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. uthern Africa Policy Forum
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FAX (202) 467-0790
March 15, 1989
Tebogo Mafole
Chief Representative
Afripan National Congress
801 Second Avenue
Suite 405
New York, NY 10017

Dear Mr. Mafole:

I am enclosing herewith your tickets for the conference in Bermuda plus a brochure on the Lantana Club where it -will be held. Your flight information is on the tickets so I will not reiterate it here. You will be arriving approximately the same time as Thabo Mbeki, he of course from-London. Your departures will coincide, too. You should be prepared to dress casually for the majority of our sessions, although meals will require a coat and -tie.

I have asked Mr. Mbeki to send us a biographic sheet so we can include it in our briefing books for the Congress Members. If you could reinforce that request, I would appreciate it. Perhaps he could FAX it to our number above. We will have briefing notebooks for the both of you on arrival containing background papers, bios, participants and other briefing materials. By the way, you will be met at the airport and taken to the Lantana Club.

Lastly, you should know that we have one further attendee at the conference. He is Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs designate, Ambassador Herman Cohen. Ambassador Cohen, who will not be confirmed by the Senate until after he returns from Bermuda, will only be an observer, but looks forward to the opportunity to meet you and Mr. Mbeki and the other participants in his first major emersion into South African affairs. Although he will only attend and not take part in our formal discussions, Ambassador Cohen will have time to interact with you during the informal times. I would be pleased if you would let Mr. Mbeki know of Ambassador Cohen's attendance.

I look forward to seeing you soon.

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Steve Mcdonald

HEF'DRT OF COMMISSION 1

Qt&, Cemmr5eeZ_wes_set-ep-te-ee%eeeeete On ANC needs and resources.
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Teimg of Refeience:

For its terms 04 reierence the Commission was guided by the documents of the National Fundraising Wort shop held in March 1986 at SOMAFCD and the h:eynete address delivered by the Treasurer General at the opening 0% this workshop.

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Using the abovee mentioned documents as a point of departure, the Commission agreed that the idgEiii\$sa\$ifEtszE2EQE ANC needs arisegb 159m its historical test s to prosecute the struggle to liberate QMrnhanUP__CDdH%Fy frum apartheid tyranny, m:ilita::i?,politicalt21 economically, culturally and diplomatie

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In this regard the Commission fully endorsed the needs as outlined in the 1986 document, wigs Btuxg

i) the reepuneibility fer the maintenance and wellmbeing 0% t.housande 0% people based in many countries inbeQEQ-aaeeea__ei food, transport, clqthing, education etc

11) the respunsibility \$or the provision 0% the heceeeary \$inancee for these going home

iii) the maintenance 0% underground operatives and organisations \$unctioning legally' :qsiAL SoLHeafeti

iv) the ee tabli ehment and upkeep of ANC missions abroad

In agreeinartheee abovewmentioned needs the Commission noted the following:

i) that the Situation inside South Airica had deteriorated drastically a5 a result 0% the state of emergency

ii) that the developments in the region, in particular the events.haae ln Seuth Western Africa had necessitated that our movement engage in a massive exercise to relocate our military pereehnel, eapping very heavily our meagre Fesourcee M"? 11.9k

iii) that at the international level the /ANC has been subjected to a severe /6nelaught nrchestrated by the Pretoria regime and deedigned t0 tarnish our image and thus diminish our sources of funding

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The Commission concluded that these factors have imposed a greater responsibility on our movement, not only in terms of the volume of assistance required but also in the range of types of aid, all of which is representative of a situation much more urgent than existed in 1986.

In an effort to address this state of affairs, the Commission recommends that the following measures be undertaken:

1. Given the fact that our capacity to effectively raise funds from our traditional supporters, such as agencies and grassroots funding depends on the extent to which we are able to counter the prevailing anti-ANC propaganda and to project a positive ANC profile, we need to embark upon an aggressive propaganda campaign.

This campaign should involve all ANC structures and especially our missions abroad with a view to winning new friends for the movement.

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. The ANC needs to have a databank of all the existing aid agencies and other potential resources in order to have a thorough understanding of their operations. Such information will ensure that we are enabled to assess the priorities upon which they should be approached as well as identify new resources.

As a first step the Chief Representatives (and Regional Treasurers where applicable) should obtain such information and make appropriate recommendations to the UTE). "HAJWJLLL-1

The Commission recommended that (/the Chief Representatives in the Nordic Region where the deudpggziieal support exists should collect such P information and jointly make appropriate recommendations to H9 within the next three months.

3. In addition to the traditional supporters of our movement, the Commission strongly urged that new areas be explored as recommended by the 1986 fundraising workshop. These areas include:

a) Africa

Whilst recognising that Africa is afflicted with numerous problems such as the debt crisis, the Commission agreed that contributions in kind can be mobilised. In this connection the Chief Reps in Africa should make pledges to collect from their respective areas items such as artefacts to contribute to AME projects in Europe and elsewhere.

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b) 351 a 9:99)
The Commission noted that some of our
communities originate from countries like
Malaysia, Sri Lanka and India and that these
links should be utilised to conduct
fundraising efforts in these countries.
Materials and provisions on which money is
now being spent, such as textiles, sugar, tea
etc could be obtained from these countries.
This would release funds for other purposes.
In working out this scheme account will have
to be taken of the cost of transporting such
goods so that it is not too great compared to
the value of the goods obtained.

c) Middle East I:
The AND should be able to follow up the two
visits by the AND Presidential delegations to
this area in an effort to raise funds.

d) Egitima America
In order to conduct effective fundraising
campaigns in this region the question of the
opening of ANC missions in this region should
be addressed with the urgency it deserves.
This will enable our movement to take
advantage of the goodwill created, for
instance, by the Mandela tour of Brazil.

a. the Resources
The AND should utilise the experience of other
liberation movements in the area setting its own
enterprises

a) The establishment of a travel agency. This
will not only save us the huge expenses
incurred through purchasing of air fares and
services, but will also generate additional
income.

b) Since the AND offices abroad cannot serve as
marketing outlets for the items to be
collected from Africa and elsewhere, we urge
the establishment of procurement and
marketing centres as recommended by the 1986
Fundraising workshop.

c) The Commission urges the rigorous
implementation of the decision to extract
contributions and pledges from our members
who are gainfully employed.

d) In order to save our missions the expense of
additional staff, the Commission recommends
that maximum utility of volunteer work in the
respective countries be made. Of course this
should not in any way jeopardise security.

The Commission further recommends the streamlining and usage of personnel in our projects.

4. Endings for Internal Struggle

a) The Commission recommends that the movement, particularly our members abroad, should urgently embark on campaigns to expose the "Disclosure of Foreign Funding" Bill which will severely curtail the ability of the MDM to raise funds.

b) The Commission recommends the popularisation of the ANC Free South Africa Fund.

c) The Commission further recommends proper co-ordination between the liberation movement and the MDM to streamline and identify sources of funding abroad.

d) The Commission appreciates the establishment of co-DPs and other self reliance schemes conducted in South Africa and urges the movement to encourage them.

e) The Commission recommends that the MDM be encouraged to explore means towards greater self-reliance through the direct contribution of the people.

In making the above recommendations the commission wishes to submit that it has by no means exhausted all the possibilities in tapping the sources of funding and exploring new possibilities. It is however the considered view of the commission that the implementation of the above recommendations will go a long way in addressing the serious problems presently faced by our movement in the discharge of its historic obligations namely the DESTRUCTION OF APARTHEID AND THE FORMATION OF A NON-RACIAL DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA.