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June 11, 1991

Mr. Oliver Tambo
President
The African National Congress
51 Alexandra Road
Muswill Hill, London

Dear Oliver:

It was a delight to speak with you on Friday. I am sorry I will miss you in London on the 22nd, but it was wonderful news to hear that you will be arriving that day in South Africa. As promised, I am enclosing a copy of the photograph that was taken at your home when we met with Mr. Mandela on matters related to the South African development bank. It's a gift for me to have a picture with both of you.

I am glad that I had a chance to raise with you over the phone the desire and commitment of the Institute's president and trustees to strengthen our work in South and Southern Africa. As you know, over these many years we have concentrated on working in the region and with the liberation movements; but given our position consistent with that of the movements, we have kept out of South Africa. The AAI board feels that time has now come for us to play a stronger role in generating support and maintaining linkages that are necessary to build and inform an effective constituency in this country on South and Southern African economic and social issues.

With the expected help of the Carnegie Corporation, the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation, the president and trustees have asked me to undertake the direction of our South and Southern Africa work based in South Africa. As you know from our conversation, anything that I or we do would be coordinated with what is happening with all of the efforts underway inside the country. Therefore, our involvement would be evolutionary and consistent with internal developments. I spoke about this at length with Tebogo (Dan) Mafole last night and we all agree on the question of timing. I look forward to discussing all of this with you and others when I am in Johannesburg and Durban.

I wish you all the best in your travels to Angola, Namibia and Botswana and, of course, a marvelous return to South Africa for both you and Adelaide.

With all best wishes.

As ever,

Frank E. Ferrari

FEF/chin encl.

British Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa



Established in 1958. the Fund works:

· to aid, defend and rehabilitate victims of unjust legislation, oppressive and arbitrary procedures

to support their families and dependants

· to keep the conscience of the world alive to the issues at stake in Southern Africa

· to assist in the development of a non-racial society based on a democratic way of life

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27 September 1990

Dear Bishop Trevor,

Thank you for your letter of the 14th September with the information on the future of IDAF.

The BDAF Council has thoroughly discussed your letter. Like you, we recognise and rejoice in the momentous changes which are taking place in South Africa. Like you also, we see that the people of South Africa are undergoing a most difficult period, and one which is fraught with potential dangers before the goal of a non-racial democratic South Africa can be achieved.

We can well appreciate that the major donors who have supported IDAF's work can now fund programmes of assistance to the victims of apartheid through direct South African channels, and that the need for IDAF, as a unique and trusted external agency, may not be the same as it was. However, different considerations apply to the British Defence and Aid Fund.

BDAF has been supported for over 25 years by thousands of individuals who have been concerned about the denial of democracy and equal rights in South Africa. various appeals and fund-raising activities not only secure significant funds to help the South African people, but also inform and mobilise an important sector of British public opinion. It would be a pity to demobilise this sector of support before it was clear that the apartheid system had actually been ended.

We do agree that once a democratic non-racial state comes into existence in South Africa, it would no longer be right to raise funds for the Defence and Aid Fund. It would then be right to channel the goodwill of our supporters into projects such as The Canon Collins Educational Trust for Southern Africa, for which there will undoubtedly be a great need.

As we write today, it is clear that the apartheid system has not come to an end. There remain a large number of political detainees, with senior members of the ANC having been detained quite recently. There is a vicious alliance between Inkatha and right-wing elements seeking to install a reign of terror and to destabilise the

2. process of democratic change. The leadership of the liberation movement has called for continued solidarity and pressure on the South African government. In those circumstances, we do not see that the objectives of the Defence and Aid Fund have been achieved, nor can we be certain that they will be achieved over the next six or twelve months. If we take the four objectives which are reflected in BDAF's memorandum of association: the defence of political prisoners - there remain (i) many political detainees and prisoners, and the terms of the Pretoria minute have not yet been fulfilled; aid to the victims of apartheid - new victims are (ii) being created every day, and there may well be calls upon the generosity of supporters in Britain and elsewhere; (iii) keeping the conscience of the world alive to the issues at stake - we still see this as most important. particularly as people are likely to be confused and misinformed by reports of "black on black violence" and "tribal rivalry"; (iv) assisting in the creation of a democratic non-racial society - while this is being negotiated by the ANC leadership, they will surely need forms of assistance from the international community. The changes in South Africa may imply changes in the nature of BDAF's work, which has to be carefully reviewed. will be important for a delegation from BDAF to visit South Africa, so as to be able to consult and work directly with organisations on the ground. If the timescale of IDAF's wind-down coincides with the timescale of the realisation of a democratic non-racial state in south Africa, then we would be happy to bring BDAF to an end at the same time. But for the reasons given above, we would wish to keep BDAF's fund-raising and informationgiving potential going for the present. We would ask the Trustees to support our efforts, bearing in mind that the goodwill of our many individual supporters may still be needed in full measure before the goal of a democratic South Africa is finally achieved. We would also appeal to the Trustees to consider whether IDAF can continue, even on a reduced scale, to act as a co-ordinating and information-giving agency, until it is clear that a democratic state exists in South Africa. All the members of the Council would like to take the . . . /3

opportunity of saying how much we have admired and appreciated your personal stewardship of IDAF over the years since Canon Collins died, during which there have been such turbulences in South Africa, and equally the devoted work of your fellow Trustees and the staff of IDAF over this period.

With good wishes,

Yours sincerely

Ethel de Keyser Director