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September 22, 1988

Mr. Anthony Mongalo
Office of the President
African National Congress
PO Box 31791
Lusaka, Zambia

Dear Mr. Mongalo:

As we discussed, I am enclosing our editors' selection of documents by Mr. Oliver Tambo to be included in our forthcoming anthology, MANDELA 'TAMBO, AND THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS as well as a revised outline for the work. (Please note that the title and subtitle are tentative.) I would greatly appreciate your conveying to Mr. Tambo our request for permission to reprint these materials with these documents and our previous correspondence regarding the history and purpose of the work. We will also be requesting permission from Praeger Books to reprint "Passive Resistance in South Africa" and from Cape Times to reprint Anthony Heard's interview with Mr. Tambo.

Should our request for permission be granted, we would welcome your suggestions regarding the project. In the interest of our scholarly independence, however, it is important that the selection of documents be left to our editors' discretion.

We currently plan to publish this anthology in the early spring of 1989 and will be proceeding with the editing and production of the work in a few months. We would therefore be grateful to receive your response at your earliest convenience.

We greatly appreciate your assistance in this matter.

With best wishes,

Valerie Aubry
Editor

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September 15, 1988

Ms. Valerie Aubry
Oxford University Press
200 Madison Avenue
New York, NY 10016

Dear Valerie,

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
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It was a pleasure to meet again last Thursday for what was a very productive session. Momentum was sustained over the weekend

when Hunt and I were together here in Durham as he stopped over en route to Dartmouth.

During our conversations we were able to focus upon most of the documents to be included, with particular attention to the Tambo documents. Enclosed you will find xerox copies of the Tambo documents which we have selected for inclusion.

You will immediately note, as I indicated in our

conversation last Thursday, that we have not only documents taken from Oliver Tambo Speaks, but also documents taken from other public sources, including the Cape Times interview, testimony to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Commons, a speech a Georgetown University, and a speech to the People's National Party in Jamaica.

In making the selections we have been painfully aware that we have limited space, but also that it is important to include commentary and analysis upon a range of questions answered before diverse audiences. We believe, for example, that the Georgetown University speech is especially important as it speaks to an American audience in a volume directed at an American audience. Complementarily, the Cape Times article is essential as it is addressed to a predominantly white South African audience; we have included less from the House of Commons testimony as many of the topics are covered in the Cape Times interview made during the same visit to London. The latter considers the important question of the ANC's stance toward communism and the Soviet Union, but we feel that it is also important that Tambo's (and

the ANC's) views on this issue be examined when the audience are members of the ANC and the SACP; hence the shorter section from 'Our Alliance Is a Living Organism That Has Grown Out of the Struggle', taken from Tambo's speech at the 60th anniversary of the SACP. In a different fashion we also felt that it was appropriate to include several earlier Tambo statements so that it is not only Mandela's statements which appear for the period up to 1964. It should be clear that it has been impossible to

include all that we would have wished by Tambo in a volume which focuses upon Mandela, Tambo, and the ANC. We tried to include more recent Tambo statements which touch upon more recent issues to bring coverage up to date.

Hunt and I also considered a considerable reorganization of the volume in which the original five sections would be compressed into four sections, with the first section now covering the period from 1948 to 1960. In our view the reorganization strengthens the reoriented focus of the book, upon the evolution of the ANC with focused attention upon the roles of Mandela and Tambo; no longer is it primarily a book on Mandela as it was originally conceived in our first conversations. In this vein we are anxious to include the more recent ANC documents, particularly the new constitutional guidelines as well as the extracts from the January, 1988, statement of the National Executive Committee. Our revised working outline is also enclosed, indicating the reorganization. Hunt and I anticipate that there might possibly be further condensation and possible elimination of some documents (including possibly Mandela documents) once we focus more intensively upon the documents and the introductions.

I am sending out requests for copyright permission for the items on the enclosed list - although the requests to British addresses will have to wait until the postal strike is settled. Should you feel that the list of needed copyright permissions is not complete I would appreciate it if you would so inform me.

I look forward to hearing from you with specific suggestions on the form of the letters to be sent to Helen Suzman and Fikile Bam regarding permission for their inclusions.

You will be hearing from Hunt directly shortly, if you have not already heard from him. We hope to continue to sustain momentum!

With best wishes,

Cordially,