

FRIEDRICH

EBERTEZT

STIFTUNG

Cm5 w a 0(30 3 Forschungsinstitut

Herrn

Tony Seedat ,

African National

Congress

Postfach 190 140

5300 B o n n 1

Lieber Tony,

als Anlage sende ich Dir wie abgesprochen eine Kopie unseres

Vorschlages für einen SÜdafrika-Dialog.

In den nächsten Tagen wirst Du das offizielle Einladungs-
schreiben zu unserer internationalen Konferenz am 12. Juni
erhalten. 1

Sobald ich aus meinem Urlaub zurückgekehrt bin, werde ich

Dich anrufen. Bis dahin,

Viele Grüße,

Werner Rechmann

CV (73. Pw/feM

Mm 149 - 5300 Bonn 2 Vorsitzender: Präsident des Kuratoriums:

Telefon: 28) 8830 - Telex: 8854wa d Ministerpräsident a.D. Holger Bömer Dr.phil.h.c.Dr.rer.
pol.h.c.Walter Hesselbadl

Bankverbindung : Bank für Gemeinwirtschaft Bankier. Frankfurt/Main

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CONCEPT OF IMPLEMENTING A "SOUTH AFRICAN DIALOGUE"

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) plans to initiate the implementation of a dialogue between black and white groups from South Africa. Observers outside the Foundation believe the FES to be one of the institutions capable to play a mediator's role in such a plan. By initiating the envisaged dialogue the FES wants to support activities which are geared towards the aim of changing the South African society by means of negotiations. Out of various reasons the present immobile political situation in South Africa seems to hinder any direct dialogue between Black and White on a higher official level. On both sides, initiatives to this end are mostly blocked, in spite of the fact that on both sides there exist groups who do wish for such a dialogue. This tight situation could be loosened by offering a platform for talks on quasi-neutral grounds - as planned by FES - and, at the same time, by calling in a mediating group to take part in the dialogue. 7 .

The objective of such a dialogue in our view should be to prepare the grounds for possible official negotiations at a later stage. It would be misleading and unrealistic to expect from such a dialogue to come out with any resolutions ; ...or even solutions. A discussion forum should rather be an instrument to sound out common views and interests between the parties, which later on based on a minimum consensus could provide for conditions of official negotiations.

It is evident that such an objective cannot be achieved by means of a single public conference but by a dialogue with a particular design concerning the structure and character of the discussions, the participants, and the implementation of such a dialogue in terms of time.

In detail we have the following design in mind:

- Structure and character of the dialogue:

Main actors in the dialogue will be the South African participants. We are
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thinking of the following groups:

- The black side: Primarily the ANC. However, additionally representatives of other black resistance groups should be considered to participate.

This should be subject to further discussions.

- The white side: Representatives from the afrikaans "Broederbund" which has indicated interest as well as from the South African business community. Altogether, participants should be "first choice", however. they have not to be necessarily involved in active politics nor represent the South African government.

Next to the main parties concerned from South Africa, in our view it seems to be of special relevance to have a mediating group. The function of this group would be mainly to build some kind of "buffer" between the South African conflicting parties and, at the same time, to mediate between them. Members of these groups should be as follows

- a - A group of prominent African persons, specially from the Front-Line-States "Spiritus Rector" of this group would be Dr. Ndam Njoya, former Minister from Cameroon and a highly reputed person in his country. Dr. Njoya is

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3 members of the African group.

prepared to take part in this initiative-and he would contact the relevant

- A group of persons with the former Foreign Affairs Minister from France, J. Jobert. who has as well agreed to participate in the initiative.

The discussions in the course of the dialogue must have a strictly informal character. Consequently they are not to take place in public and the results are not to be publicised (unless the participants do wish a publication). The informality of the meeting would mean as well that the single participants primarily speak for themselves as individuals and not with an official mandate.

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This will have a double advantage: The participants will be encouraged to speak more openly than as formal representatives of their organization . reflecting its official views, and none of the organizations necessarily will have to commit themselves with the Outcomes of the discussions in case they do not agree with the results.

- Participants:

According to the whole set up of the dialogue the participants should be primarily influential personalities and not so much high ranking officials who represent formally their organizations in the discussions. Therefore, it could be also personalities who are not even members of an organization concerned, but who are familiar with the views and close to leading persons of the organization in the sense that they are regarded as trustworthy and whose advices are appreciated. In any case. they should be in the position to establish a kind of feed back system with the leaders of an organization concerning the inputs into the discussion process and the comments of the results.

Altogether by this choice of participants we hope that the single individuals could gain influence on political decisions as a result of the meetings. The round of participants should be limited. We are thinking of a maximum of 10 - 12 participants from South Africa. and a total of 8 persons from Black Africa and Europe, coming to 18 - 20 participants altogether.

- Implementation in terms of time:

The implementation of the dialogue has to be based on a concept which provides for the establishment of a discussion forum with continuous meetings in regular time intervals (may be twice a year). Only the continuity of the meetings will allow to start a discussion process with feed-backs from the different organizations which in the course of the dialogue could lead to a minimum consensus on the preconditions for further negotiations.

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Apart from the set-up and the organization of the envisaged meeting FES deliberately does not intend to prepare a detailed agenda or to determine the choice of single participants. It is rather intended that this should be a result of the preparatory discussions with the main participants. This active participation of the main actors in the initial stage of the whole venture is deemed very important in order to avoid a situation where participants are invited to a "ready made" conference which might prove later on to be not more than an academic exercise.

In a first round of talks, participants would meet "off the records" in Germany for a few days. The aim of this first meeting would be the creation of a platform for a critical policy oriented discussion between relevant black and white groups in South Africa. According to the first meeting's outcome, there should be regular follow-up talks arranged.

Progosal for Countries and Particigants

1. Number of Barticigants: . _

Africa: 4

Europe:

South

Africa: 10 - 12

Totalzi 18 - 20

2. Countries and Earticipants:

Africa: - Cameroon (Prof. Ndam Njoya)

- Zimbabwe

- Sambia

- Nigeria

Europe: - France (Jobert)

- Great Britain

- Switzerland

- FederaT.Republic of Germany

South

Africa: - National Party:

Prof. De Lange, Chairman of Broederbund (De Lange has indicated to participate in such a dialogue)

- Business / Progressive Federal Party:

Zac de Beer, Executive with Anglo-American. member of PFP and a friend of President Kaunda

- African National Congress (ANC)

- Inkatha: either a member or someone who is familiar with Inkatha (like e.g. Prof. Lawrence Schlemmer).

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- Congress of South African Trade Unions
- , - SoGth African Council of Churches

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- Dutch Reformed Churches (eventually covered by Prof. De Lange)
- Expert in constitutional matters, e.g. Kane Berman, Director of South African Institute of Race Relations and practical experience with the discussions on the Natal Indaba
- Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO) / Pan African Congress (PAC) (eventually Neville Alexander from Capetown) -
- United Democratic Front (UDF).

According to the concept of the dialogue it will be most important to select individuals with a high reputation and with personal influence rather than formal representatives of counties or organizations, who would perhaps be obliged to repeat official view; instead of contributing by own ideas and approaches.

Rüdiger Pintar

15.7.1987

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Abteilung Internationale
Entwick/ungszusammenarbeit
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ANC / Johannesburg
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Dear Mr. KatHrada,
as disgussed during our meeting of 18th May 1990, we ordered 10 pieces
each of the following security equipment/detective devices:
(10) manual arms detectors
(10) mail/parcel explosive detectors
for direct dellvery to South Africa.
Please inform us urgently about address for airfreight dellvery.
YoursKSintsrely,

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Fnednch-Eben-Stifwng
GodesbergerAHee 149, 0-5300 Bonn 2
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FRIEDRICH-EBERT-STIFTUNG Keck ngoaiio fYW
hp. W'
Mr. Neison Mandeia
Vice-President Vorsiaand
African National Congress
54, Saner Rd., Munich Re. 81d. GodesbergerAlIeeMQ
Johannesburg EBOOBonnz
South Africa
28.6.1990

Distinguished Vice President, dear Nelson Mandeia,
t was a great pieasure and honour to talk to you, your wife and members
of your staff in Bonn. I firmiy believe that these taiks have been a miie-
stone in the relationship between our two organisations and will open up
new perspectives for an even cioser cooperation than before.

We wish to act as your partners and Speediiy put into practice the various
forms of cooperation we discussed. Security equipment (detectors) for the
ANC headquarters in Johannesburg and for the ANC regionai offices has been
ordered as promised, in response to a request put forward recentiy by
Ahmed Kathrada in a conversation with my colleague in Johannesburg.

The Friedrich Ebert Foundation has decided to participate in another pro-
ject that will directly benefit the African National Congress. We wiii
help set up an "Economic Research Project" (ERRP) at the University of
Western Cape which, as has been agreed with Max Sisuiu, wiil serve the
sole purpose of conducting economic research and providing training and
politicaì consuitation to the ANC. In addition to contributing to the
project finance, we are wiiling, if so requested by the ANC, to share ail
our international experience and contacts, in the same way as we are
currently doing with COSATU.

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Vorsitzender des Vorstanaes: Holger BÖmer, Ministerpräsident a.D. - Präsident des Kurator
iums: Dr. phil. hic. Dr. rer. pol. hsc.

Walter Hesselbach, Bankier. Frankfun/Main - Ehrenprasidem des Kuratonums: Prof. Dr. Gerha
rd Weisser. Bonn

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Needless to say this also goes for other areas in which the Friedrich Ebert Foundation as a component of the German and international labour movement can contribute its share to change the political situation in Southern Africa and to strengthen democratic structures. As we understood from your General Treasurer Mr. Nkobi during our conversation there is a major need for assistance in setting up an organisational structure for the ANC. we shall do everything within our possibilities to give you our support in this matter. The approach we would propose is to help set up one of the ANC's regional branches such as Western Cape, as a priority. At Western Cape, our Friedrich Ebert Foundation representative could then be permanently in touch with Trevor Manuel, the ANC Deputy Convener.

In order to discuss and coordinate this and other forms of cooperation we propose to follow Mr. Nkobi's thought of holding regular meetings between the ANC and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, in South Africa, Bonn and other places. We are especially grateful for your proposal to nominate a person in charge of keeping contact with the Friedrich Ebert Foundation through our representative in South Africa, Dr. Veit.

I do believe that there will be even greater scope for a trustful and close cooperation between our two organisations in the future as both are pursuing the same goals of solidarity and a peaceful democratic future for mankind.

I therefore wish to say once again how pleased I was about our talks. Permit me to wish you and your lady wife that, despite the ongoing liberation struggle which has by no means ended yet, you may find the time to enjoy the family life that you have been forcefully denied for so many years. To the ANC as the historic force of democratic resistance in South Africa I wish every success in speedily building a democratic and non-racist South Africa.

Yours,

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Dr Ur e

n Burckhardt

Secretary General

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NATIONAL CONGRESS
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DEPUTY HEAD
A_ETBLQA_ .1.) EPARTM ENLIS
PROM : AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
HEAD OFFICE
JQEAMESBURG
RF? : MAN UAJI ARMS UETHUTUHS
YOUR LETTER DATED 28TH JUNE 1990 REFERS.
OUR ADDRESS FOR PURPOSES OF DIRECT DELIVERY IS :
3RD FLOOR
MUNXCH RE BUILDING
54 BAUER STREET
:7 (JEAN .N E S.ELULS
2000
FOR YOU? INFORMA'FTCRu :
OUR POSTAL ADDRESS .lt-S :
P.O. BOX 6189:?
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TELEPHONE NUMBER : 834 - 5301
FAX : 834 - 1019 /
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REGARDS
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