

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

STANFORD, CALIFORNIA 94305

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January 3, 1986

Mr. Oliver Tambo
President
African National Congress
P.O. BOX 31791
Lusaka
Zambia

Dear President Tambo:

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I am writing to inquire if you and the other members of the Executive Committee of the African National Congress would be interested in participating in a meeting between leaders of your Congress and the Chief Executive Officers of several American corporations with subsidiaries in South Africa. would be sponsored by Stanford University (possibly in cooperation with one or two other leading universities) and could take place on our campus or at a private location near Stanford.

Such a meeting

The timing of such a meeting would depend, of course, on the ability and willingness of extraordinarily busy individuals to make adjustments in their schedules. Our preference would be to host the event at the earliest convenient time -â\\200\\224 in the spring of 1986, preferably late March, April or early May.

If such a meeting is to take place -- and is to prove helpful to all the parties involved -- it is crucial that the interests, goals, and concerns of these individuals be communicated to each other from the outset. interest in hosting this meeting is based on our desire to contribute, in a way consistent with our mandate as an

educational institution, to the termination of apartheid in South Africa.

American corporations active in South Africa, we feel under a special obligation to press these companies to act in creative, new ways to challenge the apartheid system whose repressive features are also inimical to the conduct of their activities. It also is entirely consistent with our educational mandate to provide an opportunity for people with very different backgrounds and interests to meet, to exchange views -- and, indeed, to debate important issues.

If Stanford University is to retain financial ties with

The University's

A major purpose of this letter is to explore what you and the Congress would like to see take place if a meeting with American corporate executives were to be arranged. What kinds of questions, challenges, and proposals for short-term or long-term action would you like to pose to these executives?

South Africa can best assist the human need of the victims of the current regime.

From these conversations, Stanford might derive significant help in shaping its own research agenda so as to contribute more effectively to the solution of South Africa's questions.

We have asked several questions in this letter, and at this point we are looking for a general reaction from you to the conference proposal, rather than detailed answers. Some of these same questions must also be posed to the corporate executives who agree to attend. As convener of the conference, Stanford would have to reserve the right to determine the final shape of the conference, based, of course, upon input from all of the participants.

I am sending a copy of this letter to several individuals with an interest in the proposed meeting. Mr. Warren Christopher is the President of the Stanford Board of Trustees; during the Carter Administration he served as Deputy Secretary of State. Department is a leading African scholar here. Mr. Joseph Edozien, a graduate student in computer science, is this year's president of the Stanford African Students Association.

Professor David Abernethy of the Political Science

I look forward to hearing from you, by letter or by phone, (415-497-2481) at your earliest convenience. will be found to take into account the desire and concerns of all the parties involved as planning for the proposed meeting proceeds, so that the end result will be of the greatest benefit, not only to all the participants in the meeting but -- and more importantly -- to the people of South Africa.

I trust that a way

Sincerely yours,

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P.S. I am also sending this letter to your London address, since I am unsure of your specific residency at this time.

DK:jsa

cc:

Warren Christopher
Wayne Fredericks
David Abernethy
Joseph Edozien
Neo Mnumzana, ANC representative to the UN

I have informally explored the possibility of the proposed meeting with several members of the University's Board of Trustees, who are themselves prominent members of the American business community.

Their feeling is that many Chief Executive Officers would be quite interested in attending such a meeting, and that Stanford's role as convener would add to the attractiveness of the invitation.

We have also had preliminary discussions with Wayne Fredericks, who is known to you, and he has promised his cooperation.

Before I pursue further my exploratory conversations with American corporate executives.

But I wanted to explore your views on this matter

Let me propose here one possible "scenario" -- if only

The details of a meeting would of course need to be worked out in consultation with the individuals who would attend.

To seek your reactions to it and your suggestions for altering it.

Four to six from the ANC, several corporate executives, and a few from Stanford.

While the fact that the meeting is taking place would be publicized, the meeting itself would be off-the-record to the press. A press conference would, most likely, be needed following the event.

The numbers attending would be small -- for example,

Some of the proceedings would be relatively informal, and held in unstructured settings, allowing for candid exchanges of views. The meeting could begin on an evening (a Friday perhaps, or a Sunday), and run through the entire next day.

Participants would have the opportunity, well in advance of the meeting, to circulate to other participants the issues -- perhaps framed in the form of questions -- they would like to see addressed.

One possibility would be to divide the issues into two types: a) those dealing with the longer term, i.e., the likely and/or desired nature of post-apartheid society, polity, and economy;

relating in a range of ways to the amelioration of current conditions in South Africa.

Issues; for instance, it is likely that the corporate executives will want to seek your interpretation of a number of phrases in the Freedom Charter dealing with the ownership and control of economic assets.

American or other foreign investment might play in a post-apartheid economy.

This could lead into a discussion of what role

b) those dealing with the short term, i.e.,

We might start with longer-term

We might then turn to short-term issues, where differences of opinion over goals, strategy: and tactics as they concern the transition of political power are likely, if anything, to be greater than differences over long-term goals. In this context, the ANC would be able to present its views on corporate action directly to those in the best position to consider them seriously. We might also discuss how U.S. corporations now in