work.

Like Culture, Religion, and Economics, Education is not neutral.

It can be used as an instrument of domestication (domination) or as a weapon of liberation.

In class Societies, there is no single system of Education, but rather a whole range:

- the education of a slave is different from that of a slave master,
- that of a serf is different from that of the lord of a manor,
- that of the bosses or the ruling class is different from that of a worker or a peasant.

Because of the Apartheid system in South Africa, the education of the white child is different from that of the black child.

White education indoctrinates. Pupils and students are trained to develop a capacity to calculate, decide, manage and to rule. It perpetuates elitism, baasskap (white domination) and a herrenvolk mentality.

Black education domesticates. It prepares pupils and students for subservience, and docility. Children learn to obey and to follow instructions passively and accurately.

The trend of unequal education in South Africa was set in motion in 1799 when the first school built specifically for African children was established in the Eastern Cape.

In 1913, the South African Native Congress - now called the African National Congress (ANC), protested strongly at the disparity to grants made by the British Colonial authorities to schools for white and black students.

In the 1920's the Union government took over African education.

From 1920, through to the introduction of Bantu education in 1954 and beyond, there were periodic outbursts in the schools. Students protested and demonstrated, boycotted chapel or classes and rioted. Most protests took place in the rural areas.

In February 1920, students at the Kilnerton training center in the Cape went on a hunger strike.

A few months later, theological students at Lovedale in the Eastern Cape rioted and set fire to buildings.

Strikes continued through the 1920's and escalated in the 1930's.

From 1943 to 1945 there were more than 20 strikes and serious riots in schools.

Each strike led to expulsions -- and to renewed disturbances the following academic year.

Lovedale again erupted in August, 1946 after which it was closed for six weeks. The spate of student demonstrations continued through the Cape and the Transvaal for the next decade. Fort Hare University was also the scene of continuing protest from 1941 onwards. The precipitating factors were always atrocious food, unbending discipline and even physical assaults.

The 1950's, saw the introduction of the exclusivist Christian National Education. In 1953, the Bantu Education Act was passed -- African education was put under separate authorities:

- African Schooling was markedly inferior, training its recipients only as unskilled labourers for white employers.

On 8 May 1954, the ANC and its associated organizations:

- the South African Indian Congress,
- the South African Coloured People's Organization, and the mainly white
- Congress of Democrats,

launched a campaign against

- Bantu Education,
- Resettlement,
- Pass laws,
- the Group Areas Act, and
- Anti-trade Union measures.

An immediate call was sent out to boycott "native schools." The ANC promised to organize Alternative Schools where real education would be pursued. By mid April, close on 17,000 pupils were boycotting schools on the Rand and in the Eastern Cape. Verwoerd expelled all the boycotters, but allowed them to return if they would promise to end the boycott.

The attempt by the ANC to set up independent schools was frustrated by police action. As alternative schools were illegal, the ANC formed what they called "Cultural Clubs." Even these were raided by police, who arrested teachers if a blackboard, chalk or paper were found. Ultimately, therefore, the boycott could not succeed, but it was a victory in that it mobilized a vast mass of students against the evils of Bantu Education.

In 1964, "Coloured" Education was separated under a government department. "Indian" education followed in 1967.

The struggle for a non-racial democratic System of Education continued throughout the 1960's, and in 1976 again reached a head in Soweto, where protest at the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction exploded into a huge uprising.

But no matter what specific forms these struggles took, their links with the broader national liberation struggle was constantly apparent.

The education system is a necessary part of domination and exploitation in South Africa. It is aimed at maintaining what is overly a racial division of labour, but what, in essence, is the enforced harnessing of the labour of the mass of South Africans for the benefit of a small ruling class (the bosses).

The school boycotts of 1980 and beyond were a response to both the immediate conditions of unequal and coercive system of education, and the broader oppression and exploitation of the majority of the people of South Africa.

In response to the school boycotts, conservative and liberal educationists advocated for an education policy that could play a part in promoting economic growth and a more just distribution of economic rewards. They pleaded (without demanding) for a more education for all. More books, classrooms, teachers and sportsfields.

They maintained that if the quantity of education available were extended to more pupils (why not all?) and students, it would help in the construction of an egalitarian society.

The call has also been extended to one of:

- One system of education for all,
- AND - Equal expenditure for all pupils and students.

Most Educationalists in South Africa tend to talk at length about the quantity of education (or lack thereof), but they say very little or nothing about the contents and form of our present education.

South African Education - be it white education or black education is totally unacceptable because it actively contributes to economic, political, and social inequality.

A mere extension of the present system of education, even it means one education system for all, will simply serve to heighten inequalities and the exploitative nature of our Society.

In South Africa, education is designed and controlled by the minority racist regime, which alone owns and controls the means of production, distribution and exchange.

In particular, black education is tribally planned to promote tribal sentiments which are in turn intended to divide us.

The apartheid racists' hopes are that by dividing us tribally or ethnically and racially, our resistance to their oppressive designs will be substantially weakened.

The interest of the ruling class in South Africa has always been to prevent the oppressed and exploited masses from understanding

the real structures of production and of Society. The more ignorant the workers are the better for the ruling class.

Basic education becomes the pre-condition for being able to work and live in Society. Now, the interest of the ruling class is to make learning as abstract and compartmentalized as possible.

- Workers should learn only what is necessary for their jobs, and
- as little as possible about technology, economics, and politics.

The more specialized their training, the easier it is to keep them under Control.

Genuine change in Education, therefore means in part a complete about-turn from the tribally and racially fragmented approach to education, to a unifying national democratic system to produce a liberated, integrated personality for a new South African Society. This is certainly not going to be a simple task.

It is important that we begin to develop our education policies away from the mere rejection of racist and colonialist education towards a conception of education, evolved from the struggle.

The conditions of struggle, both for liberation from Apartheid, Colonialism and Imperialism, have brought forth the need for educational policies based upon the aims of the liberation movements:

- to create a new person in a new society,
- to mobilize, organize, and consolidate the mass of the people in the struggle,
- to demand for an education policy that is non-racial, non-sexist, non-elitist, non-authoritarian, and
- to break down the divisions between mental and manual labour.

Parents, students, and teachers should work together i.e.

COLLECTIVELY, to change education, and to make it an instrument for social transformation rather than a tool for preserving class domination.

In a class society, for instance, people are taught that the individual is far more important than the community. This is included in ideas such as "pulling yourself up by your bootstrings" and "going to the top."

Thus, many young people have ideas of individual fame.

Film-stars, pop stars, radio and television personalities, and millionaires are projected as the desirable standard.

People "succeed" in life -- So we are told, "because they have worked hard." It is never shown how people "succeed" at the expense of others, that few individuals are rich because many

others are poor. When the rich become richer, the poor become poorer.

Another value that we are taught to believe in is the ideal of accumulation, of obtaining more and more material goods, the incentive of profit in business. This allows us to be competitive, aggressive, egocentric, and selfish.

And we are socialized into believing that these values are all really apart of "human nature."

White education instills in pupils elitist aspirations i.e. to scorn manual work, and to strive after the "good" jobs such as law, medicine, and managerial positions. Values such as individualism, profit-making, competitiveness, and belief in the superiority of mental work over manual work are unsuitable for building a new person in a new society.

Some countries in the Third World have begun to implement democratic education systems. In doing so, they are attempting to build a new society free from racism, ethnicity, prejudice and exploitation. It is a long, hard process, but enormous advances have already been made.

The future education system should pay special attention to the creation of the "whole person."

Children should be taught not to scorn manual work, but to view working with their hands as a part of life. Consequently, in addition to academic subjects such as science and mathematics, ALL children should learn subjects such as: metal work, leatherwork, weaving and sewing, etc.

RECREATION should also play an important part in school life, be it sport, music, art, reading or debating. Thus young people should be trained as intellectuals, as manual workers, as creative workers and as people with a wide range of interests.

The ideal of communalism and democracy should be emphasized.

The school should be seen as part of the community, and as responsible to that community. Consequently, the school should try to become self-sufficient and self-financing through either the making of articles or the growing of vegetables and crops which it sells to the community. All decisions should be taken democratically, with teachers, students, parents and the school workers coming together on a regular basis to decide policy, discipline and new ideas.

Democracy should also be practiced in the classroom, with students and teachers discussing what should be taught and how it should be taught.

The myth that education is only for the young and exists only in schools, colleges and universities should be dispelled. Young people should take part in mass literacy campaigns and time should be given to workers in factories where they can study further.

Everyone should become a teacher; education should be shared, not hoarded by a few. It should become the duty for those with education to teach others, even if they are not teachers by virtue of profession.

Special attention should be paid to the elimination of sexism and male dominance. All schools therefore should be co-educational, free from stereotypes of roles for boys and roles for girls.

We desperately need the right kind of education in South Africa, and to bring this about, we obviously need to understand the meaning of life as a whole, and for that we have to think, not consistently, but directly and truly. A consistent thinker is a thoughtless person, because he conforms to a pattern; he repeats phrases and thinks in a groove.

We need a kind of education whose function is to create human beings who are integrated and therefore intelligent . Education should help us to discover lasting values so that we do not cling to formulae or repeat slogans; it should help us to break down racial, ethnic, national and social barriers, instead of

emphasizing them, for they breed antagonism between one person and another.

Unfortunately, the present system of education is making us docile, subservient, mechanical, and deeply thoughtless; though it awakens us intellectually, inwardly it leaves us incomplete, stultified and uncreative.

The purpose of education should not be to produce mere scholars, technicians and job-hunters, but integrated persons who are free of fear; for only between such human beings can there be enduring love and peace.

In South Africa, education is not gearing anyone, be they black or white, towards a democratic society. However, the solution does not lie in reforming the present system. An entirely new system of education is desirable.

However, the kind of education that we want can only be decided by a Congress of ALL the people of South Africa. It is not for any one person to prescribe a new education system for other people. A democratic education system will eventually be established only through a long period of trial and error, of working, planning and learning together.

The Freedom Charter clearly laid down the demands of the people in the field of education in the clause: "The doors of learning and culture shall be open to All."

For:

SATURDAY 11 AUGUST 1990

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

November 5 1990

Statement on the Visit of Gatsha Buthelezi to Canada

IDAFSA (Canada) understands that Gatsha Buthelezi will be visiting Canada from November 9 - 12, 1990.

IDAFSA (Canada) wishes to make all Canadians aware of who this man is and what he represents.

Gatsha Mongosuthu Buthelezi is Chief Minister and Minister of Police of Kwazulu bantustan, in South Africa. He is head of Inkatha, a Zulu based cultural and political organization.

Buthelezi has strong links to the apartheid structures of South Africa. The administration of the Kwazulu bantustan is financially supported by the South African government.

The growth of popularity of the African National Congress and allied organizations in South Africa, and in particular, in the Natal province, has resulted in a violent political reaction by their opponents. In just one area of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, over 1,300 people have been killed since the violence erupted in 1988. 3,000 homes have been destroyed and 30,000 people left homeless.

Gatsha Buthelezi tells the western world that he is a man of peace and an anti-apartheid activist. Evidence suggests otherwise.

Attached is:

"The Natal Violence" Notes and Briefings of the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, No 90/4 1990.

"Reflections on Inkatha-ANC Violence in Natal and Elsewhere" by Archbishop Edward Scott, President of IDAFSA (Canada) and Co-Chair of the Nelson Mandela Fund, September 1990.

A brochure describing the work of IDAFSA (Canada).

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION: Please contact IDAFSA (Canada), telephone (613) 233-5939.



200-294 Albert, Ottawa, Canada K1P 6E6 • Tel. (613) 233-5939 • Fax (613) 233-6228

IDAFSA (Canada) acknowledges the support of CIDA and the Government of Canada.
FIDAAA (Canada) apprécie l'appui de l'ACDI et du gouvernement du Canada

HUMAN RIGHTS LEADERSHIP FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

5 ROSSMORE ROAD,
TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA
M6G 2M6

October 31, 1990

Dear Friends:

Sorry to have been a while communicating with you: we have been organizing liaison for a possible exchange in the education sector and awaiting final confirmation of people and topics for a March 1991 exchange in the legal sector.

Those of you who were able to attend last month's meeting met Pius Langa, a South African lawyer, President of NADEL - The National Association of Democratic Lawyers - who, with the blessing of the African National Congress, has agreed to serve as our chief liaison in South Africa for the legal sector exchange. Pius impressed all of us with his wit, intelligence and commitment and we are confident that a most effective exchange will be planned through his NADEL and ANC connections.

To sum up the present situation:

1. We shall advise the South Africa Education Trust Fund once Pius identifies specific people and topics for the March 1991 exchange. We have been informed the Trust Fund will forward funds once this information is confirmed (see their most recent letter enclosed);
2. Jerome M harchand has written his education sector contacts in South Africa to establish a liaison similar to Pius Langa. Once this contact is in place we can renew our communication with both the Trust Fund and Partnership Africa Canada for funding;

3. All of us able to participate actively in the legal sector exchange need to anticipate devoting some planning time to the exchange in the period November 1990 -February 1991 and to the actual exchange in March, 1991 .

For the present, therefore, please be informed that we are awaiting confirmation of people and topics from Pius Langa and that we shall be calling a meeting as soon as this information has arrived.

Thank you for your patience and commitment to our exciting exchange plan.

Yours,

Charlie Novogrodsky

Charlie Novogrodsky

President, Human Rights Leadership for a Democratic South Africa

encl.

I will be returning that the SASTF is the recipient of numerous funding requests and many of them directly from the ANC. This is particularly true around legal and constitutional issues. If a proposal like you proposed for this year can not be developed, we would be happy to entertain a new proposal for the next fiscal year. We cannot, however, guarantee funding.

We have working with us as a consultant on legal and constitutional issues Mr. Pius Langa, a South African lawyer with whom I believe you are familiar. He would be more than happy to sit with your legal committee and assist you with your proposal. He can be contacted at the SASTF number.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Very sincerely,

Ken Mundy

Ken Mundy
Programs Officer

October 24, 1990

Charles Novogrodsky
President
Human Rights Leadership for a
Democratic South Africa
720 Spadina Avenue, Suite 104
Toronto, Ontario
M5S 2T9

Dear Charles

As you know, in May of this year our Board of Trustees agreed to grant HRLDSA \$30,000 to support an exchange in the field of law and human rights, pending your submission of a scaled down budget and programme proposal and its approval by SAETF officers.

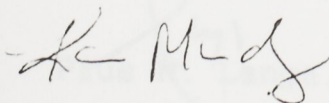
After consulting with the Trustees, the SAETF has decided that the offer of this grant will stand until December 15 1990, by which date we will need the revised budget and a draft itinerary for the proposed March visits. We will then discuss the final proposal and make arrangements to transfer the grant to you before the end of this fiscal year.

You will understand that the SAETF is the recipient of numerous funding requests each year, many of them directly from the ANC. This is particularly the case around legal and constitutional issues. If the programme which you proposed for this year can not be undertaken, we would be happy to entertain a new proposal for the next fiscal year. We cannot, however, guarantee funding.

We now have working with us as a consultant on legal and constitutional issues Mr. Prakash Diar, a South African lawyer with whom I believe you are familiar. He would be more than happy to meet with your legal committee and assist you with your proposal, and can be contacted at the SAETF number.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely



Karen Mundy
Programme Officer

OCT 04 '90 14:15 GROUP 702 031 3044208

National Association of Democratic Lawyers

ional office: Suite 801, 8th Floor EP Building, 112 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg

tal address: PO Box 3934, Johannesburg, 2000

ne: (011) 838-2554 Fax: 834-6249

President : Pius N. Langa

Telephone : (031) 3015402.

Facsimile : (031) 3044208.

702 Salmon Grove Chambers
407 Smith Street, DURBAN
4001. South Africa.

October 3,
1990.

Mr. Colin H.H. McNairn
Fraser and Beatty
TORONTO.

Dear Colin,

Needless to state, I enjoyed every minute of my stay in Canada and would like to take this opportunity to thank you, all the members of the ANC-Canada Human Rights Leadership project as well as everyone else who combined to make my visit there the success it was.

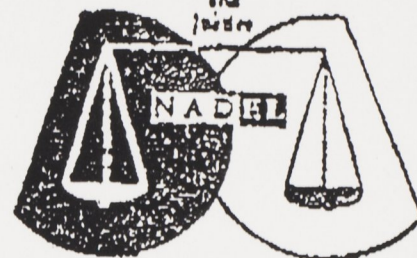
I hasten to respond to the two questions in your letter of September 27. Firstly, it will be in order for the first exchange to take place in March 1991 rather than May as previously suggested. We are already setting the process in motion to identify suitable candidates.

Secondly, I would like to endorse your suggestion that the Criminal Lawyers Association and any other organisation there might consider making their donation through IDAFSA to obviate any difficulties on their side. We will be grateful for any assistance and sincerely appreciate your concern and efforts to help. We are in the process of re-drafting a shorter request and will fax it to you during the course of next week.

I am holding urgent discussions with members of both the ANC's Legal and Constitutional Department and the National Executive Committee of NADEL with a view to furnishing you with further comments and suggestions with regard to the content of the proposed exchange programme. These will be forwarded to you also during the course of next week. In general, the proposals have been received with much enthusiasm and we all look forward to the realisation of the project.

Yours sincerely,

Pius N. Langa.



C - I

Lynn Connell

977-9648
Fax: 592-9139

Wendy Dawes
Blaney, McMurtry, Stapels
Ste. 1400-20 Queen St. W.
Toronto M5H 2V3

593-1221 x 296
Fax: 593-5437

Lucy Edwards
Ottawa

(613) 990-6572
Fax: (613) 990-3566

Eastern Messenger Service

674-7245

Europa Travel
(Nancy)

465-7489

Federal Express

897-9322

Rosemary Forbes (WUSC)

(613) 232-0377

Future's Program
Woodgreen (Youth Program)

469-5211

Greyhound Pick-up & Delivery

947-1600

Juliet Huntley

967-1880

Pat Horne

(514) 487-0094

Lance Ingleton

487-0033

Inkatha Institute

011-27-31-304-9305

Inter-Med (ribbon/Kay)

593-6874

I - O

Inter-Church Coalition 927-1124
(Gary Kenny)

Orla Johnson 238-2332
(PAN) Fax: 624-9880

Sheran Johnson bus: 750-3513
res: 652-3397

Lillian Kwofie (613) 232-0909
U.N. High Commission for Refugees

Media Concepts (Barbara Fox) 486-1800

Nelson Mandela Fund 965-1664
Mac Carim res: 289-7223

Faith Nolan 532-2672

Mike Morris (514) 487-0094

Carl Masters (Bank of Montreal) 867-4718

Natal-Midland 0331-427-612
P.O. Box 1443
Petermaritzburg, S.A.

Ottawa High Commission (613) 563-0712
Fax: (613) 235-0430

OFL 441-2731

OPSEU 482-7423

O - S

Oxfam Canada (David Gallagher)	(613) 237-5236 Fax: (613) 237-0524
Purolator (Pick-up)	237-1000
Passport Office (Mrs. J. Bessett) Travel Documents 200 Promenade Portage, 6th Floor Hull, Quebec J8X 4B2	(613) 994-3541
Panasonic Fax Machine KX-F3300 Thermal recording paper for fax machine John's TV, 638 Pape Avenue (paper # KX-TF 30)	463-2674
Danforth Typewriter 2940 Danforth Avenue Thermal recording paper for fax machine	698-2589
Pathfinder Bookstore	861-1399
Charles Roach (Civil Rights Lawyer)	657-1465
Recycle for pick-up (once a month Wednesdays - newspapers only bundled)	392-7742
Sherona	924-1681
TCLSAC 427 Bloor Street West	967-5562
South African Consulate 2 First Canadian Place, Ste. 2515	364-0314
South African Trust Fund (Jane Cooper)	(613) 230-6114 Fax: (613) 230-5122

S - W

South African Embassy (613) 744-0330

Archbishop Ted Scott 920-1975

Harry Smaller 469-5211

United Church (Ruth Corbett) 925-5931

Maureen Werlin (403) 452-0140
Fax: (403) 455-5712

WUSC (613) 232-0337
Fax: (613) 232-7449

AMSCO MEETING - NOVEMBER 19, 1990

Time: 6:45 p.m.

Place: Toronto Board of Education, 155 College Street

The Secretary of the Coalition took the Chair since none of the members of the Steering Committee were present at the meeting.

Suggestions for the agenda were taken with the following as the result:

- 1) Review of Buthelezi events
- 2) Review of results of November 9 meeting re February 11 event, with additional comments from Joyce with respect to Nelson Mandela Fund comments provided to her by Mac Carim
- 3) Future events
- 4) Demonstration against War in the Mid-East
- 5) Martin Luther King Birthday event, January 21, at Harbourfront; Huey suggests that AMSCO should be part of this, he will be doing a film festival and welcomes suggestions from any anti-apartheid groups
- 6) Term of office, who chairs the meetings
- 8) If anyone wants to call for anti-apartheid information, what number can they use: ANC, or AMSCO, for instance.

1. Review of Buthelezi event

Dominique: it was a good event and something that should have been done, and if we had not done anything, nothing would have been done and his visit would have passed by unnoticed: a coalition such as ours should take the initiative in doing this type of thing.

General discussion that we got the local coverage, but Buthelezi got the national coverage, via the Journal.

Joyce: The Journal initially turned him down when he requested time for an interview, but then that decision was overturned internally. An attempt was made by some members of the coalition (acting independently) to inform the press about the background, so that they would know what questions to ask if they did interview him.

CKLN: It was well covered, eg the NOW issue, and coverage on CKLN on Tuesday and Thursday. He had mixed feelings about the blood - maybe it made the event make the news, but maybe it was too much like vandalism and may have offended

Canadian sensitivities. Some people said it was a good thing and was symbolic, but maybe given our small numbers that sort of activity is out of place.

Joyce: It should not have been done because it was not a collective decision.

Joanne: For the record, in the future, whatever tactics we agree on should be what we adhere to.

Janet: Should we vote on this.

Joe: People who agree to participate in a group activity should only do what the group has decided to do; otherwise you may open it up to such things as police provocation/retaliation/activity - ie, 'civil disobedience'.

CKLN: Want to leave room for spontaneity, but the 'whole picture' should be planned for such an event.

Heidi: We should have been more clear about the kind of demonstration we were trying to have - in terms of civil disobedience and what you are asking people to get involved in.

Chair: Lets take a vote, when we decide on any tactics we have voted on....

Suzanne: We should have something in our charter, what we as a group stand for.

Janet: Motion: it was proposed that we all agree on the tactics beforehand and we should adhere to them. Seconded and carried.

Joanne: But we still want to leave a little leeway for unusual circumstances; but maybe this should be left up to the steering committee, how to respond to changing circumstances.

Nita: Just to make sure that this was not condemning the action of throwing blood.

2. February 11th Plan

Janet: gave a brief synopsis of the Nov.9th meeting and expanded slightly on the typed minutes.

Chris: just a reminder that Feb. 11 is a Monday.

Joyce: Mac Carim of Nelson Mandela Fund told her re Feb. 11th, that a celebration of Mandela's release, ie Nelson Mandela Day is being looked at by the Fund, where University Presidents would be contacted as well as leaders of student associations, with the idea that all universities would do a fund-raising, through student groups, anti-apartheid coalitions on campus, etc., maybe concerts, speakers, etc. - it doesn't have to conflict in any way with what we are talking about, it may serve to highlight it.

Joanne: Two events is too much. Dances are not a great fundraiser, and are very labour intensive for the financial result. A literary event is a good idea. Can we combine a literary event with some of the actors/dramatists from the Royal Alex thing, so rather than have a concert, we have a dramatic evening.

Joyce: Event should not only be aimed at the white middle class, there must be something more creative that we can do.

CKLN: What does the ANC think about a Nelson Mandela Day? Remember that February is Black History Month and all kinds of other things will be going on.

Huey: We must not forget that support comes from the grassroots and they are the ones who need help the most. We should have something maybe like a church service, or maybe we should find out what Mandela would like to have to 'celebrate' his release date. We should have a more serious approach; get grassroots people to learn more about Mandela the man.

Dominique: Fund-raising - I lean towards a nightclub - the venue does the bulk of the work and we can spend our energies and resources publicizing the event, etc. - he will find out what the Board of Education is planning.

Should there be some kind of press conference - the ANC? or the coalition?, or somebody really high profile - we should put together a package of information material before the 11th.

Pat: What about the art gallery idea?

Chair: Lets discuss it - include it as part of the 11th?

Suzanne: The Great Hall may be a good venue to combine functions, eg, an art auction.

Chair: Let's continue with planning for the 11th.

Heidi: We should try and work with the Nelson Mandela Fund in any way we can, and build on what they may be doing on campuses. We should keep in mind as a coalition: we want to raise funds, yes, but we also have to try and get out the truth about what is going on in South Africa now.

Joyce: On Nov. 9 we were speaking to the needs of the Committee as a whole, but we should remember that we are also speaking to the needs of the ANC, who really need \$\$\$. Therefore we should concentrate maybe on a nightclub so that we don't splay our efforts all over the place.

Nita: Yes. The money you are putting out is less, and can combine a bit of politics; but maybe not in the area of Queen Street, maybe somewhere more diversified.

Chris: Yes, but go somewhere larger than the Bamboo which holds only 150-200; look for somewhere that holds 800-1,000.

(Suggestions: Lee's Palace, the Diamond).

Chair: If anyone else wants to speak - we'll give another 5 minutes and then have to take a vote.

Pat: Well, did we decide about the art gallery idea?

Joanne: My recollection was that when this first came up, we were not very comfortable with that guy and decided to let it drop.

Janet: Other things got in the way; it never did come back to the Committee as it was supposed to.

Chair: Are we agreed that we are not going to touch this now, then?

(Vote taken: to put this idea (the art auction) aside for now)

Huey: We should ask the ANC as to what they think Mandela might like to be done. Don't celebrate the date by getting too drunk.

Mike: Put a motion that the event on the 11th should be a nightclub event. We can work out the details later. Joyce seconded. Carried.

Janet: Are we going to discard the idea of an info night; will we be working only on one event?

Joyce: We have agreed on one event. I am speaking to Mac Wednesday. Can we not link ourselves to a campus event - can we direct people to such a thing.

Joanne: We should send out an info package etc, say on the Thursday or Friday beforehand, and on Sunday night hold a candlelight vigil, maybe for an hour, outside the ANC offices and someone from the ANC can speak - maybe this can take the place of a press conference.

Pat: At the night club - can we have an hour set aside for information, etc. - maybe the intermission, or from 9 to 10 before the bands are allowed to start performing.

Joyce: No, people would want to listen to light music.

Dominique: Should we strike two committees, one for the Monday night event, and another committee for any informational aspect of the evening?

After some discussion:

Chair: Okay, we are going to have one committee only.

3. Demonstration: "No to War" - November 24, 1990.

Heidi: Put forward a proposal to add the name of AMSCO as endorsing this demonstration. We should also offer a speaker from AMSCO.

Joanne: Problem for a coalition to support such a political stand since the members of the coalition come from such a broad base.

Mike: Especially since we are the ANC-MSCO. Any kind of stand we take will reflect on the ANC and Nelson Mandela.

CKLN: But we have to be able to see anti-apartheid work in the global context.

Joe: The war drive is coupled with the idea of backing down on sanctions. Mandela seems to have made a statement: invasion of Kuwait is condemned, but the imperialists are just using it as a pretext. Injustice anywhere is injustice everywhere.

Suzanne: Don't be too simplistic. Europe is very scared of Hussein and what he can do 5 or 10 years down the road if he is not stopped now.

Mike: I'd like to make a motion to endorse the demonstration, with an amendment to condemn the invasion of Kuwait, and any speaker that we send also should address this issue. (Pat raised the question, and Zeib answered: the ANC is for "No to War", but we should check before a letter goes out to the group organizing the demonstration that AMSCO is endorsing it). Dominique? seconded.

Motion carried that AMSCO endorse this demonstration and that we offer a speaker.

Mike: I will send confirmation to "No to War" coalition. The speaker should be someone from the Steering Committee.

4. Martin Luther King Birthday - January 21st, 1991 at Harbourfront.

Huey: The ANC can be invited to set up a stall and take part in any of the seminars, etc. Many of the events are free to the public. AMSCO could also use the situation to advertise for Feb. 11th event and give out info. It could also include information on Black History Month.

Dominique: Cost of table? (Huey - \$35 - \$40). Proposed that we endorse the date formally and that we request a table for information dissemination?

Motion seconded and carried.

Huey: I will find out whether or not we can sell things, eg ANC t-shirts - should be okay as long as not in conflict with Martin Luther King t-shirts.

5. Date of Next Meeting:

Monday, December 3rd, 6:30, 155 College Street.

Mike: Moved that the items left on the agenda be put off to the next meeting. Seconded and carried.

All those who agreed to work on the Feb. 11th nightclub event met briefly after adjournment and decided to meet at the ANC offices at 7:00 p.m. on Wednesday, Nov. 28th. Most of the group then went out for a brief meeting to assign tasks.

NELSON MANDELA ON COMMUNISM:

The ANC is not a communist party. But as a defender of democracy, it has fought and will continue to fight for the right of the communist party to exist. As a movement for national liberation, the ANC has no mandate to espouse a Marxist ideology. But as a democratic movement, as a parliament of the people of our country, the ANC has defended and will continue to defend the right of any South African to adhere to the Marxist ideology if that is their wish.

It is the same lesson that the people of the United States learnt during the decade of the nineteen fifties, when the forces of McCarthyism launched an assault aimed at undermining the democratic heritage of the American people, by conducting a virulent offensive against communist and left opinion.

Theologians of the German church understood these processes very well when they said the Christian church did nothing when the Nazis attacked the Communists. And again the church did nothing when the Nazis turned their brutal attention to the Socialists. And when the Nazis turned against Christian men and women of conscience, the church found that there was nobody to defend it.

It is fundamentally wrong today to seek to build an atmosphere of democratic tolerance of different views by attempting to demonise those who choose to hold communist opinions. Such a posture leads to one thing and one thing only, namely, the denial and suppression of democracy itself.

KEY ROLE OF THE ANC

Until 1983/84 some observers including some supporters of South African liberation within the anti-apartheid movement regarded the ANC as one of several, relatively equal, organisations in the South African struggle. All kinds of *analysts* had discovered *various forces* which constituted the liberation sector. Few were aware of the painstaking underground work combined with armed propaganda undertaken by the ANC during the seventies and early eighties.

In 1990 few would dispute that some of the crucial events and developments of the 1980s would not have happened had it not been for this careful preparation on the part of the ANC.

By 1986, the Eminent Persons Group set up by the Commonwealth was categorical in its report that the ANC enjoyed majority support. It went on to say, if an election were held then, the ANC would win by a wide margin.

As presaged by the ANC National Consultative Conference of 1985 the regime imposed a State of Emergency in June 1986. Over the next two years thousands were to die and many more thousands detained in solitary confinement. This was the period of total, naked repression; 15 to 20,000 children, some as young as eight years old, were jailed, to the unbelieving astonishment of the whole world.

By the beginning of 1988, at the height of the State of Emergency, the policies of the ANC had won such widespread support that the banning of over 20 organisations including the UDF had little impact on the ground. Under the omnibus term, MASS DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT, the struggle continued paying little heed to the bannings.

Zwelonke Sisulu was able, in 1988, to say publicly: *The ANC exists in SA. It is laughable that the government believes the ANC is still banned. I would say the ANC exists because the majority of the people support their ideals. They also support the Freedom Charter and Nelson Mandela. I don't think you can be more supportive of the ANC than that.*

The slogan *Make the Townships Ungovernable* was widely acted upon.

In 1989 the slogan was interpreted to mean *make the country ungovernable*. A successful hunger strike by detainees was quickly followed by a mass-based Defiance Campaign in the course of which banning orders were ignored both by individuals and by organizations. The state released some hunger strikers and failed to prosecute those who broke their banning orders. It had lost the initiative and the country was close to becoming ungovernable. The ANC had been effectively unbanned and ANC banners, freedom songs and slogans became commonplace.

The millions who stayed away from work on election day turned SA cities into ghost towns. In marching through the streets of South Africa they voted with their feet in no uncertain terms. The masses were now a force much too powerful to be ignored and, defiantly, they marched in the colours of the ANC.

Excerpts from: THE ILLEGITIMACY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN APARTHEID REGIME:
INTERNATIONAL LAW PERSPECTIVES

by Kader Asmal, Law School, Trinity College, Dublin - Member, Constitutional Committee, African National Congress, Dublin, May 1990

Since the adoption of the Charter of the United Nations in 1948 and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, there has emerged a new international legal order of individual and collective human rights which has deeply affected international customary law.

Faced by the enormous magnitude of the Nazi violence and genocide against national groups and individuals in the second world war, and the assertiveness of formerly colonised peoples who had invariably suffered from racial discrimination, international law evolved new norms of law which not only regulated ordinary inter-state behaviour and limited the competence of a state to deal with its citizens but also led to the development of fundamental rules of law as part of jus cogens, a higher law which has had a profound effect on the freedom of states to wage war, pollute the environment, enter into treaties denying self-determination and adopt policies of racial discrimination. The result has been dramatic both in terms of the way law is created, as a set of international community expectations, and as far as the content of the rules of law is concerned. States have lost their monopoly over law creation.

There is now a full-blooded acceptance that apartheid is not simply criminal at the international level but violates peremptory rules which are necessary for the maintenance of the international legal order. Nothing expresses this conclusion better than the years of deliberation by the authoritative, if not semi-official, American Law Institute's Restatement of Law: Foreign Relations of the USA. In its 1985 draft which reflects the US view of international law, the Institute not only describes a systematic policy of racial discrimination as a violation of international law but concludes that it breaches jus cogens.

This conclusion is very far reaching. If this approach is correct, then the apartheid regime is in de facto control of South Africa but without a legal mandate. The illegitimate status of the South African regime does not mean, however, that the regime is not accountable in international law for its violent, racist or evil policies, for as the International Court of Justice has said, reflecting the existing law: 'Physical control of territory, and not sovereignty or legitimacy, is the basis of State liability affecting other States.'

The 1977 Protocol to the Geneva Conventions specifically describes apartheid policies as war crimes, the only international convention on a statute of limitation excludes apartheid crimes from being time-barred, the prestigious International Law Commission has included apartheid as an international crime.

ROOTS OF THE TRANSVAAL WAR:

Most analysts have simplistically characterised the conflict as primarily ethnic in nature, between Zulu and Xhosa speaking groups.

It is hardly coincidental that the violence which is sweeping through the East Rand and spreading in Soweto erupted as the unfolding political process set in motion with the unbanning of the ANC moved into a crucial and decisive stage.

With negotiations in sight, whatever agreement is reached on issues such as who sits around the negotiating table, which parties decide on what form the constitution making body takes and what form the interim government assumes, holds immense significance for the shape of a new South Africa.

In Buthelezi, de Klerk's National Party Government has an important ally. Given the growth of the right-wing, de Klerk would find it difficult to secure a majority vote from his traditional constituency if he has to contest a constituent assembly election.

Such an election is not in Inkatha's interest either, given that recent surveys put Buthelezi's support at two percent outside Natal.

From the government's point-of-view, an alternative route into the negotiating room will have to be found for Buthelezi if de Klerk hopes to boost his own position at the negotiating table.

There is abounding evidence that the state security apparatus, and the police in particular, have played a central role in orchestrating violence. Police have rejected allegations of collusion with vigilantes in the hostels. They have, however, steered clear of attempting to disprove such allegations, offering only the stock responses that it is not possible that they would conduct themselves in a partial manner, in favour of Inkatha.

PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF APARTHEID

For any individual to start functioning as a complete human being, he or she has to have a sense of personal security, not only in terms of the material prerequisites for that.

A leading South African psychologist, Dr. A.C. Manganyi, writes: *The most predominant feature of all groups studied was a form of endemic, chronic sense of insecurity, coupled with an ideation characterised by helplessness. This anxiety is the most dramatic expression of the sense of existential insecurity. In the absence of statistics it may confidently be stated that anxiety states, and reactive depressions with anxiety, feature amongst the most common presenting complaints among African psychiatric patients.*

Personality develops along multiple lines. One's overall physical, neurological, cognitive and intellectual development, the quality of one's human relationships, and the manner in which one organises and differentiates one's thoughts, wishes and feelings, determine how one organises and creates one's unique experience of life, that is, what sort of person one becomes. However, for an individual to be able to grow, there is no substitute for early childhood care, love and emotional and physical security. These are of course precisely the conditions of which apartheid has deprived the children of South Africa.

RIGHT WING GROUPS BEHIND KILLINGS

Right-wing groups determined to scuttle the peace process are behind much of the violence that has spread throughout the black townships of the Witwatersrand in recent weeks, Nelson Mandela told journalists at a press conference at ANC headquarters in Johannesburg. *It is now clear to us what is happening in Mozambique now happens in South Africa*, he said.

Earlier Mandela had met with President de Klerk for the second time in three days to discuss the township wars. The government now recognized, Mandela said, that the killings could not be explained solely as clashes between ANC and Inkatha supporters, but that other forces intent on derailing political reform and fomenting terror in the townships were also at work. ANC officials have long suspected right-wing elements within the police and army of fomenting violence in the townships, both directly and through the use of black vigilantes.

A government statement issued separately confirmed that de Klerk *intended to take strong and comprehensive measures* against those forces working to destroy the peace process in South Africa.

Rueters
Associated Press
BBC News

CANADIAN GRASSROOTS SUPPORT

Don Kossick, working with the Saskatchewan Linkage Committee which is a member of the Backing the Front Line National Coalition Against Apartheid made the following statements in an article called **A VIEW FROM THE WEST**, summarizing an activists' conference in Winnipeg, November 11, 12, 1989:

The national anti-apartheid network in Canada has been sustained by people at the community level, practising the principles of coalition-building. This has resulted in initiatives ranging from continuous Shell Boycott activity, to solidarity relations between communities in English Canada and Quebec and communities in southern and South Africa, to community education work in the interior of B.C. and the small towns of Saskatchewan.

Coupled with the demand for democratic, participatory structures to carry out anti-apartheid work is an equal demand to bring the struggle in South Africa to bear on issues in Canada.

WE CANNOT PURSUE ANTI-APARTHEID WORK WITHOUT DEALING WITH THE INJUSTICES THAT WE HAVE HERE. WE CAN, IN FACT, LEARN FROM THE WORK OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, THE MDM, SACTU AND COSATU TO BETTER CONDUCT OUR POLITICAL STRUGGLES HERE.

Phil Fontaine, representing the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs, spoke of the need to build coalitions and networks which would create a common anti-apartheid and anti-racist front to support the aboriginal people, as they work towards self-determination and self-government. The link was made between the extraction of raw materials such as sulphur, uranium, and wood from aboriginal peoples' land in Canada - when they are fighting for control over their own resources - and the export of these war materials to South Africa where they in turn help to fuel the apartheid regime.

THE CHARTER OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Men and women alike bear the responsibility for eliminating gender-oppression. However, women must take the lead in creating a non-sexist South Africa. They must move the ANC and the MDM to adopt policies and forms of organisation that facilitate the participation of women in the struggle that still lies before us.

Women must lead the national debate for a Charter of Women's Rights which will elaborate and reinforce our new constitution, so that in their own voice women define the issues of greatest concern to them and establish procedures for ensuring that the rights claimed are made effective.

We call upon the ANC Women's League to initiate a campaign for the Charter involving all other structures of our organisation, the membership and supporters throughout South Africa. The campaign should involve millions of women directly in the process of determining how their rights would be protected in a new legal and constitutional order. Such an initiative will provide the opportunity to set an example of democracy in practice, and be a major agency for stimulating women to break the silence imposed on them.

Based upon the demands and needs of African women, the great majority and the most oppressed, it should draw in and represent the wishes of women from all sections of South African society, and as such be an important step in preparing over half the population for full citizenship and equality.

Although the principal themes of the Charter must be guided by women, men must be engaged in the process, so that we ensure that the Charter has the backing of the widest strata of society.

Although the dominant always find it difficult in the short term to give up age-old privileges and habits, in the long run they only stand to gain from living in a world in which the health, happiness and welfare of all is guaranteed.

ANC ON THE ENVIRONMENT

The Freedom Charter affirms that the land will be returned to those who work it, but three and a half decades after Kliptown, the land is no longer the same. It is wasted and dangerously polluted. To give any content to the clauses of the Freedom Charter, environmental issues need to be urgently addressed. They cannot wait for a democratic government to legislate, because the health of the population is at risk now. It is vital for democratic forces to see environmental issues as important to mobilise and campaign around, as the other strands of the national liberation movement.

EXPLOITATION OF THE LAND

In 1980 it was estimated that the result of the successful and untrammelled breeding of sheep in the Karroo was that the semi-desert expanded by one mile every five years.

The vicious policies of successive apartheid regimes that forced millions of people into the bantustans have played a key role in the destruction of the land. Already in the 1950s, the land in the bantustans could not sustain their populations living there.

Clearing of land for agri-business has resulted in large-scale deforestation. In these areas, the relentless destruction of natural habitats produces neither food for the home market nor commodities for export, but only political bribes to the landowners.

South African pilchards can no longer be bought in the shops, because South African fishing fleets fished out the pilchards. All the waters close to the coast are now close to depletion. To supply even a domestic market, South African fishing fleets have to go further and further afield. Snoek, and other once-common fish, may be the rarest of delicacies in a democratic South Africa.

Unless alternative methods of farming and fishing are considered, many of the promises of liberation in the land clauses of the Freedom Charter will be impossible to fulfil, as the land will be so wasted.

HUMAN RIGHTS LEADERSHIP FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

A Joint Canada-ANC Project

July 3, 1990

Dear Friends:

I am enclosing "Notes on the Agenda" of our very brief meeting of June 27, 1990.

You will note that Colin McNairn will be visiting Lusaka, Zambia in July 1990 and it is our hope that with the assistance of the ANC in Toronto, Colin will be able to meet with Zola Skweyiya, Director of the ANC Legal Affairs Department, to designate those people who will participate in an initial lawyer exchange sometime in 1991 (March or April, 1991 have been identified as a good target date).

In the meantime all of us are urged to gather what letters of interest we can , especially from those South African organizations designated by the ANC as potential participants in future HRLDSA programs. These letters, together with those from potential Canadian organizations, will be incorporated into our formal application to Partnership Africa Canada in late August, 1990.

It is our hope that by October 1990 plans for the initial exchange will be well underway with specific dates, people, etc. A specific project description with these names will have to be submitted to South Africa Education Trust Fund to finalize the funding.

5 Rossmore Road
Toronto, Ontario, Canada M6G 2M6
Fax (416) 925-9000

HUMAN RIGHTS STATEMENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

Four of us, Bruce, Jerome, Virginia and myself, plan to meet at my home on August 14, 1990 to re-draft the application to PAC. Of course, anyone else is welcome to come and help in the planning and discussion.

A copy of the Summary and Resolutions from the "Taking Strides" Conference, chaired by Ted Scott in June 1990, is available in my office.

Best wishes for a safe and healthy summer.

Yours sincerely,

Charlie Novogrodsky

Charlie Novogrodsky

President, HRLDSA

encl.

- Sarah: Doris Marshall Institute - has been submitted
- Charlie: Mayor Toronto: City of Toronto
- Colin: Canadian Bar Association - Lawyers Against Apartheid
- Robin: Canadian Conference on the Arts - Toronto Theatre
- Alliance - FACT
- OTHERS ???

4. Other Visitors to South Africa:

- See #2 above
- Can we establish a HRLDSA office address in South Africa?
- Can we help the Legal Committee to find us contact with
- (names who will participate in Legal Exchange)

5. WHO WILL HELP TO REDRAFT THE APPLICATION IN JULY-AUGUST?

- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible]

HUMAN RIGHTS LEADERSHIP FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

JUNE 27, 1990

Tasks for summer 1990:

1. Help arrange contacts and planning for HRLDSA Legal Sub-Committee
 - inform Lusaka of Colin McNairn visit; ** CHARLIE WILL WRITE TO ZOLA SKWEYIYA (cc to PETER + COLIN)*
 - obtain names of Legal Program visitors, etc. ** COLIN WILL REQUEST ANC-TRINTU TO TELETYPE OR FAX DETAILS OF HIS EXACT DATE IN LUSAKA*
 - draft Program Proposal to SAETF *↳ * FROM ZOLA, IF COLIN IS ABLE TO SEE HIM IN LUSAKA IN JULY, '90*
- ↳ * TO BE DONE BY HRLDSA LEGAL SUB-COMMITTEE ONCE S. AFRICAN PARTICIPANTS ARE IDENTIFIED*
2. Collecting Statements of Interest from South African organizations.
 - name, address, contact person in the organization;
 - indication of how participation in a HRLDSA exchange would benefit and strengthen the organization's work;
 - offer to answer further enquiries
3. Collecting Statements of Interest from Canadian organizations.
 - Jerome: OECTA + York Region Board
 - Abdul: OECTA-Secondary
 - Barb: Doris Marshall Institute (has been submitted)
 - Charlie: Metro Toronto; City of Toronto
 - Colin: Canadian Bar Association + Lawyers Against Apartheid
 - Robin: Canadian Conference on the Arts + Toronto Theatre Alliance + PACT
 - OTHERS ????????????
4. Other Visitors to South Africa:
 - See #2 above
 - Can we establish a HRLDSA office address in South Africa? ** JEROME WILL LOOK INTO THIS ON HIS TRIP TO SOUTH AFRICA*
 - Can we help the Legal Committee to firm up contact with those who will participate in Legal Exchange?
5. WHO WILL HELP TO REDRAFT PAC APPLICATION IN JULY-AUGUST?
 - * BRUCE, JEROME, VIRGINIA + CHARLIE AT 5 ROSSMIRE RD ON AUGUST 14, 1990 AT 5 ROSSMIRE RD, 2:00 PM.*

NOTE: ALL STATEMENTS ARE DUE BY AUGUST 15, 1990.

HUMAN RIGHTS LEADERSHIP FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

A Joint Canada-ANC Project

July 3, 1990

Zola Skweyiya
Director, Department of Legal Affairs
African National Congress
PO Box 31791
Lusaka, Zambia

Dear Zola:

I am in receipt of the short letter you wrote to Barb Thomas concerning an exchange of Canadian and ANC-designated lawyers to participate in discussions organized by Human Rights Leadership for a Democratic South Africa, A Joint Canada-ANC Project.

We can now confirm that funding will be available for an initial exchange at a mutually convenient time, 1990-91.

One of the lawyers serving on HRLDSA, Colin McNairn, will be in Lusaka in mid-July and it is our hope that you and he will be able to meet and agree on those ANC/South African lawyers who will participate.

I am enclosing HRLDSA's two lawyer exchange proposals as originally brought to your attention by Barb Thomas.

Congratulations to the ANC and South African people on recent advances and please be advised that HRLDSA is prepared to do our utmost to ensure an exchange of substance and value.

5 Rossmore Road
Toronto, Ontario, Canada M6G 2M6
Fax (416) 925-9000

Charles Novakovsky

President, HRLDSA

Colin McNairn, HRLDSA Board Member, Toronto, Ontario, Canada

Taking Strides:
Towards a Democratic Non-Racial South Africa
Anti-Apartheid Consultative Forum
May 4,5,6, 1990 - Ottawa

STATEMENT

A national gathering of representatives of anti-apartheid groups, non-governmental organisations, women's groups, students, aboriginal groups and labour organisations and churches from all over the country met in Ottawa over the week-end. The meeting was addressed by representatives of the African National Congress, the United Democratic Front, the Federation of Transvaal Women (FEDTRAW) and the main trade union federation in South Africa, COSATU.

This meeting reaffirms our commitment to the agreements reached at previous national gatherings in Montreal and Vancouver, as well as at regional conferences more recently held in Vancouver, Winnipeg, Montreal, Toronto and Halifax.

We met at this critical stage when preparatory talks have started in South Africa between the government and the African National Congress (ANC).

While the situation is moving forward, we also hear from our South African friends that there are still major constraints facing the South African people in its drive for peace and non-racial democracy. Violence is still on the increase in some areas where the South African police is preventing peaceful protest. The white regime on the other hand seems very reluctant to engage in discussions about the basic inequalities and injustices coming from the apartheid system.

The eradication of apartheid in fact goes much beyond constitutional talks even if those could establish a proper framework for future progress. We refer here to the fact that the black majority has been dispossessed of land, of education, of job opportunities, for the profit and privileges of the white minority. Fundamental changes have to take place if apartheid is going to be eliminated.

This difficult and complex road towards freedom has been clearly analysed and formulated into a program of action, which is endorsed by the vast majority of South African anti-apartheid organisations as well as the Front-Line states (we refer here to the Harare Declaration). Real and thorough democratization, the establishment of a democratic constitution based on the universal principle of "one person-one vote", the release of all political prisoners, the scrapping of all repressive legislation are

some of the key demands of the South African people.

There is still an important role for the international community to play in the present context. The ANC and other democratic organisations have reiterated the need to maintain pressure on the South African government. It is also very important to support the ANC, structures of the mass democratic movement and groups sympathetic to it, especially considering the fact that the current context is one of great imbalance of power between the South African state and the anti-apartheid movement.

For these reasons, we are calling on the Canadian government to adopt a clearer and bolder approach in support of democracy in South Africa, which means:

- maintaining and extending the economic sanctions against South Africa; downgrading diplomatic relations with official South Africa and upgrading relations with the ANC and the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa

- developing a program of concrete support for the ANC as the leading force in the anti-apartheid movement;

- increasing support for the Front Line States in the broader context of the struggle for liberation in Southern Africa.

The newly formed Canada-wide anti-apartheid network will engage in concrete actions to pursue these objectives. A fund-raising campaign for the ANC is shortly to be launched to help the organisation relocating inside South Africa, as well as supporting the ANC in its work in Canada. In our work in solidarity with the South African people, we will provide particular focus on the struggles of women in South Africa.

Intensified pressures will be organised towards Canadian and multinational corporations and banks involved in supporting apartheid. Additional pressures will be applied against the presence of official South Africa in Canada.

We also see the connections between the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa and the issues of the anti-racist struggles in Canada. For this reason, we are going to take concrete actions against racism in Canada and in support of the just demands of Canada's first nations and people of colour in Canada.

PRESS RELEASE

SOUTH AFRICA WOMEN'S DAY
AUGUST 9TH, 1990.

On August 9, 1956, the African National Congress Women's League and the Federation of South African Women organised a massive demonstration against the pass laws; 20,000 women marched in silence in twos to Union Buildings in Pretoria. The Prime Minister refused to meet them, but they left 100,000 signatures on petitions at his office. The women stood in silence for 30 minutes with their hands in the Congress salute and then they sang freedom songs. The occasion is remembered by one of those songs:

Translated: "Strijdom, You have touched the women
You have struck a rock
You have dislodged a boulder
You will be crushed."

This demonstration was a great success and it gave an impetus to the women's anti-pass campaign. The women's defiance grew and spread throughout the country. Many women demonstrated and burnt their passes and while it was not compulsory for women to carry passes it was illegal to burn them. Hundreds of women were arrested and jailed all over the country.

Since then, August 9th has been celebrated in South Africa and wherever South Africans live as South African Women's Day. South Africa Women's Day has been reason to celebrate the strength and defiance of the women and to renew the fight against the apartheid system. This year conditions have changed a little. The ANC has been unbanned but apartheid is still in place. The struggle to destroy apartheid, and for the full emancipation of all women continues. In this regard the ANC Women's Section has announced the launching of the ANC Women's League in Durban South Africa on August 9th, 1990 - South Africa Women's Day.

In Toronto, the Womens Section of the ANC will be celebrating South Africa Women's Day on August 9th, 1990 at the Euclid Theatre, 394 Euclid Avenue, Toronto. at 7.30 pm. The event coincides with the launching of the ANC Women's League in South Africa.

Speakers : Woman member of the ANC from Natal South Africa
Native Woman - Assebley of First Nations

Cultural Programme : Siyakha (Theatre of Energy)
Basta
League of Nations

For further information please contact

484-8480 Fatima *** 465-7386 Nompi *** 461-4255 ANC

NELSON MANDELA FUNDRAISING COMMITTEE MEETING

NOTICE OF MEETING

DATE: Thursday, December 6, 1990

TIME: 4:30 p.m.

PLACE: Education Centre
155 College Street
Room 252

PLEASE NOTE DATE CHANGE OF MEETING.

Refreshments will be served.

Nelson Mandela Fundraising Committee Minutes - Oct. 30/90

Present: Joan Kallis, Jason Charters, Warren Kazor, Ouida Wright, Brian Hodgson, Tlaleng Gladys Koaho, Mac Carim, Peter Mahlangu, Domenic Bellissimo, Tina Konstantinou, Naeema Bhyat, Kinh-Tung Nguyen, Jeff Sprang, Navern Nash, Susan Marchiori, Danya Agar, Jeremy Agar, Angela Brazao, Ali Callegarini, Marguerite Alfred, Emmanuel Dick and Lloyd McKell.

Regrets: TASC members, John Doherty, Linda Sparling, Lynn Lymberg-Pelly, Marg Evans, Rose Mary DaSilva, Gail Campbell, Susanne Marshall and Jeff Kugler.

The meeting was called to order at 4:50 p.m. by Lloyd McKell.

Lloyd introduced Peter Mahlangu of the ANC, Mac Carim of the Mandela Fundraising Committee and each person then introduced themselves.

It was moved by Domenic Bellissimo and seconded by Joan Kallis that the minutes be accepted correct as distributed. Motion carried.

Business arising from minutes

Item #3 - Peter Mahlangu explained that the funds raised by the committee would not have to be funnelled through the Nelson Mandela Fund that has been set up by the federal government. However, they would be a support and resource to our group.

Peter also went on to further explain that the Nelson Mandela Fund was not initiated by the government but by Joe Clark and is an all party committee project.

Item #4 - The question of the use of the fund was again raised. Domenic Bellissimo circulated a handbook on this. Lloyd McKell said that this would be investigated further.

Lloyd presented a chart showing the two areas of concentration for this fundraising project. One area is to be the Central Project Committee. Those who sit on this will develop events that are school board wide. The other will be the Student Project Committee. This group will organize the program for the individual schools. The two committees will work in co-ordination with each other.

The participants then chose the committee that they wished to work in with Lloyd McKell, chair of the Central Project Committee and Domenic Bellissimo, chair of the Student Project Committee.

School Project Committee:

They decided that their objectives would be: to organize activities that will be fun, to coordinate these activities with awareness of the South African challenge.

They plan to put together a package to give to each school. This package would include ideas for various events such as dances, talent shows, fashion shows and many more. Reps could also be sent out to assist schools in organizing these events.

The slogan for this campaign may be "Schools in South Africa can make a difference", similar to the Toronto Board of Education slogan.

With February being Black History Month and the anniversary of Nelson Mandela's release, it was felt that this might be a good time to hold these events as it is not a hectic time for students.

Marguerite Alfred suggested that a system be implemented to coordinate TASC along with other organizations to link and connect the information that the students will require for this project.

Brian Hodgson has asked that the package be authorized by the Toronto Board of Education prior to going out.

An initiative will begin to involve more elementary and race relations teachers.

Their next meeting will be November 13, 1990 to get more ideas and to start the actual planning of the project.

Central Project Committee:

Lloyd reported for this group. The two areas that they looked at specifically were timing and what should happen.

Under timing the following was discussed as possibilities:

- 1) Second week of June with June 16th Soweto Day and June 19th being Mandela's anniversary date of his visit to Toronto
- 2) February 11th - Mandela's release date
- 3) May - Board could designate as Mandela Week with mayors, etc. to also cooperate

This could also be the same for June as well.

They are suggesting maybe two major events with the launch in February and the big event in June.

The Mandela book is being done now and will include pictures, speeches, newsclippings, etc. This book would be launched in February and sold at all events.

The group discussed having a huge concert with recognized talent within the school system or an outstanding speaker event with someone who is involved and committed to the cause in South Africa. This could include an essay competition.

Another idea is to have the Sprang painting of Mandela reproduced as numbered prints and have them signed by Mandela to be sold at a very good price. Then copies of the signed prints could be sold in mass numbers for a cheaper price.

Peter Mahlangu thanked the participants for coming to these meetings. He said that it is rare to have such enthusiasm and it is very encouraging. The mere fact that he does not have to talk about demonstrations and fighting with the government, shows the progress of the South African struggle. There has been lots of progress but the government won't give in easily and wants to create the situation of confusion which can lead to division. This in turn makes people forget what they want to achieve. South Africa is being born from the ashes of apartheid. Many in South Africa don't have education and the facilities that we have at the Toronto Board of Education.

The situation of blacks killing blacks has been engineered by a government who want to be perceived as pure in all of this. They want to put the pressure on Mandela and make him deal with it.

"Let's get as many involved as possible and use this for education because we need you to help us".

Meeting was adjourned at 6:45 p.m.

SOUTH AFRICA : Government Winning Propaganda War

Harare, November 16, 1990 (AIA/Tambayi Muchukuchi) — President FW De Klerk is winning a massive propaganda war aimed at hiding the continued maintenance and intensification of apartheid.

This theme, which is increasingly echoed throughout anti-apartheid circles, overwhelmed a recent conference of African journalists here.

The October 28-30 conference was organised by the Belgium-based International Federation of Journalists and hosted by the Zimbabwe Union of Journalists. The published theme was "Journalists of Africa: The Union Challenges of the 1990s." But the proceedings were quickly overtaken by an intense debate about disinformation in South Africa which has led the world to believe there is a irrevocable move away from apartheid and a need to end sanctions.

South Africans at the conference were blunt in their criticism of the media onslaught orchestrated by the National Party government and implemented by the large media conglomerates that are backed by private industry.

Representing the South African media unions were the Association of Democratic Journalists, Media Workers' Association of South Africa and South African Union of Journalists.

Representatives told fellow Africans that:

- Local and international media continue to marginalise the real issues of the struggle by emphasising De Klerk's cosmetic reforms, the lifting of the state of emergency, and the release of some prisoners, sending wrong signals to the world on the crucial issue of sanctions while ignoring or reducing to body counts the struggle in townships, farms and mines where apartheid is entrenched.

- Despite the lifting of the state of emergency the press is still heavily restricted in what it can report. It has to rely on government press releases that put the regime in a good light — while in places declared "unrest" areas, security forces can regulate media coverage.

- There are still more than 100 laws restricting publication of certain information on the struggle.

- More than 300 activists in South Africa cannot

be quoted, others are still restricted to their township environment, denied freedom of association and cannot openly participate in anti-apartheid activities without risking arrest.

The revelations were greeted with shocked disbelief, proving the point that even in Africa, Pretoria's propaganda assault is having an impact.

A Senegalese delegate summed up the mixed, even confused reaction found in many African countries, particularly those De Klerk visited recently with promises of the irreversibility of the move away from apartheid.

He said: "When you mobilise the grassroots to boycott or demonstrate against De Klerk people ask, 'How can you do that to a person who released Mandela after 27 years in jail?'"

The South Africans had few solutions. They said the alternative press had failed to match the might of the state and large corporate media.

The delegates agreed the alternative media had not been aggressive enough to dismantle entrenched views because their papers suffered from limited circulation and a shortage of trained workers.

—Africa Information Afrique

SOUTH AFRICA : Communities Hold Their Breath

Johannesburg, November 16, 1990 (AIA/Jenny Cargill) — Amid reports of "shooting practice" in an Inkatha-controlled East Rand hostel, the squatter settlement Zonkeziwe became a ghost town after a day of political violence this week.

The spurt of fighting between Inkatha and African National Congress (ANC) supporters on Monday prompted thousands of residents to flee to neighbouring townships.

Only a little over one year old, Zonkeziwe is a well-organised settlement of some 80,000 people. The death count was not high enough to attract the media. And so the exodus went unnoticed.

But the residents were taking no chances. Evidence suggests that caution is justified.

The reef communities are only too aware that the chapter on the bitter violence of August and early September closed without an effective truce or peace pact. Inkatha forces appeared to withdraw as the state security's "Operation Iron Fist" cleared the killing

fields in time for President FW de Klerk to shine up reform for his diplomatic offensive, starting in Washington.

Inkatha's Chief Gatsha Mangosutho Buthelezi also went on a sweep of international capitals to polish his image.

Both are now back, with differences between Pretoria and the ANC sharpening as the latter injects a renewed campaign of mass political action into its strategic armoury. And while Buthelezi has been tantalised with a promise of a meeting with ANC deputy President Nelson Mandela, no date has yet been set.

Thus the overriding sense in the Witwaterand's black townships is one of communities' holding their breath — and hoping

Surrounded by veld, Zonkeziwe is not far from some of the flashpoints of previous violence — Pola Park squatter camp (which was razed to the ground by Inkatha in August, but has been re-occupied), and the townships of Thokoza, Kandlehong and Vosloorus.

For some reason, the August violence bypassed Zonkeziwe, a settlement which incorporates, as its name suggests, "all nations".

But last Sunday, separate meetings of ANC-aligned residents and Inkatha culminated in the stabbing of an ANC supporter. Although the events of that day are not exactly clear, the tensions that erupted lie in a growing political divide within the community.

While the ANC has not yet launched a branch, the forms of grassroots organisation associated with it have been taking root — a residents' committee with attached street committees. Inkatha residents, say the others, oppose these.

But, as in the August violence, the divide is headlined in tribal terms, with political differences providing the subheading. Inkatha forces define first and foremost the Xhosa people as their enemy, stating second their belief that the Xhosa are all ANC supporters.

The stabbing triggered some fierce fighting on Monday, which left five dead on the ANC side.

The following day an eerie silence engulfed the sprawling shanty town. A strong wind whipped up just around the largely deserted streets and locked up shacks. The taxi rank stood empty and only fragile wooden frames bore witness to a market place.

There was no sign of the red head- and arm-bands — the trademark of Inkatha forces in battle. These

troops were gathered on a hill not far from the settlement, said retreating residents.

Closer by, on the railway line, was a group of about 100 men, claiming allegiance to the ANC. No weapons were evident — they had been disarmed by police the previous day, they reported. But the communal sipping from a bottle of muti (traditional medicine) indicated to their resolve to go into battle if need be.

The conflict appeared spontaneous. But there were signs which suggested a possible organised component to this new outbreak of violence.

Last week, residents of neighbouring Vosloorus drew attention to the arrival of a "special unit" of plain-clothes policemen in armoured "hippo" vehicles. The community accused this unit of backing Inkatha in the previous spate of violence. And thus, their presence was the first ominous sign of trouble.

There have also been reports of regular shooting within one of Vosloorus' Inkatha-controlled hostels. "It sounds like shooting practice, rather than a clash," said one resident.

Then, just after the Monday clash at Zonkeziwe, reports started filtering through from Vosloorus of a number of taxis — carrying men only — with Natal registration plates. And at least two men, with shining new spears, were seen entering the hostel.

The men waiting along the rail line also identified Kwesine hostel in Kandlehong as a centre for the Inkatha forces. The bulk of the people at Sunday's Inkatha meeting were not Zonkeziwe residents, they said. A residents' delegation sent to the Inkatha meeting to try to resolve the differences had been told they were from Kwesine.

Forbearance is perhaps the quality most needed now — and it was evident as the women of Zonkeziwe collected their belongings and children for the great trek out. Hanging on to a sense of humour, one of the women giggled through the account of her misfortunes.

She had fled the August battles at Pola Park, seeking refuge at a local church. But others had beat her back to her shack. Not having the heart to "evict" them, she set up home once more in Zonkeziwe.

But how long can people bear this kind of life?

—Africa Information Afrique

**CANADIANS RESPOND TO
MANDELA REQUEST FOR FINANCIAL SUPPORT**

A STATEMENT BY
ARCHBISHOP EDWARD W. SCOTT

AND

GABRIELLE LACHANCE

ON BEHALF OF THE
NELSON MANDELA FUND/FONDS NELSON MANDELA

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

MONDAY, JUNE 11, 1990
11:00 A.M.
COMMONWEALTH ROOM
PARLIAMENT HILL
OTTAWA

- 1 -

WELCOME. MY NAME IS ARCHBISHOP EDWARD W. SCOTT. THIS
IS MADAME GABRIELLE LACHANCE.

WE ARE HERE TODAY ALONG WITH THOSE AROUND US BECAUSE
OF A DEEP, SINCERE INTEREST IN DEFENDING AND PROMOTING
HUMAN RIGHTS, SOCIAL JUSTICE, AND DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS
FOR ALL.

THANKS TO OUR OWN AND MANY, MANY OTHER SUCH VOICES,
THE MAJORITY OF WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS HAVE COME TO
AGREE THAT APARTHEID IS WRONG, AND MUST BE CHANGED.

THROUGH A RANGE OF INDIVIDUAL, GROUP AND GOVERNMENT ACTIONS, CANADIANS HAVE OPPOSED THE BRUTAL SYSTEM OF RACIALLY STRUCTURED INJUSTICE AGAINST THE VAST MAJORITY OF SOUTH AFRICANS.

AS A RESULT, PEOPLE THE WORLD OVER HAVE HEARD THE CANADIAN DECLARATION THAT APARTHEID IS WRONG.

FRAGILE YET POWERFUL CONSENSUS IN SOUTH AFRICA

THANKS TO OUR OWN AND MANY, MANY OTHER SUCH VOICES, THE MAJORITY OF WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS HAVE COME TO AGREE THAT APARTHEID IS WRONG, AND MUST BE CHANGED.

THE GROUP OF CANADIANS YOU SEE IN THIS ROOM HAVE A MESSAGE FOR OUR COMPATRIOTS WHO CARE.

CLEARLY, INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE ACTIONS DENOUNCING APARTHEID DO COUNT. THEY DO TOUCH ON THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF AN EVER-INCREASING NUMBER OF SOUTH AFRICANS OF ALL RACES.

BECAUSE THEY DO MAKE A DIFFERENCE, NOW MORE THAN EVER, OUR ACTIONS MUST BE DIRECTED TOWARD NURTURING THE FRAGILE YET POWERFUL CONSENSUS IN SOUTH AFRICA MOTIVATING THE PRELIMINARY MOVES THAT COULD LEAD TO THE DISMANTLING OF APARTHEID.

THE GROUP OF CANADIANS YOU SEE IN THIS ROOM HAVE A MESSAGE FOR OUR COMPATRIOTS WHO CARE.

WE WISH TO SHARE AND ENCOURAGE MORE AND MORE
NOW, LIKE NEVER BEFORE, WE MUST RE-DEDICATE OURSELVES
TO HELPING THOSE SOUTH AFRICANS WHO ARE LEADING THE
WAY TOWARD POSITIVE CHANGE IN THEIR COUNTRY, AND WHO
REQUEST OUR ASSISTANCE.

TO THIS END, WE ARE TODAY ANNOUNCING THE ESTABLISHMENT
OF A NON-PROFIT, NON-REGISTERED CANADIAN PUBLIC TRUST,
TO BE KNOWN AS THE "NELSON MANDELA FUND/FONDS NELSON
MANDELA."

AND, THROUGH MR. MANDELA, WE WISH TO HONOUR AND
IN CREATING THIS FUND, WE AIM TO ACCOMPLISH THREE
GOALS.

WE WISH TO ENABLE AND ENCOURAGE MORE AND MORE
CANADIANS TO ASSIST ON A TIMELY, MEANINGFUL BASIS IN
ADVANCING DIALOGUE AND CHANGE WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA.

WE WISH TO PAY MEANINGFUL TRIBUTE TO MR. MANDELA,
WHOSE LIFE CONTINUES TO SERVE AS AN INTERNATIONAL
SYMBOL OF THE STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN AND DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS
FOR ALL; AND WHOSE LEADERSHIP REPRESENTS THE BEST
HOPE FOR PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF HISTORIC INJUSTICES.

AND, THROUGH MR. MANDELA, WE WISH TO HONOUR AND
FURTHER ASSIST ALL THOSE SOUTH AFRICANS WHO'VE PAID
THE HIGHEST PERSONAL PRICE IN THEIR STRUGGLE TO BRING
PEACE AND PROGRESS TO THEIR COUNTRY.

IN PURSUING THESE GOALS, WE RECOGNIZE THE CRITICAL IMPORTANCE OF MR. MANDELA IN THE CURRENT DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AMONG OTHERS THAT, IDEALLY, WILL LEAD TO NEGOTIATIONS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE.

WE ARE ALL AWARE THE GOVERNMENT HAS THE VAST WEALTH, EXPERTISE AND RESOURCES OF THE STATE AT ITS DISPOSAL.

MR. MANDELA, THE ANC AND THOSE WHOM THEY REPRESENT DO NOT. THEY ONLY HAVE WHAT THEIR SUPPORTERS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND AROUND THE WORLD CONTRIBUTE.

THE REQUEST WAS FOR CANADIAN MOVIES TO ASSIST IN RE-ESTABLISHING IN SOUTH AFRICA, THOSE DEMOCRATIC STRUCTURES REPRESENTING THE DISENFRANCHISED MAJORITY, PARTICULARLY THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

THAT'S THE WHOLE POINT OF THIS EXERCISE. TO ATTEMPT TO EQUALIZE THE SITUATION, TO LEVEL THE NEGOTIATING FIELD. CANADIANS, THROUGH A DONATION TO THE FUND, CAN HELP MOVE THE DIALOGUE AND MOMENTUM FOR CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA FORWARD, BY ENSURING THAT ALL SOUTH AFRICANS ARE EFFECTIVELY REPRESENTED IN THE 'TALKS ABOUT TALKS' AND, ULTIMATELY, IN THE NEGOTIATIONS ABOUT CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE FOR SOUTH AFRICA.

THE EVENTS LEADING UP TO THIS ANNOUNCEMENT BEGAN WITH A DIRECT REQUEST FROM MR. MANDELA TO EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTER JOE CLARK.

THE REQUEST WAS FOR CANADIAN MONIES TO ASSIST IN RE-ESTABLISHING, IN SOUTH AFRICA, THOSE DEMOCRATIC STRUCTURES REPRESENTING THE DISENFRANCHISED MAJORITY, PARTICULARLY THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

THIS WAS FOLLOWED BY EXPRESSIONS OF SUPPORT IN PARLIAMENT, BY THE THREE FEDERAL PARTIES, FOR A DIRECT APPEAL TO CANADIANS; AND BY THE INITIATIVE OF A FEW PRIVATE CITIZENS WHO, ALONG WITH THE APPOINTED PARTY REPRESENTATIVES, TOOK UP THE CHALLENGE OF PLANNING THAT APPEAL.

ON MAY 16, CO-CHAIR MADAME LACHANCE AND TRUSTEE HOWARD MCCURDY MET MR. MANDELA IN NIGERIA, AND OBTAINED HIS APPROVAL FOR OUR INITIATIVE AND HIS SIGNATURE TO AN AGREEMENT WITH US. A COPY IS INCLUDED IN YOUR KITS.

TODAY, OURS IS A UNIQUE COALITION OF CONCERNED CANADIANS REPRESENTING CHARITABLE, COMMUNITY, LABOUR, NON-PROFIT, POLITICAL, RELIGIOUS AND BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS AS WELL AS ALL REGIONS OF THE COUNTRY.

IT'S AN EXAMPLE TO THE WORLD OF A BROAD-BASED PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE PARTNERSHIP -- WITHIN A NATION, AND BETWEEN NATIONS -- BY WHICH TO MORE EFFECTIVELY CHANGE ATTITUDES, SOCIAL STRUCTURES, AND PRACTICES.

WE ARE AWARE OF NO SIMILAR NATIONAL PUBLIC TRUST OF THIS NATURE, WHICH PERHAPS EXPLAINS THE RECENT ENQUIRIES FROM OTHER COUNTRIES.

THE NELSON MANDELA FUND WILL CONDUCT A SPECIAL NATIONAL APPEAL FOR FINANCIAL SUPPORT BEGINNING WITH MR. MANDELA'S VISIT HERE TO CANADA NEXT WEEK, AND ENDING ON SEPTEMBER 17.

MONIES RAISED WILL BE DIRECTED TOWARD ENDS DETERMINED BY MR. MANDELA THAT SUPPORT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS FOR ALL SOUTH AFRICANS. THE PROCESS BY WHICH MONIES WILL BE DISBURSED IS DESCRIBED IN OUR AGREEMENT WITH HIM.

THE HIGHEST STANDARDS ARE AND WILL BE APPLIED IN THE
MANAGEMENT OF THE FUND'S AFFAIRS.

THERE WILL BE PUBLIC REPORTING OF ALL OUR ACTIVITIES.

IN THE END, OUR SUCCESS WILL DEPEND VERY MUCH ON
RAISING THE LEVEL OF AWARENESS AND UNDERSTANDING AMONG
MORE AND MORE CANADIANS OF THE VERY REAL COSTS OF
APARTHEID AND THE VERY REAL POTENTIAL FOR A NON-
RACIAL, FULLY DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA.

WE URGE CANADIANS TO DONATE TO THE NELSON MANDELA
FUND, AND HELP ACHIEVE THE SHARED GOAL OF A NON-
RACIAL, JUST AND UNITED SOUTH AFRICA.

TOGETHER, WE URGE CANADIANS TO DONATE TO THE NELSON MANDELA FUND, AND SUPPORT SOUTH AFRICA'S MOVEMENT FROM APARTHEID TO A SYSTEM THAT FREES ALL SOUTH AFRICANS TO PURSUE THE FULL BENEFITS OF CITIZENSHIP.

WE URGE CANADIANS TO DONATE TO THE NELSON MANDELA FUND, AND RENEW THEIR COMMITMENT TO MR. MANDELA AND, THROUGH HIM, TO THE VAST MAJORITY OF SOUTH AFRICANS WHO KNOW THAT REAL PEACE AND REAL PROGRESS CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED THROUGH THE EXTENSION OF FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN AND DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS TO ALL ITS PEOPLE.

WE URGE CANADIANS TO DONATE TO THE NELSON MANDELA FUND, AND HELP ACHIEVE THE SHARED GOAL OF A NON-RACIAL, JUST AND UNITED SOUTH AFRICA.

GOAL

This document sets out a strategy for enabling Canadians to further support, on a timely and meaningful basis, the establishment through peaceful means of a non-racial, fully democratic South Africa.

Its preparation flows specifically from:

Confidential

the support of Nelson Mandela to the Secretary of State for External Affairs for Canadian financial and other assistance in re-establishing democratic structures, particularly those representing the dis-franchised majority, within South Africa.

the support of the three federal parties within the House of Commons for a non-governmental response to Mr. Mandela's request.

Raising Financial Support For The Establishment of Democratic Freedoms For All South Africans

Revised Preliminary Proposal (June 11)

OBJECTIVES

The above-stated goal will be pursued through means that encourage Canadians:

- To reflect on the systematic denial of democratic freedoms to a majority of South Africans;
- To recognize that lasting peace and progress in that country and region can be achieved by establishing full democratic freedoms for all South Africans; and
- To back up such recognition with the offering of any money to assist Mr. Mandela and, through him, others who are working through peaceful means for a non-racial, fully democratic South Africa.

GOAL

This document sets out a strategy for enabling Canadians to further support, on a timely and meaningful basis, the establishment through peaceful means of a non-racial, fully democratic South Africa.

Its preparation flows specifically from:

- a request by Nelson Mandela to the Secretary of State for External Affairs for Canadian financial and other assistance in re-establishing democratic structures, particularly those representing the dis-enfranchised majority, within South Africa,
- the support of the three federal parties within the House of Commons for a non-governmental response to Mr. Mandela's request, and
- the outcome of advice from a variety of sources prepared at the request of Archbishop Edward W. Scott and Madame Gabrielle Lachance.

OBJECTIVES

The above-stated goal will be pursued through means that encourage Canadians:

- To reflect on the systemic denial of democratic freedoms to a majority of South Africans;
- To recognize that lasting peace and progress in that country and region can be nurtured by establishing full democratic freedoms for all South Africans; and
- To back up such recognition with the offering of new monies to assist Mr. Mandela and, through him, others who are working through peaceful means for a non-racial, fully democratic South Africa.

CAMPAIGN CONCEPT

The Fund's campaign to raise Canadian awareness, understanding and monies will include the following elements.

- (1) LAUNCH OF THE INITIATIVE: A media conference will be hosted to announce that a group of Canadians has been working since early March to prepare a formal response to Mr. Mandela's request for Canadian financial support. The one pre-condition for setting the date of this media conference is the prior approval to the Fund's plan by Mr. Mandela.

International and national media interest can be expected.

Prior notice of the timing and contents of this media conference will be provided to the three leaders in the House of Commons and to those Canadian non-governmental organizations currently active in South Africa.

The messages the Fund will convey at this time include:

- the creation of the Nelson Mandela Fund/Fonds Nelson Mandela (see "Positioning of the Fund", page 9),
- the membership of the group leading the initiative (see "Positioning of the Fund's Leadership", page 9),
- the reasons for responding to Mr. Mandela's request (see "Positioning of Financial Support", page 10),
- the end results being sought (see "Positioning of Success", page 10)
- the parameters for deciding on the end use of funds, (see "Positioning of Disbursement of Fund Monies", page 11)
- the parameters within which the plan was developed (see "Parameters for Developing the Plan", page 12),
- the process of consultation undertaken with others in the development of the plan, and
- the fact that campaign details will be released at a later time.

This launch will be followed immediately by one-on-one media interviews and editorial boards by Fund Trustees for the purposes of re-iterating these messages. Minimally these must occur in Toronto, Montreal or Quebec City, Halifax, Winnipeg and Vancouver.

(2) MANDELA VISIT TO CANADA: Mr. Mandela will visit Canada from June 17 to 19. During that visit, he will address the Canadian people via our Parliament. Ideally this address will touch on:

- a basic description of apartheid and its effects,
- a basic description of the vision of the "new South Africa" toward which he, the ANC and others are working,
- a basic description of how that vision can be brought about, of the advances that have already been achieved, of the areas of reform that still require attention, and of the manner by which he, the ANC and others are advocating for such reforms, and
- Mr. Mandela's personal recognition of the plan to mount a campaign for financial support among Canadians, his and the ANC's agreement to it (with special reference to the end use of funds, and the provisions respecting accountability on these end uses).

Immediately following this speech, a media conference/photo opportunity will be held involving Mr. Mandela and the Fund Trustees. At this time, additional campaign details will be unveiled and Mr. Mandela will sign a sample thank you card that will be mailed to all donors. It is hoped the original card will hang in the Parliament buildings, the Museum of Civilization or the Lester B. Pearson Building.

Institutional sponsors recruited as of this point will be profiled at this event. At a minimum, their representatives will be invited to observe the press conference.

International and national media interest in this conference can be expected.

In addition, during his visit, the Fund will seek time for a one-on-one video-taped interview with Mr. Mandela for use in subsequent Fund communications.

- (3) **PROMOTION OF THE CAMPAIGN:** Between the time of Mr. Mandela's visit and September 17, direct canvass activities will occur to stimulate interest and participation among stakeholder groups, unions, corporations and individuals.

AS FREQUENTLY AS IS BOTH USEFUL AND POSSIBLE

MAILINGS TO VOLUNTEERS: A monthly report will be prepared and mailed to a self-selected list of persons interested in receiving progress updates.

MEDIA RELATIONS: Media relations will be carried out as worthwhile items are available for announcement (i.e. recruitment of significant supporters and sponsors).

OTHER ACTIVITIES SLATED FOR JUNE

LEGISLATORS' PACKAGE: All Members of Parliament, Senators, provincial and territorial legislators will be contacted by mail and asked to participate in our program. To those who respond positively, a kit containing the following materials will be forwarded:

- a suggested article for their September columns to constituents, or for inclusion in replies to correspondence on this matter,
- the opportunity to invite a Fund spokesperson to address a group in their riding in early September,
- a standard speech that they could themselves use,
- a sample letter requesting financial support they could themselves mail in early September,
- a sample of handout materials along with an order form for obtaining more for distribution by them in early September, and
- a poster for their constituency office.

Participating legislators will also be added to the list to receive periodic mailings on our progress.

STAKEHOLDER GROUP SPONSORSHIP: Groups assumed by Fund Trustees to be receptive to profiling our activities will receive a request to participate in our program. Specifically, they will be asked to profile our initiative in their member-oriented communications and activities. These groups will be contacted first by mail to determine their willingness to participate. If agreeable, they will then be forwarded a kit including items similar to the Legislators' kit.

The types of organizations to be approached include:

- the member organizations of the South African Reference Group,
- community organizations serving blacks in Canada,
- organizations aimed at the defence or promotion of civil liberties, broad democratic principles, and broad community service,
- the three national political parties, and
- Canadian religious organizations.

Participating groups will be profiled in Fund communicaions. They will also be added to the list to receive periodic mailings on the Fund's progress.

INSTITUTIONAL SPONSORSHIP: A pre-selected set of institutions, including trade associations, trade unions, and corporations, will be forwarded a request for financial sponsorship.

The package will include a letter from the co-chairs, a description of the Fund and of the sponsorship opportunities, and the name of the Fund contact person who will follow up the letter with a request for a meeting.

SCHOOLS SPONSORSHIP: A letter from the co-chairs will be forwarded to all schools in Canada outlining the special sponsorship program for post-secondary, senior high, junior high and grade schools.

OTHER ACTIVITIES SLATED FOR AUGUST

INDIVIDUAL SPONSORSHIP: A letter from the co-chairs requesting support of individuals will be mailed for receipt in early September. The format will be an unaddressed package distributed on the basis of postal walks. The selection of the postal walks will be based on the demographic profile of our target audience matched to the demographic composition of the postal walks as determined by Statistics Canada census data.

OTHER ACTIVITIES SLATED FOR SEPTEMBER

Beginning on September 11, broad-based communications will be undertaken to remind Canadians of the need for financial support, and to provide promotional opportunities to institutional sponsors recruited by a prior date. These broad-based communications will include selected special events involving Fund Speakers, with related leave-behind communications. Media relations will aim to profile these events as well as September 17, the targeted day, in order to offset the need for paid advertising. Should this prove to be inadequate, print advertising could be undertaken. Supporting all efforts, of course, will be the receipt of the direct communications mailed in August.

- (5) SEPTEMBER 17: In the days immediately leading up to and including this day, Canadians will be invited to take actions consistent with the Fund's objects.

The targeted day will commence with a focal event still to be determined. Following the formal kick-off, the focus of attention and emphasis will shift to demonstrations of support for the Fund's aims by Canadians across the country.

The range of individual actions to be promoted include:

- the giving of monies to the Fund via payments through the mail, over the counter at participating deposit institutions, or phoned in as credit card charges,

- the airing of advertisements on television, radio, in print and in cinemas, linking (a) the cause with (b) the need and means for providing monies to the Fund, and (c) the names of major sponsors,
- the release of all motions in support of the Fund's aims by Canadian democratically elected bodies, from Parliament to student councils.

The day will conclude with a media conference to signal the importance of the day's activities as well as a projection -- if verifiable -- of the number of participants and the financial value of their participation. This opportunity will also be used to unveil the "Canadians Thanking Canadians" wrap-up event, and to remind participants to submit their donations immediately in the prescribed fashion.

- (6) CAMPAIGN WRAP-UP: The campaign will wrap-up with a final event at which volunteers will address the Mandela thank you cards to donors, thus the name "Canadians thanking Canadians". Depending on the response to our campaign, this could become a major media event.
- (7) FINAL REPORT: As soon as possible, the Fund Trustees will report publicly on
 - the number of supporters and the dollar value of their support,
 - the names of those providing funds,
 - the activities undertaken to obtain support, and
 - all disbursements from the Fund's account.

This report will be turned over to Mr. Mandela, and to the United Nations in the form of another volume of the Canadian Anti-Apartheid Register.

RECOMMENDED POSITIONING

In order to meet these goals and objectives, the following positioning requirements will and must be pursued through all statements and actions.

Positioning of the Fund

A fund will be created in Canada under the name of the Nelson Mandela Fund/Fonds Nelson Mandela. The Fund must operate, and be viewed as operating, as a non-profit, non-registered public trust.

Positioning of the Fund's Leadership

The group leading this initiative must be, and must be viewed as, a select group of Canadians whose life long work has been to promote and advance the nature, understanding and enjoyment of democratic freedoms and structures among Canadians, or in the name of Canadians abroad.

The Fund Trustees will assume the legal and ethical responsibility, consistent with the Trust Document, for formulating and operating activities related to: the pursuit and promotion of Canadian financial support; the receipt of monies, and of goods and services on a *pro bono* basis; the disbursement of funds and the application of *pro bono* goods and services; and the subsequent reporting on all activities and related disbursements with which the Fund is directly associated.

As a collective, the Board will be drawn from major segments of Canadian society, including

- the three national political parties,
- Canada's artistic, business, charitable, labour, non-profit, and religious sectors, and
- the diversity of community organizations that exist within our borders.

Complementing the Fund Trustees will be an Operations Committee. Its purpose will be to implement and execute the Trustees' directives for pursuing and promoting financial sponsorship at all dollar levels. The basis for selecting individuals for this Committee will be their recognized expertise in a specific area of endeavour, and their availability to carry out required tasks on a *pro bono* basis.

Positioning of Financial Support

Financial support must be, and must be viewed as being,

- A tribute to one person, Nelson Mandela, whose life continues to serve as an international symbol of the struggle for peace, equality and democratic freedoms.
- Proof of the fundamental importance we as Canadians place on peace, equality and democratic freedoms because they are universally valued, and because they are at the heart of our own nationhood, serving to define and unite us as a people.
- A tangible way for expressing our individual commitment to these ideals to each other, to all South Africans and to the world.
- An example to the world of the broad-based people-to-people partnership -- within a nation, and between nations -- by which to more effectively manage lasting change in attitudes, societal structures and practices.
- A timely, meaningful and pragmatic way for advancing the dialogue within South Africa surrounding the introduction of democratic freedoms and structures for all its peoples, and a recognition of Mr. Mandela's role as an agent of change to be trusted; and
- An act receiving the united support of the three federal parties represented in the House of Commons.

Positioning of Success

The success of this initiative must be, and must be viewed as being:

- an increased level of Canadian public awareness, understanding and individual support for a non-racial, fully democratic South Africa (in this regard, the number of participants is more important than the full dollar value of their participation),
- the impact of our efforts on other nations seeking guidance on how best to proceed on similar concerns, and
- the impact of our efforts within South Africa in advancing dialogue and peaceful action.

Positioning of Disbursements of Fund Monies

Disbursement of monies in Canada for the promotion of the Fund's aims must be, and must be viewed as being, equal to less than "x" percent ("x"%) of the total amount raised.

Disbursement of Fund monies outside of Canada must be, and must be viewed as being, consistent with the general standards that govern the delivery of Canadian development assistance through both governmental and non-governmental organizations. These standards require a process of consultation resulting in a written agreement between the Fund and Mr. Mandela, setting out the objectives of the proposed activity, the related budget, and the agreed-to reporting and auditing arrangements.

PARAMETERS FOR DEVELOPING THE PLAN

The parameters which have guided the delineation of this plan include the following:

- Feature Mr. Mandela prominently and respect his independence and role as an agent of change within South Africa.
- Project the broad Canadian interest in all matters associated with the promotion, negotiation, and establishment of democratic freedoms and structures for all South Africans.
- Comply with Canadian laws, including the National Income Tax Act and Public Trustee legislation.
- Communicate in Canada's two official languages.
- Dedicate minimally 80% and ideally 100% of the monies received toward the Fund's objects outside of Canada.
- Meet the highest ethical and professional standards and practices in the securing and disbursement of monies, and in the detailed public accounting of all activities and related expenditures with which the Fund is directly associated.
- Recognize and promote the existence, commitment and work of existing Canadian organizations already active on a range of issues related to South Africa, and
- Operate at arms-length from the government of Canada but in cooperation with the three federal parties represented in the House of Commons.

The project agreement will be in the form of a written undertaking to support the proposed activity, and will include:

- a description of the project proposed by Mr. Mandela,
- a breakdown of proposed expenditures, timetable for disbursements, and schedule for reporting of disbursements,
- agreement by Mr. Mandela and recipients that adequate financial records will be maintained and that such records will be accessible for audit if required by the Fund.

DISBURSEMENT OF FUNDS OUTSIDE OF CANADA

Funds will be dispersed according to the general standards that govern the delivery of Canadian development assistance through both governmental and non-governmental organizations. These require a process of consultation resulting in a written agreement between the Fund and Mr. Mandela, setting out the objectives of the proposed activity, the related budget, and agreed-to reporting and auditing arrangements.

The disbursement of funds must satisfy the legal requirements of the Fund under relevant Canadian legislation. In addition, all financial sponsors and the general public must be assured that the end use of monies conforms with the Fund's objects based on an adequate process for determining such end uses. Furthermore, the process for determining end uses must be based on the mutual respect and trust, and the needs and obligations, of both parties.

Approval of Expenditures

The approval of expenditures will be based on:

- Receipt of specific request(s) from Mr. Mandela and/or representative(s) nominated by him specifically for this purpose;
- Determination by the Fund's Board of Trustees that the request for funding is consistent with the Fund's objects;
- Agreement to a project description as outlined below.

Agreement

The project agreement will be in the form of a written undertaking to support the proposed activity, and will include:

- a description of the project proposed by Mr. Mandela,
- a breakdown of proposed expenditures, timetable for disbursements, and schedule re reporting of disbursements,
- agreement by Mr. Mandela and recipients that adequate financial records will be maintained and that such records will be accessible for auditing if required by the Fund.

ACCOUNTING FOR DISBURSEMENTS

The form for accounting for disbursements will be decided upon by the Board of Trustees, based on advice from the lawyer, the financial advisor, the auditor and the public affairs research advisor. The nature of the information to be provided, as well as the means for doing so, must be decided as early on as possible. This will allow for mechanisms to be put in place from the outset that will facilitate the rendering of the final report.

Discussions will take place with the Department of External Affairs regarding the suitability of the Fund's final report as another volume to the Canadian Anti-Apartheid Register.

Other means for disseminating the report to the public must be guided by the Trust document, the availability of resources for this purpose, and the public demand for information.

CONCLUSION

This program of action satisfies the following important criteria:

- It promotes broader awareness and understanding of, and participation among Canadians in the pursuit of democratic freedoms for all South Africans.
- It allows Mr. Mandela to set the tone and parameters for the campaign.
- It is self-propelling: in other words, the success of the program rests primarily with individual Canadians. They are its stars, enabling the Fund's leadership to serve as facilitator rather than director.
- It counts, to a great extent, on the resources of the community as opposed to those of the Fund, and
- It has an identifiable beginning and end.

