

NYM/221/2255/1

340 East 64th Street
New York, New York 10021
June 21, 1989

Mr. Thabo Mbeki
Box 31791
Lusaka, Zambia

Dear Mr. Mbeki:

After reading a May article in THE WASHINGTON POST concerning your appeal for a campaign of defiance within South Africa, I thought I should send along copies of a letter to Mr. Solly Similane and the accompanying materials (December 22, 1986), and a proposal for the establishment of a Foundation for Southern Africa and related plan for a nationwide (American) public education program drafted for Mr. Johnstone Makatini. (He chose not to pursue this following some conversations with Mr. David Rockefeller.)

I happened to discuss the letter to Solly and the draft broadcasts with Johnny. He seemed to take it humorously and remarked something to the effect that I am not good terrorist material. Nonetheless, I hope you might find it useful.

I hope that it may be possible for us to meet the next time you visit New York. I had hoped to meet you during a recent visit you made, only to find that when I called the office you had already visited and were about to leave from the airport.

Then, meanwhile I will try to have brought to you another letter with accompanying materials which I prepared much earlier, but which I also think ought to be hand carried. It was written following the death of Johnny, and was already discussed with Mr. Aubrey Nkomo--if you should happen to see him. If someone happens to be travelling to New York, I would appreciate your asking them to contact me so I could give them those materials for you. I can be reached at (212) 755-7077 (although I expect to be away the first week in July and probably the third or fourth week in July as well.

I am giving this to Susan Mnumzana, and trusting that it may reach you fairly soon.

Yours sincerely,

Lois Adams

SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROPOSAL FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FOUNDATION FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA
AND A PLAN FOR A NATIONWIDE PUBLIC EDUCATION PROGRAM

CONDUCTED BY THE FOUNDATION

1985 - 1995

11/84 RA

SUMMARY

Southern Africa, in particular the Republic of South Africa, holds a very prominent position in Africa and U.S. - Southern African relations are crucial to the future of Africa. In fact, it is fair to say that the Republic of South Africa has become a leader in developing strong ties throughout the region to bolster economic cooperation and security. Indeed, the Republic's economic growth has boosted that of other countries in the region while paradoxically undercutting mutuality in socio-economic and political areas. Yet, the Republic is closely tied to the United States by a long-standing alliance and economic support including trade.

Unfortunately, most Americans remain ignorant of Africa as a whole and Southern Africa in particular. American visions of Southern Africa are heavily weighted by images of independence struggles waged by groups of rebellious individuals who refuse to adhere to the status quo and yet remain conflicted with each other, or with images of terrorists toting bombs and spouting extremist positions. Some American businesses have come to see Southern Africa either as a region with too little to offer at too great a price or, alternatively, as a source of cheap labor and an open market with lax trade terms. Other Americans view Southern Africa as the home of "ignorant natives," too backward to manage successfully their own Governments and economies even after independence had been achieved, a place beset by drought and burdened with a pitiful, starving populace.

Clearly, there is a strong need for a fresh and balanced view of Southern Africa in the United States.

This need would be served by the establishment of a broad-based, not-for-profit, non-political organization which could undertake a national education program about the countries and civilizations of Southern Africa which will reach millions of Americans. It's network would be developed to cover the entire country and reach all age groups and professions, working with leading authorities both in the U.S. and in Southern Africa to fulfill this educational goal.

There is no institution in the U.S. which has undertaken such a broad effort, and no other institution is planning such an intense and integrated program as we propose.

Over the 1985-1995 period, we propose, first, the establishment of the Foundation for Southern Africa and its endowment in the form of a perpetual trust, and, second, a strong, integrated program of activities to fill the void in American education.

Among the highlights of the program, which are detailed later in this proposal, are the following:

- Media programs designed to upgrade the quality and quantity of Southern African coverage in the U.S.
- Elementary and secondary education programs featuring a unique film program called "Focus on Southern Africa."
- A "Southern Africa Insight" program which will bring groups of students and teachers to Southern Africa for an intensive 2-4 week experience.
- High-level meetings which bring distinguished Americans to Southern Africa and bring Southern Africans to other countries in their region.
- Special studies and conferences dealing with each country in the region as part of the Foundation's "Southern Africa Agenda" program.

- Regular corporate conferences, briefings, and orientation sessions designed to acquaint leading businesspeople and bankers with Southern African affairs and especially the Republic of South Africa's roles in Southern Africa.
- Public education programs including a "Discover Southern Africa" course and related country-by country courses at the Foundation's headquarters, short courses on these at the Foundation's regional centers, and special workshops and seminars on Southern Africa in general and on each of the other countries of the region.
- Fine arts exhibits and performing arts troupes which open American eyes to traditional and contemporary values in Southern Africa.

In short, what we are proposing constitutes a unique and comprehensive approach to overcoming ignorance and stereotypes about Southern Africa.

The total costs for this "Southern Africa and the United States" program over the 1985-1995 ten year period are estimated at \$6.5 million. This would need to be preceded by the establishment of the Foundation itself. Salaries and start-up funds would need to be provided by the initial donors, but subsequently could be expected to derive from the interest-bearing endowment fund. We anticipate that the bulk of all this support will come from U.S. sources, particularly those in the corporate and foundation communities. We hope that some of this specific support for direct costs will come from the Governments of the Southern African region. We will be discussing such projects in the future.

At present, our greatest need is for endowment support and start-up monies. These would be supplemented by major fundraising efforts over the next five years. Our initial target is \$15 million for the endowment fundraising campaign alone. An endowment gift of \$1 million from each of the Governments in the region would be a key part of this overall campaign. It would help us meet our target and would show that Southern Africans and Americans are joining efforts to allow the Foundation to

flourish in the years ahead. It would also give us the requisite energy and funding to undertake the broad range of activities outlined below.

SPECIFIC PROGRAMS

Most American programs dealing with the countries in the region of Southern Africa are "one shot" activities with little enduring impact. By contrast, the Foundation is seeking to implement a 10-year strategy in which each of its country programs, and each of the more specific programs on a country-by-country basis, is part of a broader approach.

The net effect of these programs will be to reach a wide array of audiences across the United States in an unprecedented effort to increase awareness of Southern Africa. While the Foundation will serve as initiator of these various programs, we will collaborate with other organizations, both in the U.S. and in Southern Africa as appropriate. The African-American Institute, for instance, is a logical cosponsor of programs that are aimed at some student and business and banking communities. Such collaboration is natural because of the overlapping but ultimately distinctive programs and shared networks.

The programs which are listed below are designed to provide a wide variety of activities with appeal to many kinds of audience.

- MEDIA PROGRAMS

Most Americans learn about Southern Africa through the coverage that is provided through the print and broadcast media. Over the

proposed 10-year project period, the Foundation will need to design and develop a media relations program which can make a substantial and significant difference in coverage of key Southern African events. Using the advice of both journalists and Southern African specialists, the Foundation will aim at reaching millions of Americans through newspapers, newsweeklies, television, radio and the wire services. Through a carefully tailored approach which will include briefings, briefing materials, and ad hoc consultations, the Foundation will work using its own network of media contacts across the country and abroad.

Over the next 10 years, the Foundation proposes to utilize this network and proven techniques to make major improvements in the coverage of Southern Africa. Although outsiders cannot create news, we can take advantage of news opportunities. And Southern Africa will provide a great focus for media attention around the foreseeable independence of Namibia and related regional readjustments, including changes in the Republic of South Africa itself. Natural stories will emerge around key developments in the foreign affairs of countries of the region, U.S. - Southern Africa relations, and political events.

In each case, the Foundation for Southern Africa will provide its briefing services and linkages to key experts, always in a timely fashion, so that the coverage can be enhanced and deepened. Over the initial 10-year period, the Foundation also plans to provide regular background on each country in the area, presented in a short and usable way, to this broad media network.

- EDUCATION PROGRAMS

A recent review of textbooks dealing with Africa proves that most American schoolchildren are learning next to nothing about Southern

Africa. What little they do learn is filtered through brief mention of the colonial period, telescoped so much as to create the impression of weak and insignificant civilizations yielding to a superior force. Virtually nothing is taught about the dynamism of the Southern African region nor the vitality of regional traditional values and civilizations.

Instead of developing a new textbook, the Foundation proposes to develop a film program called "Focus on Southern Africa." This project will create short films on the lives of schoolchildren in Southern Africa. The films will introduce American children to the families, schools, friends and values of their Southern African counterparts. They will be packaged in an attractive format, complete with posters and a teachers' guide, and made available at very inexpensive prices.

It is expected that once the film program is produced, it will reach over a million children in tens of thousands of schools across the United States. The market is growing, and it may be expected that as the film program grows in coverage, it will have an important impact. There is no other curriculum tool on Southern Africa in the United States which is as comprehensive as that which we propose.

"Focus on Southern Africa" will be complemented by Southern Africa magazine, which will be the Foundation's periodical aimed at elementary and secondary school teachers. It will be designed to serve to help teachers construct curriculum programs dealing with Southern Africa and offering them the best available information on various countries. Southern Africa will cover the region's societies, family organizations, languages, religions, leadership and art.

- SOUTHERN AFRICAN INSIGHT PROGRAM

Perhaps the most powerful way to move American education toward a better appreciation of Southern Africa is through travel. The Foundation for Southern Africa will seek to develop programs to bring both students and teachers to the countries of the region. With sufficient funding and advance planning, a "Southern Africa Insight" program would have a strong impact, not only on the students and teachers directly involved, but also on the broader educational systems in which they are situated.

- HIGH-LEVEL MEETINGS

In addition to its commitment to broad education about Southern Africa, the Foundation for Southern Africa also intends to make special efforts to bring key decision-makers and those who influence policy to meetings in Southern Africa. It will be important to ensure that such meetings are invested with care and consequent prestige. Leaders throughout the region in government, business, journalism and education as well as in the arts should regularly be brought together for such high-level conferences.

- SOUTHERN AFRICA AND AMERICA'S AFRICAN AGENDA

The Foundation intends to develop an issues-related program that would have important implications for future Southern African activities. This program, entitled "America's Southern African Agenda," will be designed to focus American attention on the region and on key countries within the region. It would bring together leading specialists from

both Africa and America to examine key issues over the next 5-10 years. They would meet in conferences and study groups and produce publications based on these sessions. Most importantly, the "Agenda" program will emphasize outreach across the United States - through conferences and workshops in conjunction with world affairs organizations, through media activities around the various issues, and through special publications aimed at a wide readership.

During the 1985-1995 period, we propose that the "Agenda" program give special attention to each country in the region, beginning with the Republic of South Africa, which has served as a chief catalyst in the region. Study missions should travel to each country as part of a project to explore the realtions of these countries and the United States. Groups would be 10-12 in number, composed mainly of non-specialists whose primary fields are business, education and the media. We would hope to set up a carefully-designed itinerary of meetings with key figures in government and the private sector. Upon returning to the United States, an overall publication for the general public would be produced, and the individuals would take part in lecture programs and media activities across the country.

Special studies would focus on relations between particular countries and the U.S. In an age of growing protectionism, Americans are prone to focus on short-term, bilateral issues, sometimes tending to dismiss from consciousness those countries who are not major consumers of American goods, and to miss the broader picture.

One possibility is a conference on the question of U.S. economic relations with an individual country that might be held in conjunction with other organizations such as The World Bank and the African Development

Bank. But above all, we would seek to place the United States in a broader multilateral context in Southern Africa, helping her to move away from an obsessive bilateralism in foreign affairs, so that she comes to recognize the importance of Southern Africa-U.S. ties in terms of the stability and growth of the entire African continent, and Southern Africa in particular.

- PUBLIC PROGRAMS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

The Foundation plans a variety of public programs to introduce Southern Africa to general audiences.

The Foundation proposes to conduct a "Discover Southern Africa" series of introductory courses on many Southern African countries and cultures. These course would use the finest lecturers and educational materials available in the United States, and may be expected to open new horizons to thousands of Americans. These course would be recorded on video and audio tapes so that they may be used for television and radio purposes. Similar short courses could also be planned for the Foundation's regional centers.

For those with greater knowledge of Southern Africa, we propose to hold one or two seminars a year. We would seek to bring together leading figures in the fields of politics, economic development, foreign relations, and cultural affairs. We would also want to give emphasis to visiting Southern Africans in these fields so that we might continue the dialogue being established concurrently in the previously mentioned high-level meetings.

The Foundation proposes it produce a primer on U.S.- Southern Africa relations, after due consideration of the best possible authors and publication format.

- CORPORATE PROGRAMS

The Foundation plans to give a great emphasis to its educational roles for the American business and banking community, aided by the formation of a Corporate Council for Southern Africa. The Foundation would recruit corporate institutions as members and supporters.

Through this aspect of the Foundation's functioning, we would give annual briefings on each country in the region and on the region as a whole. These briefings would be conducted by experts in the field and supplemented by briefing materials and statistical information. Hopefully, several published volumes would stem from the sessions. There should also be an annual conference dealing with the regional economy and trade prospects. Senior management from across the U.S. and Southern Africa would examine current economic trends and forecasts, major trade developments, and questions confronting specific sectors.

- SOUTHERN AFRICAN ARTS PROGRAMS

The Foundation would be positioned to play a singular role in the fine and performing arts of Southern Africa. Large audiences could experience the Foundation's art exhibits and performing arts programs. Through these vehicles, Americans would learn much about the traditions

of Southern African art and the values that underlie them.

SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THE UNITED STATES: A FINAL NOTE

In the past, Southern Africa has not ever been the focus of such concerted attention as this proposal anticipates. In the case of each country in the region, the Foundation would be a major factor in developing a broad range of educational programs. This proposal attempts to convey both the breadth and integration of what can be accomplished through an initial 10-year "Southern Africa and America" public education approach.

The success of the Foundation for Southern Africa will depend on three important components - institutional readiness, personal commitment, and financial support. Through painstaking care exercised in the planning stages of the Foundation's establishment and the step-by-step, high-quality building of its educational programs, we believe that the Foundation will be able to demonstrate institutional readiness. The Foundation even in its formative phase also has a high level of visible personal commitment, as may be seen in the accompanying list of initial donors and volunteers for Board membership. Many others who have endorsed this proposal can be mobilized to assist in this important cause. Just as important, the personal ties between the Foundation for Southern Africa even in its opening phase and the individuals and organizations in the region will provide a dynamic exchange for "Southern Africa and the United States."

The third component, financial support, is the chief uncertainty at present. We are proposing the establishment of a major foundation,

and each of the constitutive projects will require its own funding. A major fundraising effort is required both for the establishment of the Foundation as for the individual projects, and has just been launched.

What is most needed is an overall endowment grant to the Foundation in the amount of \$1 million from each of the Governments in the region in support of the entire "Southern Africa and the United States" program. Such a grant, if matched by the private sector in each country, would permit all of the component projects to be developed rather than just particular parts of the program, and would hopefully elicit matching grants from the private sector in the United States as well and not just from individual donors.

We sincerely hope that several sectors in the United States will contribute to the start-up of the Foundation, and that our Southern African colleagues will join with us to make the Foundation for Southern Africa a reality.

LIST OF INITIAL DONORS AND VOLUNTEERS FOR BOARD MEMBERSHIP: THE FOUNDATION
FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

A LIST OF POTENTIAL MEMBERS OF THE BOARD AND/OR DONORS

Mr. T.

Benjamin Hooks/NAACP

President of the YWCA

H. E. Mr. Olara Otunnu

Someone from the Kennedy family

Doris Duke, or

John and Betty Duke

Bishop Paul Moore

Leon Levy/Oppenheimer Inc.

Harry Helmsley, or

Fred or Donald Trump

Edgar Bronfman

Malcolm S. Forbes

Edwin S. Lowe

W. Averill Harriman

Katherine Graham/Washington Post owner

Arthur Ochs Sulzberger/The New York Times

FUNDRAISING LETTER SLANTED TOWARD THOSE WHO ARE KNOWN TO
HAVE GIVEN GENEROUSLY TO THE ARTS BUT HAVE CHARITABLE
INTERESTS ALSO IN HELPING SOME SOCIAL CAUSES: SOME
POTENTIAL DONORS

Gordon Peter Getty

David Rockefeller

Paul Mellon

Mrs. Thomas B. Morgan (Mary Rockefeller)

William S. Paley

Armand Hammer