

CAM/019/0374/1

June 5/90.

To Steering Committee Members & Participants,  
Taking Strides Conference.

From: Ted Scott,  
Chairman, Interagency Working Group on Southern Africa.

Dear Friends,

I have taken time starting with the May 21st weekend and continuing until now to read again the papers prepared for the "Taking Strides Conference"; to review the notes of the small groups, the report prepared by Dennis, and to read his reflections. I have also chatted with some people who were present. I write to share some of my own reflections with you.

On a personal level I found my participation in the conference, which involved missing the second day because of commitments to speak on censorship in South Africa at the Alberta Writers guild, very unsatisfactory. I am never happy to be involved in only part of a conference and more unhappy in this case than in many others because I clearly missed some important dynamics. Having acknowledged this shortcoming let me share the following reflections:

1. Clearly the overall planning took place under far too much time pressure with many decisions having to be made without enough consultation and by conference calls rather than at meetings. There was also lack of clarity among those involved in the planning about decisions that had been made and about the extent of responsibilities assigned that had been assigned.
2. As a result although the papers prepared were very good and a great deal of planning was undertaken some people arrived at the conference unhappy about the planning procedures. (The papers merit a second reading!)
3. At the conference efforts were made by very concerned persons to compensate for what they saw to be some of the weaknesses in the planning. These efforts seemed to make it difficult to address the main concerns which the conference was designed to address, sanctions and support for the ANC. The main issue for many seemed to become the stance which persons and groups took vis a vis Canadian Government policy rather than stances taken against apartheid itself. These two are inter-related but not identical. If the differences could have been clarified the conference might have achieved more.
4. The decision to establish a Canadian network was a positive one but even here there was unhappiness about the procedures and these were never clearly defined.



5. There was little attention given to ways and means of affirming the continuing vital importance of sanctions and little attempt to develop a strategy for the coming months when changes of some kind will be taking place.
6. The statement was prepared and it was forwarded to external affairs and shared with the Secretary of State. It became part of the input into the Foreign Ministers Conference as was intended.

Since the conference many developments have taken place. The Foreign ministers Conference was held and a strong statement was issued calling for the continuation of sanctions. The group also sent a strong letter to the countries of the EEC and the Group of 7 encouraging them to hold the line on sanctions. (A copy of the letter is attached.)

It is clear that President de Klerk in his travels is seeking to persuade countries to ease sanctions. It seems that he has been making a case which seems credible to government representatives in some countries. I believe that it is vital that those of us who believe that the pressure of sanctions must be maintained to bring about the extent of change that is necessary to dismantle apartheid must do everything we can to strengthen the government's hand. We must seek to broaden the public support for maintaining sanctions in every way open to us. Three steps are immediately available:

1. We can talk to friends and acquaintances about the vital need for sanctions being maintained.
2. We can write to editors and seek to persuade the media to support sanctions.
3. We can write to the government both urging the continuation of sanctions and also asking that sanctions be monitored much more closely so that sanction busting is minimized.

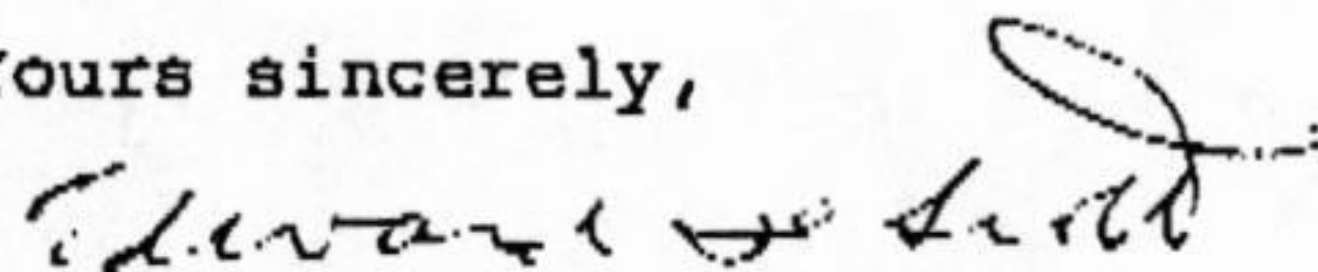
I believe that we need to do all three of these things because there are many people in Canada (and elsewhere in the world) who are urging the government to relax the sanctions. I have received copies of letters sent to the government by individuals and by business firms urging that this be done. The government needs to be encouraged to resist such pressure.

A focal time for taking such action will be on the occasion of Nelson Mandela's visit to Canada. As I am sure most of you know, this is presently scheduled from June 17 - 19/90. Because of the very short time period he will visit in only three cities - Ottawa, Toronto, and Montreal. There should, however, be very wide media coverage of his addresses to Parliament and to the Canadian people which will help create a context in which we can emphasize the urgency of continuing pressure. Let us all seek to make creative use of this opportunity.



The period of this visit will also enable public attention to be directed to the need for financial support for the ANC. The Mandela Reception Committee in Toronto is hoping to raise a considerable sum around the visit itself. In addition to this the Nelson Mandela Fund/Fond Nelson Mandela will be launched about a week before his visit. This initiative will be seeking to help many more Canadians become personally aware of the destructiveness of apartheid and to contribute to a fund which will assist the ANC in giving leadership in the dismantling of apartheid and the development of a non-racial democratic South Africa. The first aim of the Trustees is to raise considerable funds through a one time public appeal the second is to do this in a way that will stimulate continuing support through agencies which have for some time now been supporting the ANC and who will continue to do so in the immediate future..

Yours sincerely,



Chairman, Interagency Working Group on South Africa.



Taking Strides - Towards a Democratic Non-racial South Africa  
Anti-Apartheid Consultative Forum

Organized by the Inter-Agency Working Group on Southern Africa (IDAFSA) of the Canadian Council on International Cooperation, in close collaboration with Anti-Apartheid groups across Canada.

May 4,5,6, 1990  
International Development Research Centre  
250 Albert Street, Ottawa, Ontario

1. Friday, May 4

1.2. Opening presentation and Welcome - Ted Scott, chair IAWGSA

2. Presentations:

Paul Mashatile - United Democratic Front

Paul gave a general overview of current political and social conditions in South Africa. He noted the importance of the dialogue taking place between the ANC and the government, but emphasized that social conditions and the main policies of apartheid were still in effect. "Very little has changed for the mass of the South African population" and, therefore, there has been a "new upsurge of mass activity."

The mass democratic movement, "a form of struggle, a mass approach encompassing all anti-apartheid forces in the country," is still very important and active he said. "The UDF and COSATU are the core forces of ... this broad alliance. ... which have always seen ourselves a part of the broad liberation movement led by the African National Congress."

Now that the ANC is unbanned, "the ANC will assume its role of political leadership of the liberation forces in the country," he said.

Numvula Mokonyane - Federation of Transvaal Women

Speaking as a grass roots activist and women's organizer, Numvula spoke on how women play a critical role in the anti-apartheid struggle. She spoke forcefully of how important women are in "building the community based organizations, building the UDF."

She spoke of how the current government has been forced to recognize the failure of apartheid policies by mass revolt and international pressure. But she was clear that the government has not yet removed the pillars of apartheid and therefore it was important to maintain pressure on them.

As part of this pressure she emphasized the need to "listen to the people of South Africa and listen to the call directed by the



ANC on behalf of the people in South Africa."

Lucy Edwards - Government of Canada, External Affairs

As a person close to many of the discussions between the Canadian government and South Africa, and a key individual in the Department of External Affairs Lucy was able to clarify the thinking behind the current policies and strategies of the Canadian government.

She remarked on the historic significance of discussions in South Africa and how the Canadian government is planning for "yesterday, today and tomorrow." While the Government is reacting to current events, she said it was also important to "plan for tomorrow ... now is the time to plan for a post-apartheid South Africa."

On what the government is doing to assist in the dismantling of apartheid Lucy noted the funding of various efforts to help groups dialogue in South Africa and define aspects of a new constitution. However, "given Canadian policy that prevents the funding of political partisan activities abroad we are precluded from providing direct support for the ANC for its political activities", she said. Instead, the government is assisting the ANC with its humanitarian projects such as the resettlement of refugees.

On sanctions, she said it was important to maintain pressure on the South African government so that they know clearly "that back sliding at this moment would be inappropriate." But she also noted that sanctions are now a powerful incentive as the government acknowledges the economic benefits of genuine negotiations. What this implies is a preparedness to lift sanctions, following the lead of the "black community in South Africa", and when there is a "dissolving of the pillars of apartheid." The government has adopted a "wait and see approach" to the current situation and the Minister of External Affairs "is not foreclosing on the option of additional sanctions, however the timing of any actions should be related to a downturn of events in South Africa."

Peter Mahlangu - Chief Representative of the ANC to Canada

Peter spoke briefly about the importance of the anti-apartheid movement in Canada. Peter linked current political dynamics to historical demands for "fundamental change" in South Africa. Like the other speakers he stressed that "talks about talks" were only a first step and that major changes had not yet occurred. There he said "we need your support for sanctions, we need you now to support the ANC. It is a very crucial time for us!"

"There will be compromises, but we will not compromise on the principle of 'one person one vote', we are not going to compromise on a non-racial democratic South Africa, but we may compromise on some of the things that affect white people.", he



said.

From the Forum, Peter said he was looking "for a commitment for sanctions, because they are important. Secondly, ... as much as we have differences on how we should support the struggle in South Africa, we should leave with one idea - full support for the African National Congress."

### 1.3. Discussion

During the hour available for discussion, a few questions were asked. These are paraphrased below:

- What is government doing about 'third party' and 'end user' limitations on Canadian trade and financial links with South Africa?
- Who is Canadian government consulting in South Africa?
- What preconditions are ANC expecting before exiles allowed to return?
- What is ANC asking of international community?
- Why is there a difference in definition of what the ANC is (liberation movement, political party, social support agency)?
- What does Canada really have to offer South Africa? While the government offers technical information on constitutional formation it appears to essentially run counter to the ANC's call for 'one person - one vote'!

## 2. Saturday May 5

2.1. Morning Plenary - chairs: Anne Mitchell and Strini Reddy

2.2. Presentation: Moses Mayekiso, NUMSA

For Moses, international pressure to end apartheid must be continued, to complete the transformation to a democratic South Africa. While the government was proposing different means of maintaining white privileges, he said "we must have democracy like any other in the world."

Not only is it important to end apartheid, but to assure that there "is a fair share of the economy for the benefit of everybody. ... The white regime talks about a vote, but they feel economic power should remain in white hands," he said. "We cannot accept a situation where the majority of the people are homeless ... unemployed." Therefore he noted that the struggle in South Africa cannot end with "political power ... so then we say ... that we cannot leave the economy aside by talking of minority rights for example."

On the Natal violence, he said "there is no such thing as black on black violence. What is happening there is that people are fighting against the forces of apartheid ... against Kwazulu government, against Inkatha." These situations are then used against the democratic forces by the white government to reduce popular support for major changes and divert attention from the



ultimate responsibility of apartheid for the violence. Moses provided some background on the role of unions (in particular COSATU and SACTU) and community based organizations in the struggle and how these relate to the ANC. He also offered opinions on how some issues such as land redistribution and nationalization were important post-apartheid actions for South Africa and that the Harare Declaration outlines sets out a number of principles and prerequisites for the current stage of negotiations.

### 2.3. Challenges Facing the Movement

The Synthesis Committee presented to the Forum a list of challenges based on Friday's presentations. These challenges are a starting point for assessment and planning anti-apartheid action for the next year or two.

Within the general theme of the Conference - support for the ANC and sanctions - the committee presented the list of challenges to lead discussion in the small groups. The instruction to the groups was to discuss these challenges, and the recent developments in South Africa, in order to identify openings and closings for doing solidarity in work in Canada.

Note: Appendix One

Challenges Facing Canadian Anti-Apartheid Solidarity Action

### 2.4. Discussion Groups

The following are brief reports of the comments, observations and recommendations of the small group (10-12 participants in 8 groups) discussions:

#### Group 1

Obstacles to effective solidarity work;

- Conservative trend globally and specifically the branding of the ANC as communist etc,
- on issue of sanction, the government mystifying real role around sanctions and therefore creating some illusion of what is really happening
- not clear on what the anti-apartheid movement is in Canada, without a structure, defined movement or network
- negotiations and constitutional change present difficulties in that process controlled by professionals and big agencies, but also openings are created as there are possibilities for raising questions of fundamental democratization (however, Canada is not a model for democratic constitutional change as is being put forward by Government)
- operations of SA Embassy in Ottawa operating silently and extensively to propagandize

Openings;

- international recognition of ANC allows for applying pressure



on Canadian government to recognize the ANC

- possibility of a national unity government means openings for dialogue on substantive social issues
- many issues in Canada - land, taxes, constitution, free trade - create openings for educational/solidarity work on South Africa in Canada
- still need to raise questions of diplomatic representation in Canada as it is a major actor in creating confusion on apartheid

## Group 2

Focused on constraints:

- Canadian government will not formally recognize the ANC
- Government position seen as largely lip-service to ANC
- must highlight the link between apartheid and racism in Canada, so that when planning action it is important to note things like having Mandela meet with native groups when he comes to Canada,
- seems a false optimism created by Mandela's release
- media still contributing to some negative perceptions of what is happening in SA
- SA embassy in Canada active and not confronted
- still a criticism of Canadian embassy in SA
- in Canada there is still a flow of people - refugees being expelled because of the apparent changes in SA, and white professionals coming to Canada
- not clear who is choosing SA students in Canada (such as being funded by SAETF) which could create problems.

## Group 3

- there is a great deal of overlap with first two groups
- want mechanism in Canada to get effective information out
- Canadian government looking for compatible voices and therefore movement needs means to set own agenda in dealing with government
- some structured network clearly needed
- need to counteract SA propaganda
- must follow guide of ANC/South Africans on when to lift sanctions, not Canada alone
- need some idea of a national campaign to unify solidarity work
- banks a good focus for sanctions campaign - ideal tactic not as important as immediate action
- must integrate activities with native peoples - common demand for self-determination - solidarity tours a good means of action
- need a critical network of anti-apartheid groups across Canada.

## Group 4

- agree to a nationally coordinated effort but only if there is some kind of structured network to implement it meaningfully
- a lot in common with other discussion groups
- there seems to be three different approaches or agendas in dealing with the government; the government wanting the movement to make common cause with it, be supportive but independent (honey rather than vinegar) and a directly confrontational



approach with government (vinegar)

- the government has a select way of giving/getting information to take away the movement's legitimacy
- must link with anti-racist groups (note in some cases where PAC/BCM more involved than ANC)
- problem - Mandela being made a hero to the detriment of the struggle and the ANC i.e. this approach serves government agenda to promote a more 'reasonable' approach of the ANC
- how will network/movement be financed? While NGO money be needed, some difficulties with project approach to funding, etc.
- must be careful to avoid the weaknesses that followed the 1987 conferences - for example need some formula/mechanism on how solidarity work will be implemented after the Forum
- Tory agenda in Canada an obstacle as people struggling with economic constraints - at same time there are openings in these conditions for solidarity work with SA
- need a speed for response within network
- must emphasize the need for grass-roots mobilization rather than high profile government statements
- status of SA refugees in Canada a serious concern to be dealt with
- Canadian government will help movement on their terms - eg: support projects approach which keeps groups in weaker positions
- focus of network should be grass-roots/community
- must not use existing Forum Steering Committee for follow up
- should make "What's the Word" a more viable network newsletter.

#### Group 5

Constraints;

- relationship with ANC not clear - need to move from lip service to real support - conditional or unconditional question not resolved
- need network in Canada
- need to link with Canadian issues - native, womens' issues etc
- funding needed but where to find for the network
- need immediate information/news for network (counteract media)
- Mandela personality cult, a barrier to working with ANC
- need more information/knowledge on government actions/policy

#### Group 6

- relying on ANC for information - need other sources
- stressed importance of networking in Canada and the supply of continuous information - must correct media misinformation
- need an informed and effective lobbying of government to promote ANC etc
- identified need to support/promote role of women in SA
- need to develop regional perspectives on issues

#### Group 7

- concern with the concept of a 'level playing field' - there is no possibility for such a position as long as SA is undemocratic



- socialism being discussed in SA means an opening for solidarity groups
- emphasize women as part of anti-apartheid movement and link to Canada
- Canadian government policy should be based on official ANC policy, not individual's statements
- concern with media coverage - may shift attention from important issues - yet media still a major means of educating Canadians
- broad public education and information could diffuse solidarity work so need clear common formula for work
- how can democratic work in South Africa be brought to Canadians in similar struggles
- need to expose gender and race inequalities in own organizations and work
- must pressure companies to stop apartheid practices, eg: sterilization
- need more policy driven small project support in SA by Canadian government
- reaffirm support for consumer boycott in Canada
- support for ANC/MDM more complex now since major changes in SA
- learn from previous negotiation - Lancaster House - where white privileges entrenched.

#### Group 8

- constraints in Canada are structural - no network for groups and common communication
- need to help fill information or communication gaps within SA and Canada so that groups in Canada could help appropriately
- problem with mobility across Canada
- lack of active information
- NGOs can be a constraint - seem suspicious of solidarity work, have own personal and individual as well as organizational structures and agendas
- need to identify structural obstacles to integration on basis of race and gender - eg: people of colour shot because of their structures.

#### 2.5. Afternoon Plenary

The morning discussions were considered fruitful. There were some procedural difficulties and problems but these were identified and considered for the next session. One specific concern raised was the lack of a speaker on Friday dealing with the history and experience of the Canadian movement and a formal response to the Canadian government position.

It was evident early on that many of the participants were also anxious to discuss concrete action, that is the subject matter for the afternoon, rather than a broad general analysis. There were also different perspectives among participants on what approaches were most effective in dealing with the Canadian government; join the Canadian government in a form of common



cause, be conciliatory but independent or be directly confrontational.

The instruction for the afternoon small group discussions was to take a list of constraints and openings for solidarity work, and discuss what activities could be planned to support the ANC and increase sanctions pressure.

Note: Appendix Two

Constraints and Openings for Solidarity Action in Canada

## 2.6. Discussion Groups

The following are brief reports from the discussion groups;

### Group 8

Discussed a possible network with the following characteristics;

- regional conferences
- elected representatives
- a central organization in each region to act as conduit
- a national conference with a steering committee (similar to this Forum) to meet annually or every two years
- essentially to be a 'network of networks'
- to act as a national clearing house (as well as with regional ones)
- maintain a bank of addresses, action, contacts of AA groups
- technologically link groups for sharing information
- consolidate action of groups in loose administrative fashion (no rigid bureaucracy)
- point of unity for the network should be the Harare Declaration

On sanctions,

- need an efficient communication mechanism
- could endorse alliance for non-violent action against embassy
- considered a letter/card campaign
- recommending advocacy for total sanctions
- some confusion expressed on the current ANC position on sanctions
- is a softening on sanctions a genuine call?

Other issues

- important for the personal and the political meet when doing anti-racism work
- a serious solidarity strategy means meaningful alliances with native people on their terms and issues as well as involving them in AA work.

### Group 7

Model for a national network was very similar to that of Group 8 i.e. the network of networks. A difference was that some regions would not be provinces, but a union of provinces where it is expedient for the groups involved.



#### Issues to address:

- racism in Canada - links between Canadians and South Africans should be reciprocal, ie. mutually supportive
- sanctions - must stress effective application of current sanctions and monitoring sanctions busting (on own and with government). Need to press government on what is "irreversible change". What popular sanctions are appropriate? Need to work with labour movement.
- support ANC - must find funds for Canadian work and give support to get Canadian government to fund ANC activities directly. Would like more current information and analysis out of ANC office in Toronto. Can support move to expell SA embassy from Canada and press government to downgrade diplomatic presence in SA. Would also be useful for ANC to clarify its current approach to solidarity in Canada
- women - add non-sexist democracy to non-racial. Could bring more SA women to Canada. Should not limit support to strict womens' issues, but should seek gender issues and broader issues where women can be involved. Coming events and celebrations could be used to build support for women.

#### Group 6

Focused on actions that could be developed;

- production of weekly information package, dealing with immediate events in SA, possibly dealing with media misrepresentations, to be distributed via e/mail etc
- networking system (somewhat similar to what defined in Group 8, but without the national administrative structure) focusing on information sharing and regional needs
- fundraising for ANC - based on a monthly contribution for administrative needs of ANC in Canada
- should lobby on sanctions, recognition of ANC, development assistance to SA after apartheid (on criteria of self-determination etc) via letters and activities along lines similar to that of the Shell Boycott.

#### Group 5

Discussion on a network;

- important that any support for the ANC be concrete, not just moral or rhetorical
- could not define a network model, but the principles underlying such a body would include;
  - \* sectoral representation, inclusively and not exclusively
  - \* participatory, democratic
  - \* concrete support to ANC
  - \* avoid dependency on government funding and its political implications
  - \* a credible administrative capacity
  - \* involved youth
  - \* ANC (including women, youth, labour) represented on Steering Committee of network
- \* resources must go to regional work



- \* make explicit support for anti-racism ideals/work
- \* participation on the basis of activities but principles fixed
- \* ANC and network need to meet frequently and easily
- \* could charge annual membership fees
- \* support comprehensive/mandatory sanctions
- \* ensure clear efficient communication
- \* define what regions are
- \* democratic leadership at all levels and clarify who is representing what organizations or groups
- \* must move forward quickly - establish network by September

#### Group 4

##### Network Structure:

- should build on what exists already - a number of contacts and regional networks already are working and there is information being shared through "What's the Word" and other information resources
- need a loose flexible central coordinating body - National Coordinating Committee
- a limited one-year mandate to test concept
- regional representation on national body decided by regions (including northern Canada)
- ANC could be an ex-officio member of Coordinating Committee (from 6 to 17 people)
- minimum set up of contacts in each province for information clearing
- ANC role in network not resolved
- one responsibility of NCC to get funds for regions
- must find funds for ANC office and support an office in Ottawa
- could establish a computer information/electronic mail network
- consider human costs of staff/volunteer time - if not able to find money to pay, then should acknowledge contribution
- must specify job descriptions for staff
- 'What's the Word' could be decentralized (one page from each region)
- hire staff person NCC
- divide labour among groups nationally eg: Alberta take lead on sulphur, TCLSAC do certain research etc.

##### Content/Action;

- pressure Canadian government to fund ANC for relocation (\$83mn)
- must assist the ANC to be in the strongest possible position of power to deal/negotiate with SA government for an immediate transfer of power
- must prepare statement of principles for network
- Forum should make statement on importance of native peoples' struggle.



### Group 3

#### Action:

- important to define how to support the ANC concretely and recognize their leadership broadly, then consult directly
- organize Sanctions Day for coordinated action, banks a good focus
- raise fund for ANC
- lobby MPs on their positions in regard to SA issues
- raise money through variety of issues/activities
- organize and monitor groups involved in AA struggle
- use 'What's the Word', 'Sanctions Barometer' etc. to keep each other informed
- build a network with a minimal bureaucracy, and maximum division of labour among groups
- use tours to maximize exposure - organize across sectors (i.e. labour work with womens groups, etc)
- question Canadian diplomatic presence in SA
- effective network will allow contributions at international level, UN etc
- should be criticising government more
- should better utilize own skills
- network should seek and identify key action and this would form the basis for the network, i.e. campaign, programme, national agenda etc need to be selected

#### Structure;

- regional, NGO and sectoral representation - with distinction between membership and core representatives
- need a core executive to administer the network
- a looser composition would lead to different financial contributions according to need and ability
- general numbers involved: 30 is outside number but must refine
- should set up network by September 1 of this year.

### Group 2

The group bogged down in the practical considerations of setting another structure when the basic interest was in helping the ANC politically and financially. Did not want to divert support and attention from ANC. General sense was that a network was not the most important need just now but if it does start, then should be kept modest so that bulk of energy and resources could be directed to SA struggle directly.

#### Ideas for ANC fundraising;

- membership fee (part for local group and part for ANC)
- need to tap resources of unions more
- attach speakers fees and find money to pay
- could use 'charitable status' of organizations for fundraising
- national fundraising day - around Mandela tour to Canada
- should not go to corporations/companies for contribution - but we could press for a "reparation tax" to pay back on profits made



Ideas for raising ANC profile;

- could use ANC representatives living in regions as speakers - could use list of resource people available
- ANC needs people who speak French
- should use existing information sources more : 'What's the Word', 'Sanctions Barometer', 'News Watch', ANC documents, etc - use what we have

Ideas for lobbying;

- a national lobby day
- should focus on SA embassy as part of national campaign because of its misinformation and propaganda role

Ideas for educational activities;

- work more with schools - inform them more about what is available
- should infiltrate institutions more and make ourselves more available.
- use more tours of SAfricans and native people, in particular native and SA women.

#### Group 1

Started with historical background to efforts to set up a network. Consensus on need for information and in particular information management as there is a lot already available. Role of communication key for coordination. Must also develop minimal platforms or consensus for action.

Principles;

- not top down
- regionally based but must reinforce what exists
- no consensus on need for staff nationally
- minimally, need annual gathering to plan, share and build minimal consensus
- ANC relationship to network - should have ANC link but not ANC led - leadership has to be Canadian
- funding a problem.

General comments tabled;

- sanctions - increase and ensure maintenance of sanctions (some problems with media reports so must take lead from ANC)
- diplomatic relations - down grade Canadian presence and close SA embassy - could link the two demands
- press for recognition and funding of ANC - Mandela Fund could detract from government responsibility and support for solidarity/NGO initiatives
- could set up a "negotiation watch" to monitor the whole process in SA.

#### 2.7. Late Afternoon Plenary

Very briefly, the Forum was given the opportunity to comment on the process of the meeting so far. A few general comments were



made, a few speakers took the opportunity to comment on substantive issues coming out of the discussion groups and a few logistical announcements were made.

### 3. Sunday May 6

#### 3.1. Plenary

A group of student delegates to the Forum met to set up a national student-based network. The basis for action will be anti-apartheid work and solidarity with native people. Possible work will include monitoring sanctions and distribution of information advocating increased sanctions, for example against sulphur exports. The temporary base for the network will be the University of British Columbia and a contact will be Warren White.

A central issue addressed in the Saturday afternoon deliberations was the need for a better co-ordinated approach to our anti-apartheid work in Canada through the formation of a national network. Participants in virtually every workshop identified action ideas and discussed the mechanism by which support for the ANC and sanctions could best be achieved. A national network, its structure or lack thereof, communications and funding were generally discussed.

An anti-racism component to our overall work was again raised.

To facilitate the next and last small group discussion the Synthesis Committee presented two sets of discussion material -- possible action ideas and a network proposal.

The action list, around support for the ANC and sanctions outlines possible work that groups could implement. A proposal for coordination through the establishment of a national network was presented. The network proposal is based on principles, structure, roles & function, time frames, next steps, and costs/sources of funding.

Note: Appendix Three

Solidarity Action: Ideas and Suggestions!

Note: Appendix Four

National Anti-Apartheid Network: A Proposal

#### 3.2. Reports from Discussion Groups

##### Atlantic

- could easily work with network proposal
- should have ANC as voting member
- should have labour and womens movement representation
- must have NGO representation to assist with financial and logistical requirements
- majority on NCC of Network must be grass-roots people/activists



- major activities; sustained membership and fundraising drive (Lapsley Fund ?) and national campaign on countering disinformation/propaganda of SA Embassy in Canada
- the NCC should designate a spokesperson to maintain profile and image of network in public mind

#### Quebec

- basic principle of ANC involvement as observers
- must take concerted action on banks etc
- participation on NCC should be on population basis - i.e. 20% for Quebec
- must implement action at local level

#### Ontario

- an interim working committee should be set up to work in short term
- the NCC should include regional and sectoral representation - NGOs, labour, women, native groups and students
- ANC on NCC - ex officio member (non-voting)
- work on Mandela's visit and coordinate action
- numerous ideas of working upwards at government level but need more action at grass roots level
- must constantly emphasize recognition of ANC
- meet with External Affairs on outcome of Forum

#### National Organizations

- consensus on draft document - urge implementation as soon as possible
- re the ANC, the ANC would relate in a consultative and advisory role and would be represented at NCC meetings
- must respect different decision making structures of different national groups
- be realistic of what is possible - note demands for fundraising
- recommend seeking funds from PAC with NGO matching funds i.e. the first task of follow up committee
- urge grass roots support for ANC as soon as possible
- need comprehensive national action coming out of Forum - recommend letter campaign about talks and ANC call for sanctions etc
- highlight education on constitution
- different NGOs could take on particular action
  - \* OXFAM - establish contact between grass roots groups on relocations
  - \* ICCAF - with churches and their educational programmes
  - \* CUSO - workshop on solidarity action
- note work of groups like TCCR on sanctions
- use current Steering Committee plus John Graham instead of Pierre

#### West



- specific recognition of struggle of Frontline States should be included
- should add reciprocal solidarity relations with First Nations
- add reference to ANC in lobbying the government
- pool travel costs to cut travel expenses for those travelling major distances
- must finance groups that do not have own resources for participation in network
- in structure - West is a region, but would want one person from each province
- when hiring national staff, they should be bilingual
- organizations are asked to ratify document by July 1 to speed its development
- nation campaigns - first priority - secure funding for ANC via relocation Fund, use Mandela visit and financial institutional focus

### 3.3. Discussion

#### a. On a National Anti-Apartheid Network:

- the NCC of the network should confer, not necessarily meet
- Harare Declaration should be used as statement of principle
- campaigns - should emphasize Relocation Fund for ANC - separate from when Mandela comes to Canada he will meet with government and there will be a major public event (Skydom capacity) in Toronto, Montreal and possibly Vancouver, and therefore a major fundraising initiative
- principles - no reference to current dynamics within SA and little that distinguishes this document from others prepared 5/10 years ago
- while in process of negotiations, repression continues and therefore need for pressure
- principles should be adaptable to changing conditions - a year from now may shift
- could add section on framework which would describe current conditions
- sanctions - ANC wants to add "comprehensive and mandatory" wording - others feel wording allows for enough consensus for action and focus on essential need for maintaining pressure on SA government
- ANC wants added for discussion the idea of membership fee (\$25/ 20 range)

#### b. Discussion on Action Proposals:

- focus narrowed to ANC only? alternative wording - support for ANC in Canada and for the full range of democratic forces in South Africa in particular the ANC/COSATU.
- what does it mean to have a campaign on the banks? a national campaign against the banks would have the potential for national mobilization and would aim at a key and sensitive opening in the SA economy
- should add churches to sectors to work with!



- sulphur is key resource Canada provides apartheid. Note that not just an issue of Alberta where sulphur comes from, but is exported with Federal government support. Also note that Canadian sulphur allows SA sulphur to be used in ammunition - every time someone is killed in SA, it is because of Canadian sulphur.
- question of ANC legitimacy. There are a number of legitimate democratic groups in SA, but solidarity groups must work with and through the ANC in doing anti-apartheid work.
- reference to 'other democratic forces' allows for ambiguity. The ANC is the main representative of the SA majority so must work with them and define them as the focus.
- tangible support for ANC critical. Canada cannot just say there will be support for the ANC, but must take post-dated cheques to demonstrate commitment.

#### c. General Discussion:

- should make concrete action and strategy so that all leave with confidence that follow-up is assured.
- will delegate conference set up by NCC, which features fundraising around Mandela visit
- need some interim working committee to keep process active. Regional groups could choose person to act as contact.
- potential other campaigns. Churches working on SA propaganda in Canada - media watch, monitoring via churches, school etc - funded by External Affairs

#### 3.4. What must be done next?

- produce new document with technical changes  
Motion Jeff/Richard m/s
- \* adopt document as working document with amendments from regional discussions in principle to be approved later by interim working group
- key central question on ANC participation - for interim committee
- synthesis of actions for Sunday - references to ANC indicate ANC should be part of decision making in an advisory capacity.
- ANC position - not necessary to have voting power in NCC as could function in consensus model of decision making and offer advisory support and guidance.
- set up National Coordinating Committee  
Composition: - one from Atlantic, Que, Ont, Man, Sask, Alta, BC, Church, Women, Students, Native - alternative would divide representation by general population/sector of Canada - there could be some doubling up of representation i.e. sectoral and regional mix to cut size and therefore costs for decision making
- should have gender, regional, colour parity on Interim Committee
- must have the participation of grass roots-based organizations.

#### - Interim Committee Composition



#### Motion

\* use existing Consultative Forum Conference Committee as it is composed as an interim committee for the purposes of moving forward on the recommendations of the Forum. Majority voted for!  
note: Conference Committee will discuss its ongoing responsibilities and one idea could be that they narrow their participation in an Interim Committee

#### 3.5. Forum Statement

At the beginning of the Forum it was agreed that a public statement would be issued on the outcome of the discussions of the Forum. Throughout the three days, a small working committee worked on a draft statement that was then read and distributed to the final plenary.

The suggested changes for the statement were integrated into the final document. To indicate the nature of the discussion that took place, the following are a few of the changes made;

- refer to preparatory talks, not negotiation in process
- add clear reference to aboriginal people
- keep general and reference to Harare Declaration
- must note need to support structures of the mass democratic movement and not just anti-apartheid forces.

Note: Appendix Five

Consultative Forum Public Statement

#### 3.6. Adjournment

The Forum was adjourned at about 3pm. There were a number of volunteers and workers for the Forum who were thanked. The Conference Committee agreed to meet immediately after the Forum closed to work on the process of implementing the decisions of the Forum.



## Appendix One

### Challenges Facing Canadian Anti-Apartheid Solidarity Action

- In light of the unbanning of organizations in South Africa, how do we adjust our relationships to the organizations?
  - We have recognized in previous conferences and reaffirmed the leading role of the ANC in the liberation movement. How then do we escalate this recognition to the Canadian government and the Canadian people?
  - In escalating this recognition, how do we put pressure on the Canadian government to ensure that any discussion with other groups in South Africa do not deflect from the leading role of the ANC in the liberation movement?
  - In acknowledging the role of the ANC as the leading force in the liberation movement, how do we gain a clear understanding of the relationship of the UDF and the MDM to the ANC?
  - How do we strengthen our lines of communications with the ANC better to facilitate our solidarity work?
  - Given what the Liberation Movement has said on the topic of sanctions, how do we pressure the Canadian government to maintain and intensify the current level of Canadian sanctions as well as how do we encourage the Canadian government to do whatever it can to ensure sanctions are applied in the International Community?
  - In view of comments on the topic of violence in South Africa, how do we gain and promote a better understanding as to the true causes of the violence?
  
  - The Harare Declaration outlined several pre-conditions to negotiations:
    - release of all political prisoners
    - withdrawal of police forces from the townships
    - lifting the State of Emergency
    - cessation of political trials
- How can we best pressure the South African government, in consultation with the ANC, into hastening the process allowing for the pre-conditions to be met?
- Given the inequalities at the negotiating table, how do we educate the Canadian Government and the Canadian people to the realities from which the compromises must come?
  - In light of comments made yesterday, how do we recognize, understand and promote the role of women as equal partners within the struggle? In addition, how do we recognize the qualitative changes of the role of women within the struggle?
  - In supporting the ANC, how do we define and clarify that support?
  - How do we move forward in terms of:
    - strengthening/broadening support for the movement in Canada
    - working in a more co-ordinated manner
    - how do we understand the process of decision-making in the Government of Canada in order to lobby effectively and force accountability for the Government's actions?



## Appendix Two

### Constraints and Openings for Solidarity Action in Canada

#### Constraints:

- the lack of a clear anti-apartheid network structure in Canada, for communication and coordinated action
- limited information on what other AA groups are doing and on what action is taking place on the ground in SA (specifically on consumer goods, economic links to SA, etc)
- limited resources and research on action issues for AA network
- relationship with NGOs often unclear and AA action can be in conflict with their organizational needs and structures
- media continues to present negative images of struggle in SA and Canada that leads to misunderstandings and limited support
- inadequate organizational links between AA movement (Can. and SA) and native groups, women and other social struggles in Canada
- organizational structures in Canada often inhibit the involvement of women, people of colour, native people for example
- a global trend toward conservative political action, means less room to operate and people in Canada struggling with own issues
- media and government (in Can. and SA) present a false sense of optimism and change in SA
- Canadian government still reluctant to recognize the ANC formally
- concern with Canadian immigration policy is unclear as to who is getting in from SA and why some refugees are being expelled
- some concern with how students are selected for training in Canada by organizations like the SA Educational Trust Fund
- Canadian government funding support for groups in SA is ad hoc and could be dysfunctional for meaningful social change
- the personality cult being linked to Mandela diverts attention from democratic struggle on the ground in SA and work of ANC itself

#### Openings:

- discussion of constitutional change opens dialogue on issues of democratization and other issues related to post-apartheid SA
- still a need to downgrade diplomatic status of SA embassy in Canada
- ANC recognized and therefore opportunities for pressing for official recognition of ANC by Canadian government
- while there is clear support for ANC there is some ambiguity about how to support,
- with international banks still supporting apartheid, there is a role for pressure on government and Canadian banks to cut financial ties with SA
- there are a number of openings for linking AA work with social struggles in Canada - with women, native people, people of colour, the poor, homeless etc.



Appendix Three  
Solidarity Action: Ideas and Suggestions!

In support of the ANC

- recognize the ANC as a primary force, consult with them in execution.
- raise the profile of the ANC
- Support for the ANC through funding
- political support for ANC
- dialogue between ANC & network
- national fund-raising day for ANC
- Sustaining fund for the ANC
- utilization of NGOs for project funding/matched grants/charitable status
- support ANC's aims & objectives and reflect it in our documents
- pressure Canadian government for funding for relocating ANC
- ANC investigate move to Ottawa
- ANC needs French spokesperson in Canada
- Upgrade diplomatic role of ANC
- Profile the ANC in our work
- speaker's fee for the ANC
- Secure government funding for ANC
- support for negotiations

In Support of Sanctions

- Escalate sanctions campaign
- make current sanctions more effective
- monitor Sanctions Busting
- press Cdn. gov't re: definition of "irreversible" change
- look into popular sanctions
- work with labour on sanctions
- National Sanctions Day
- Clarification required by ANC re: statement on sanctions attributed to Mandela.
- make sanctions campaign part of network

Other actions

- Improve communication/coordination, use of technology - info-sharing/management
- anti-apartheid register (directory of groups)
- better utilization of our people as resource persons
- production of Weekly Update
- better utilization of "What's The Word", "Sanctions Watch", "AIA", and others
- Decentralize WTW
- national Lobby Day
- Lobby government, lobby MPs. Questionnaire re: Fed/provincial elections "Where do you stand" - publish results



- letter-writing campaign/demos/rallies
- Define regions , re: network
- increase youth participation
- include ANC, ANC Women and SACTU in any network
- delegation from the conference to meet Joe Clark
- National Political Prisoner's Day
- Refugees/Sanctions/Sulphur - national actions
- statement of support for aboriginal peoples from this conference.
- Harare declaration
- national day of action around June 16
- actions at embassies and consulates
- organize activities around international women's day and Ecumenical Decade of Women in Canada.
- national day of action one year from today.
- initiate a campaign against banks
- cross-sectoral tours (big exposure/high profile)
- debunk Canadian government comments
- improve educational work in schools and trade unions
- ANC and native peoples tour
- Mandela to meet with native people, especially women
- each action have an educational element of short, concise information
- "tools against apartheid" to provide material support
- break diplomatic relations with South Africa
- make common cause with other activist groups
- community-twinning
- strategy for fund-raising events
- groups target specific goals to meet the needs of the ANC in Canada
- annual fund-raising drive
- Father Michael Lapsley Fund
- media consultation with significant media actors
- identify sources of new information
- personal contributions from individuals on a monthly basis
- representation to government at regular intervals



#### Appendix Four

#### A National Anti-Apartheid Network:

The Taking Strides Conference arrived at a consensus on the need to, and benefits of, building a national anti-apartheid network to maximize our capacity to help bring about an end to apartheid in South Africa. The following composite sketch of that network is drawn from the details of eight small group discussions of Saturday afternoon as reported to the Conference Committee.

#### BASIC PRICIPLES

Members recognize the leading role of the African National Congress in the struggle to end apartheid in South Africa. In so doing we are committed to consulting and co-operating with the ANC with respect to tactics and campaigns we engage in.

Members recognize the continuing importance of effective sanctions against South Africa as a critical tactic to pressure the South African government to negotiate quickly a complete dismantling of the apartheid system.

Members recognize the importance of combatting both racism and sexism and in building solidarity links with the First Nations peoples of Canada.

#### PURPOSE

- To enable efficient collection and dissemination of news and analysis of events relevant to the struggle to end apartheid and in so doing enable the network and its members to respond to the same in a timely and effective manner.

- To increase our national capacity to develop and deliver political and material support for and to the ANC and the anti-apartheid struggle.

- To maximize our capacity to make use of people and material resources from and within Canada, South Africa and the world to aid the struggle to end apartheid.

- To maximize our capacity to influence Canadian government policy with respect to South Africa and the struggle to end apartheid.

- To operate as a clearing house of information, ideas, and activities of network members both regionally and nationally.



## MEMBERSHIP

- Membership is open to all organizations that accept the basic principles, structures and practices of the network.

## STRUCTURE

In recognition of differences across Canada with respect to regional formations and functioning of anti-apartheid work and organizations as well as our desire to effectively co-ordinate and expand our work we adopt the following operational structure:

- Members agree to provide financial support for the functioning of the network by way of membership dues paid not less frequently than annually. It is recognized that member groups are best able to gauge their financial capacity and while no set minimums are established we ask for as much generosity as possible.
- Members agree to use their knowledge and influence to help secure network financing over and above membership dues in co-operation with the National Co-ordinating Committee.
- Wherever possible members will be active within regional networks. Regions are flexible definitions that may be urban based, geographically based within a province, provincially or cross-provincially based depending on the assessment of the respective member groups.
- The work of the National Network is co-ordinated by the National Co-ordinating Committee. NCC representatives are chosen both regionally and sectorally. Specific numbers of representatives per region and sector are established at national delegate conferences.
- As much as possible decision-making shall be by consensus. Where consensus cannot be achieved majority shall rule in accordance with Bourinot's Rules of Order. Majority decisions shall not be binding on individual members.
- The National Co-ordinating Committee shall be empowered to hire and shall direct that work of national network staff as both need and financial ability allow in consultation with the network membership.
- The National Co-ordinating Committee shall confer on an as needed basis, but not less frequently than each four (4) months. The National Network shall be convened in the form of a delegated conference not less frequently than every two (2) years. The regional networks shall confer as frequently as they are able but not less frequently than every (6) months. A summary of all discussions and decisions shall be communicated to network members as soon as possible.



### TIME FRAME

Delegates agree on the above in principle and to seek formal ratification of the same by their member groups as soon as possible and communicate their decision to the National Co-ordinating Committee.

### POTENTIAL NATIONAL CAMPAIGNS

- A national campaign to secure Canadian government funding for the ANC with particular reference to the ANC Relocation Fund.
- A major fundraising drive coinciding with Mandela visit.
- Identify national day/s of action/sanctions. The specific details of which would be developed by groups/regions.
- A national card/letter campaign directed towards increasing sanctions during this critical period.
- A national campaign directed against financial institutions operating in Canada making and/or rescheduling debt to or on behalf of South Africa and/or South African interests.
- organize a national/regional tour/s of S.A. representative.



Appendix Five  
Consultative Forum Public Statement

A national gathering of anti-apartheid groups, non-governmental organizations, 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 their drive for peace and non-racial democracy. Violence is still on the increase in some areas where the South African police are preventing peaceful protest. The white regime on the other hand seems very reluctant to engage in discussions about the basic inequalities and injustices of 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 analyzed and formulated into a program of action, which is endorsed by the vast majority of South African anti-apartheid organizations 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 organizations 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;

- to 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 put 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.



## Organization

## Address

## Participating Organizations

## Prov./Code

## Phone/FAX

Aboriginal Unity Committee	c/o 356 A Stelle Ave. Winnipeg,	Man.	204 582-2384
Aboriginal Women's Council	Box 1056 Prince Albert	Sask	306 764-0516
Alberta Anti-Apartheid Coalition	P.O. Box 3085 Station B Calgary	Alberta T2M 4L6	403 282-6845
ANC	Box 302 Adelaide Postal Stn Toronto	Ontario M5C 2J4	416 461-4255
Anglican Church		Ont	
Anti-Apartheid Network	2524 Cypress Ave. Vancouver	B. C. V6N 1H2	604 266 6830
Anti-Apartheid Working Group	P.O. Box 18,000 St. John's	Newfoundland A1C 6C2	
Atlantic Human Rights Centre	3598 Charlotte St. Fredericton	N. B. E3B 1C6	506 452-0540 450-9615
Becking the Frontline Campaign	1265 rue Berri Montreal	Quebec H2L 4X4	
BC Federation Labour	3110 Boundary Road Burnaby	B.C. V5M 4A2	
BC Teachers Federation Ctee Against Racism	2235 Burrard St. Vancouver	B.C. V6J 3H9	800 663-9163 731-4891
Canadian Labour Congress	2841 Riverside Drive Ottawa	Ont K1V 8N4	
Carleton Anti-Apartheid Action Group	#401 Unicentre Carleton University Ottawa	Ontario K1S 5B6	
CCIC	No. 1 Nicholas Ottawa	Ont	
CCIC-Programme Angola	#1 Nicholas #300 Ottawa	Ontario K1N 7B7	613 236-4547 236-2188
CCU c/o Jaf Keithley	707 - 12 street New Westminister	B. C. V3M 4J7	604 522-7911 522-8975
Centre for Developing Areas Studies - McGill	3715 Peel Street Montreal	Quebec H3A 1X1	514 398-3507
Centre Missionnaire Oblat		Que.	
CEQ		Que.	
CIDMAA	1265 rue Berri Montreal	Quebec H2L 4X4	514 499-0314 499-0153
Citizens Against Racism and Apartheid	#2205 8210 - 111 Street Edmonton	Alberta T6G 2C7	403 452-0140 455-5712
Committee Against Racism	Box 3085 Station B Calgary	Alberta T2M 4L6	403 282-6845
Concordia Students Against Apartheid	2020 Mackay Street Concordia Univ. Montr	Quebec	514 848-7410
Concordia/ANC	155 Westminister Ave. Montreal	Quebec H4X 1Z3	514 483-6443
COPAON		Ont	
CUSO	135 Rideau St. Ottawa	Ontario K1N 9K7	
Fredericton Anti-Poverty Org. Attn: Dan Weston	120 King St. Fredericton	New Brunswick E7B 1C9	
Fredericton SA Education Support Committee	3598 Charlotte St. Fredericton	N. Brunswick E3B 1C6	506 452-0540 450-9615
Global Comm. Centre		Ont	
Grain Services Union	2334 McIntyre Street Regina	Sask. S4P 2S2	306 522-6686
GRILA	7732 St. Denis Montreal	Que. H2R 2E8	514 274-9108
H.R.L.D.S.A.		Ont	
Halifax Anti-Apartheid Ctee	P.O. Box 27178 Halifax	N.S. B3H 4M8	
ICCAF	129 St. Clair Ave. W. Toronto	Ontario M4V 1N5	416 927-1124 927-7554
Int'l. Defence and Aid Fund for SA	294 Albert St. Ottawa	Ont	
Inter Pares	54 Arthur St. Ottawa	Ont	
Men. Coalitions of Organ's Against Apartheid	208 - 720 Broadway Ave. Winnipeg	Manitoba R3G 0X1	204 783-6591 783-7565
Mandela Reception Ctee	P.O. Box 302 Adelaide Postal Station Toronto	Ontario M5C 2J4	
Mandela Reception Ctee	Toronto	Ont.	
MATCH Int'l.	S 1102-200 Elgin Ottawa	Ont K2P 1L5	
Memorial Anti-Apartheid Working Group c/o Mark Abram	Faculty of Ed. Memorial U. St. John's	Nfld. A1B 3X8	709 739-4326
Mt. Allison Ctee		NB	
Native Student Coalition	#219 - 3302 - 33 rd St. Saskatoon	Sask S7M 1S8	306 384-1173
One Sky	136 Ave F.S. Saskatoon	Sask.	
OXFAM-Canada	301 - 251 Laurier Ave. West Ottawa	Ontario K1P 5J6	613 237-5236 237-0524
OXFAM-Canada Newfoundland	382 Duckworth St. St. John's	Nfld A1C 1H8	
Partnership Africa Canada	No. 1 Nicholas Street Ottawa	Ont	
Queen's AA Ctee	c/o CUSO International Centre Queen's Unive	Ont	
Rally Against Apartheid		Ontario	416 665-4373
SA Democratic Students Assoc. - N.Scotia	P.O. Box 27173 Halifax	Nova Scotia B3H 4M8	902 422-1414
SA Educational Trust Fund	604 - 1 Nicholas St. Ottawa	Ont K1N 7B7	
SA Interest Group - Guelph		Ont	
SACTU Sold. Ctee	1909 Ironwood Court Port Moody	BC V3H 4C3	604 469-0346
SACTU/COSATU	P.O. Box 490 Station J Toronto	Ontario M4J 4Z2	
Simon Nkoli Anti-Apartheid Ctee	c/o 50 Cornwell Street #410 Toronto	Ontario M4A 4K5	416 368-7332 921-0784
Solidarity Ctee of the CSN	1601 De Lorimier Montreal	Que.	
Southern Africa Solidarity Ctee	c/o 2138 McIntyre Avenue Regina	Sask S4P 2R7	
SUCO	1265 rue Berri Montreal	Que.	
T/Force on Churches and Corp. Responsibility	129 St. Clair Ave. W. Toronto	Ont	
Table de Concertation au L'Afrique Australe	1265 rue Berri Montreal	Quebec H2L 4X4	514 499-0314 499-0153
TCLSAC	427 Bloor St. W. Toronto	Ontario M5S 1X7	416 967-5562
Trent Anti-Apartheid Ctee c/o Tobl Devidge	Lady Eaton College Trent U Peterborough	Ontario K9J 7B8	
United Church	85 St. Clair W T.O.	Ont K4T 1M8	
Windsor Students Against Apartheid		Ont.	
Women in Solidarity with Southern Africa Ctee	427 Bloor Avenue West Toronto	Ontario M5S 1X7	
WUSC Attn: Rosemary Forbes	P.O. Box 3000 Station 'C' Ottawa	Ontario K1Y 4M8	613 232-0377