

A G R E E D M I N U T E 5

Consultations in Lusaka, May, 1986, between the African National Congress of South Africa and Sweden concerning humanitarian assistance -r-m.

Consultations were held in Lusaka May 5-9, 1986 between representatives of the African National Congress of South Africa - (ANC) and Sweden regarding cooperation between the parties for the financial year 1986/87. A list of participants is attached; I.

to these Minutes' (Annex I);

1.1 , The Swedish Ambassador to Zambia, Mr. Jan Clander welcomed, the two delegations and opened the meeting.'

1.2 The Head of the ANC-delegation, Secretary General, Alfred Nzo g e . made a brief statement on political developments in South Africa . ;_ 4. and in the Subregion. He started by expressing heartfelt xv .

condolences to the Government and people of Sweden on the death of a friend of the South African people, the late Prime Minister Olof Palme.

. Since the last consultations in May, 1985 important political . 4 developments in South Africa have taken place. The 2nd Rational Consultative Conference of the ANC was an important milestone j which demonstrated the ability of the ANC to refute the_ r e h k s d All speculations concerning the division of forces in the Rho. proved wholly unfounded.

The Secretary General further stated that the white minority increasingly recognizes the ANC as a solution to the political problem in South Africa. Leading political figures like the h former PFP-leader Ven Syl Slabbert, businessmen, the Catholic 7 Bishops Conference, COSATU, NUSAS and others came to meet with the ANC. Further, party leaders of the Kwangwane bantustan

visited Lusaka for consultations with the ANC, signifying the realization of those within the bantustan system regarding the inevitable fall of the South African regime.

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Embryonic organs of peoples power inside South Africa are emerging. Our people are forging new weapons of struggle, e.g. growing consumer boycott campaigns.

Botha exposed the general ungovernability of the country when he recently appealed to the economic summit meeting in Tokyo that sanctions not be imposed as a result of a popular upsurge which would follow the release of Nelson Mandela. The Secretary General emphasized that the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group should not become another Contact Group I in a different form.

We have held meetings here in Lusaka with the new Government of Lesotho, namely with the Foreign Affairs Minister and a Military Council Representative. It was made clear that the ANC is not the enemy of the people of Lesotho, but that our struggle is directed against the racist regime that does not recognise the sovereignty and integrity of the independent countries in the region. We welcome their willingness to continue receiving refugees from South Africa.

Owing to pressures from the South African regime to Botswana, our representative and his deputy were asked to leave the country.

The situation in Zimbabwe continues to improve. There is growing understanding between the ANC and the ruling party and its Government.

The Mozambique Government has become more outspoken in its criticism of the South African regime and the Nkomati accord. Party to party talks between Frelimo and ARC have been proposed.

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Our relations with the Government of Tanzania continues to improve. ANC's relations with the Government of Zambia remain excellent and the Government of Angola continues its dedicated support of our struggle.

A proposed meeting between ANC and the Swazi Government was postponed due to the preparations for the coronation of the new Swazi king.

Overall, and in spite of the difficulties concomitant with the escalation of the struggle, the situation is extremely hopeful.

The Secretary General ANC's gratitude to Sweden, and in particular the SIDA representative in Lesotho for the assistance rendered during the critical period in that country.

1.3 The Head of the Swedish delegation, Mr. Carl Olof Cederblad, made reference to the recent intensive contacts between ANC and Sweden. This interaction was a sign of the firm support for the ANC in Sweden on the governmental as well as the public level.

. Developments in Southern Africa had clearly demonstrated that the apartheid regime was desperate. The regime had enforced the brutal repression on anti-apartheid activists and on the frontline-states. However, the resistance inside South Africa was growing and becoming even more organised, while many groups had turned against the regime and established relations with ANC. The end of the crisis in South Africa could be achieved only when a genuine and complete abolishment of the apartheid system and a free, democratic, non-racial South Africa was created.

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.arthei. regime was
strengthened and remained a cornerstsne in S
policy. Recently, new measures had been implemented in
order to iswlate the regime. Sweden was intending to take
further steps to increase the pressure on South Africa
along with supplying information to other countries in
order for them to embark on similar measures.
In line with the Swedish emphasis on southern Africa the
assistance to the region had been increasad steadily.
More than 40 percent of Swedish bilateral assistance was
now channelled to the region. This assistance was aimed
at supporting the SADCC countries to become less dependent
on and vulnerable to South Africa, as well as assisting
victims of and opponents to the apartheid regime.
Cans;dering the future events, Mr. Cederblad emphasized
the importance of planning for a free, democratic, non-
racial South Africa. There was a need to develop a more
comprehensive political programme for this new society.
In this connection the need for trained personnel was
crucial. Sweden is prepared to further assist ANC in
this field"
. 2. Review of the Cooperation Programme
__._._._ _--_.__-_dm__ ._
2.1 The two delegations reviewed the cooperation programme for
the financial year 1985/86 (see Annex II).
2.2 A review of the financial situation was made. It was noted
that the total allocation fez 1983/86 amounted to SEK
48 million. To this amount should, however, be added the
balance frgm the prevjcus year amounting to approximately
SEK 6.1 million.
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It was stated that disbursements during the financial year 1985/86 had been made in accordance with the agreed budget. As of April 30, 1986 registered disbursements amounted to SEK 36.5 million or some 68 percent of available funds. The delegation noted that almost no disbursements had been made out of the funds allocated for agricultural equipment to the farms in Tanzania. This was, however, only a matter of delay as SIDA Procurement Division was working on the matter.

The delegations also took note of the fact that remaining funds allocated for Alpha farm and for storage facilities at Makeni farm were likely to be disbursed before June 30, 1986.

It was noted that funds allocated for "Daily Necessities" would be fully utilized in all countries except Botswana and Lesotho, where the number of permanent refugees had been considerably reduced. The funds being unutilized were estimated at SEK 1.3 million. It was agreed that out of that amount SEK 0.2 million should be reallocated to Mozambique, SEK 0.35 million to Zambia and SEK 0.7 million to Angola.

It was further noted that SEK 0.5 million of funds set aside for the purchase of vehicles and spareparts would not be utilized before the end of the financial year owing to a delay in ordering.

Due to a favourable rate of exchange in connection with the purchase of the mechanical workshop a budgeted amount of approximately SEK 0.3 million would not be utilized before the end of 1985/86.

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2.9 It was reported that the house in Harare, purchased with Swedish funds for use as ANC office, had been sold without prior consultations with either the ANC Headquarters or the Swedish Embassy in Harare. This was not in accordance with the agreement between ANC and Sweden. It was agreed that ANC should repossess the house and thereafter submit a comprehensive narrative report as well as a financial statement concerning all the relevant transactions to the Swedish Embassy in Harare as soon as possible.

2.10 In reply to an inquiry from the Swedish delegation about the planned administrative strengthening of the ANC office in Stockholm the ANC delegation explained that continued efforts will be made to staff the office adequately to the workload.

2.11 . Concerning the budget component "Training" the following was said:

a) ANC and the Swedish Cooperative Centre are planning a 6-month course for dairy personnel to run for eight months in Sweden. The course will start in August, 1986, which leaves 4 months of the total amount for agricultural training, SEK 0.8 million, unused by June 30, 1986.

b) Out of the amount of SEK 3 million allocated for education in Sweden an estimated SEK 1.8 million will remain unutilized at the end of this financial year. The reason for this, was a delayed-start in the course preparation for the new groups of nurses and office machine technicians who will take up their studies in Sweden in August, 1986.

c) With reference to the first short-term training course, ANC expressed concern about the two students presently seeking political asylum in Sweden. The Swedish delegation took note of this.

2.12 ' A review of disbursement and reporting routines was made. It was noted that during the year, problems had occurred with regard to financial reporting on the utilization of funds for "Daily Necessities" in some countries, and that agreement on how to solve these had been reached. Following the recent deportation of the ANC Representative and his Deputy from Botswana, the disbursement and reporting routines had been changed. As is the case in Swaziland, an individual ANC caretaker had been appointed to receive, distribute and report on Swedish contributions to ANC in Botswana. A system based on monthly disbursements and reporting had been introduced. The implementation of the new routines will be closely monitored by the ANC Treasurer General's Office.

The Swedish delegation also underlined the importance of receiving quarterly and annual narrative progress reports on the Swedish Supported projects in accordance with what has been previously agreed. -

It was noted that ANC's Internal Auditor's report on the Swedish contribution to the ANC for the financial year 1984/85 had not yet been submitted to Sweden. The reason for this delay was stated to be the Auditor's illness. An Auditor General has, however, recently been appointed and the report will be submitted in the near future.

2.13 The ANC delegation reported on the utilization of Swedish funds for activities inside South Africa (see Annex III)

3. Other Donors

3.1 The ANC delegation informed the meeting about assistance from donors other than Sweden (see Annex IV).'

3.2 The Swedish ha: _on reported on a specific Swedish granti
to UNHCR of SEK

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million to be utilized for evacuation of
refugees in southern Africa in 1986. The ANC delegation
informed the meeting about its contacts with UNHCR.
UNHCR'S implementation capacity has varied in the different
UNHCR branch offices in the region. The ANC delegation
reiterated its 3p :eeiation of the contacts made by Sweden
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with UNHCR regarding the situation of the refugees in the
region. TheSwedishdelegation stated its willingness to
reopen the dialogue with UNHCR should ANC consider this
necessary;

.33 The Swedish delegation briefed the meeting about a recent
UNDP initiative for coordination of assistance to national
liberation movements. The ANC delegation informed the
meeting concerning its experiences with UNDP. The ANC
delegation stated that UNDP was not considered to be an
appropriate organisation for coordination of assistance
to ANC. Due to the fact that UNDP was not prepared to
fund capital expenditures, no substantial cooperation
had been established.

3.4 The Swedish delegation gave a brief account on Swedish
humanitarian assistance to victims of and opponents to
. . the apartheid regime, granted outside the direct development
cooperation with ANC. This assistance, adding up to SEK
89 million for 1986/87, was being channelled through
different non-governmental organisations. An increasing
portion was being directed towards activities inside
South Africa due to the political escalation against the
apartheid regime. The major areas for this support were
legal aid, information, culture, ecumenical and trade
(union activities. Special emphasis will be put on
strengthening civic and youth organisations.

Further information on Swedish humanitarian assistance
i -yw L H in southern Africa could be made available to ANC by
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I V SIDA Headquarters.

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3.5 The ANC delegation informed the meeting concerning assistance given by some western countries to groups whose intentions were to divide and weaken the genuine anti-apartheid movement inside South Africa.

4. Swedish Assistance to the ANC 1986/87

4.1 The Swedish delegation informed the meeting that an amount of SEK 52 million had been set aside for humanitarian assistance to the ANC in 1986/87. Out of this amount SEK 3 million was earmarked for an educational programme in Sweden.

4.2 The Swedish delegation stated that the future cooperation between Sweden and ANC, where applicable, should be governed by the same general principles as those governing Swedish bilateral development assistance to individual countries, particularly regarding planning procedures and project administration.

4.3 ' The Swedish delegation reiterated that project support given to ANC should aim at higher degree of self-reliance particularly in the field of agriculture. Such project support should, in accordance with SIDA's general procedures, be prepared and administered in cooperation between the two parties.

4.4 The two delegations reviewed the ANC request for the financial year 1986/87. An adjusted budget was agreed upon. It is presented in Annex V.

4.5 The total sum set aside for "Daily Necessities" (Component 1) for ANC refugees in the countries of southern Africa thus amounts to SEK 20.8 million. Both parties noted that conditions for ANC refugees had further deteriorated in some of these countries - particularly in Lesotho and Botswana _ and it was expected that major shifts could

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The Swedish delegation stated that SIDA Procurement Division was willing to assist in purchasing food stuff and other necessities in Sweden or elsewhere if ANC so wished after assessment of local availability, quality and price. With regard to "Administration and Information" (Component 2) the amount for "Transport" could be utilized for procurement of vehicles through SIDA and regional purchases of spare parts for existing vehicles. It was also agreed that a consultancy QJyIva study should be carried out in order to assist the ANC JyQ

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Transport Section in its efforts to render the utilization of the total vehicle fleet more effective. The costs for the said study should, however, be defrayed from other SIDA funds.

The ANC delegation emphasized the need for additional funds for "Home Front Activities". Owing to the escalation of the struggle inside South Africa, there was a need in the future to increase the humanitarian support to this component. The ANC delegation questioned the Swedish position regarding the special ceiling" set for this support.

Furthermore, the ANC delegation proposed to include the support for "Daily Necessities" in Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland within the component "Home Front Activities". The situation in these countries necessitated a change in the channelling of support to refugees. The Swedish delegation stated that for foreign policy reasons, this request could not be granted. The Swedish delegation also stated that Swedish support could only be given to registered refugees. Sweden could not give support to refugees who are illegally in another sovereign country. The two delegations therefore agreed that the special emergency funds should be retained in Botswana and Lesotho.

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Concerning "Projects (Component 4) the following was noted:

Mazimbu/Dakawa Farms

It was agreed that SIDA should engage a soil conservation bdkyd specialist to study the situation and to advise ANC on how &f;,,/R i to solve the serious soil erosion problems existing especially V% k), ; 9V. \$bl

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The allocation of SEK 2 million should be considered as Vw!i# tentative until SIDA's agricultural consultant has concluded

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a study of the farm, scheduled for the end of May - beginning 3&5)V of June, 1986. t 3

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The allocated amount will together with savings from 1985/86 h?) cater for the needs in 1986/87 of technical assistance and :zsz' additional equipment. ANC has requested SIDA to prolong the

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employment contract of the Workshop Manager until the end SLS;&_ i

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of March, 1988. ' \$1:

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With regard to "Training" (Component 5), subitem "Agricultural Training" it was noted that the Swedish University of f Agricultural Sciences together with ANC will establish 1: an agricultural training programme. To facilitate the I planning of this programme ANC has been requested to .5 identify its training requirements and the personnel resources available at different levels. '

Concerning the subitem "Education" it was emphasized that the amount allocated under this item could not be reallocated to any of the other four components. Furthermore, the delegations stated that this component should be looked upon as a regular element in the future cooperation.

The MIC delegation expressed wishes that SIDA should consider the below-mentioned items for further discussions during the forthcoming consultative talks. The Swedish delegation agreed thereto.

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4.10.1 4&09291' The ANC communities in Ethiopia and Malagasy Republic ,4 /' ' . v X would need Swedish assistance to cover their costs for I lling

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"AA daily necessities and administration. W .

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4.10.2 ('11!) g5 X ANC would like SIDA to arrange comprehensive procurement/,)Ny shipping seminars. Wva-i /Lo'n1 K... : . 0%

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. 4.10.3 ,6? Additional funds are needed for consolidation of existing

a. #341" projects at Mazimbu. It was stressed that Sweden had 6/ko uh

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9'10 5 9J1? contributed considerably to initiate most of these projects

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4.10.4 . (N Funds are needed for construction of a bakery at Maznnbu, x 1), , #254,:sz Tanzania.

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4.10.5 ANC is urging SIDA to grant ANC -youth scholarships for long- OW? to AW

9.). 1! : . term training in Sweden. Training in the administrative field 141. ,(0 gem is especially essential. /

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4.10.6 5 ANC presented two_cultural projects in need of funding - we Dakawa Cultural Centre in Tanzania and ANC Video Centre J K? . UiNA . x13?

and Training Project in Zambia. .

5. Procedural Questions

5.1 It was agreed that the ANC should submit to the Swedish Embassy in Lusaka by December 31, 1986 a comprehensive "41 N m audited annual financial statement as well as a written h V VWM report on Swedish supported activities during the financial. (WW .)0)va . year 1985/86 including activities in South Africa. The Swedish delegation stated that internal ANC auditing is acceptable to Sweden .

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It was agreed that the routines for rendering of account to Sweden should entail the following:

- a) The ANC Regional Offices in Lusaka, Luanda, Dar es Salaam, Harare, Maseru and Maputo will account for received contribution quarterly (or in special cases monthly) to the Swedish Embassy in the respective country. The ANC financial caretaker in Botswana will render accounts to the Swedish Embassy in Gaborone and the ANC financial caretaker in Swaziland will render accounts to the SIDA Regional Coordinator, based in Lusaka. The ANC Office in Stockholm will account quarterly for its contributions to SIDA Headquarters in Stockholm.
- b) Regarding "Daily Necessities" (Component 1) quarterly or monthly financial statements with supporting vouchers/receipts should be submitted. The format of the statements should be in accordance with the established budget and any deviation should be explained in writing.
- c) Regarding "Administration and Information" (Component 2) accounts should be rendered quarterly except for the item "Information and Publicity" where accounts will be rendered every six months.
- d) Regarding "Home Activities" (Component 3) vouchers will be submitted only if that can be done without affecting ANC security. A narrative progress report should, however, be submitted annually to the Swedish Embassy in Lusaka.
- e) Regarding "Projects" (Component 4) detailed financial statements with supporting vouchers should be accompanied by a quarterly narrative progress report and for the last quarter an annual progress report should be submitted.
- f) All vouchers/receipts submitted by ANC to SIDA or any concerned Swedish Embassy will be scrutinized and stamped by SIDA before being returned to the ANC.

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vat was agreed that, in the case of projects being financed

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from other sources as well, annual progress reports covering the entire project should be submitted. The financial statement should, however, only reflect the Swedish contribution.

It was further agreed that funds allocated for local expenditures will be disbursed in accordance with procedures already established, i.e. in advance on a quarterly basis, if not otherwise agreed. Thus, disbursements for the third quarter should be made upon satisfactory reporting from the first quarter, for the fourth quarter upon reporting from the second quarter, etc.

It was further agreed that reallocations within and between local budgets could be decided upon by ANC Headquarters and Swedish Embassy in Lusaka on request from the local ANC representative and the Swedish Embassy concerned.

Swedish fdhds should not be used for procurement of goods and services originating from South Africa when alternatives to such procurement exist.

The regulations, procedures and practices adopted by Sweden for its governmental procurement, which are in accordance with generally accepted basic principles for international procurement, shall, unless otherwise agreed, be applied in procurement by SIDA of goods and consultancy services.

SIDA shall furnish the ANC with regular statements, reports on disbursements made, as well as any other information ANC may require regarding such procurement.

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6. Future Cooperation

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consultative talks in Lusaka in late November/early December, 1986. These deliberations, it was agreed, should facilitate the presentation of ANC's formal request for Swedish assistance in 1987/88, which should be submitted to the Swedish Embassy in Lusaka not later than January 1, 1987. The planning figure for Swedish assistance to the ANC in 1987/88 should be SEK 52 million.

It was agreed that ANC's request for Swedish assistance in 1987/88 should include detailed reviews of previous assistance ; programmes, project descriptions, financial needs. When presenting the annual request, annual progress reports on \$ the various projects should be attached. The Swedish delegation xxx would, furthermore, welcome proposals regarding possible fields of cooperation.

... Xv: ' of cooperation in planning for a future free and democratic

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South Africa. -

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The two delegations tentatively agreed that formal consultations on the cooperation between Sweden and the ANC during the financial year 1987/88 would be held in May, 1987 at a date to be decided upon later.

Lusaka, May 9, 1986

For the ANC delegation For the Swedish delegation

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Alfred Nzo.f

Secretary CQTVT:1 Director, Ministry of-Foreign Affairs

ANNEX I

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

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CDES: A. N20, Secretary General

T. T. Nkobi, Treasurer General

B. Gaboo, Administrative Secretary, Officer of the Treasurer General

B. Mackay, Head of Agricultural Projects, Office of the Treasurer General

J. Chilwane, Coordinator of Projects, Officer of the Treasurer General

S. Molifi, Acting Head, Department of International Affairs

P. Fitzgerald, Administrative Secretary a.i. Department of Arts and Culture

L. Mabuza, Chief Representative Scandinavian Countries

P. Maputo, Administrative!Secretary, Women's Secretariat

P. Nkomo, Regional Treasurer Angola

B. Mpdise, Education Secretariat

R. M#zimba, Chief Represeitative Zimbabwe

G. Bazani, SACTU

Swedish.delegation

Mr. Carl Olof Cederblad, Director, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Stockholm, Head of Delegation '

Mr. Jan-Olov Agrell, Head of SIDA, Lusaka

Mr. Roland Axelsson, Regional Coordinator, SIDA, Lusaka

Ms. Margareta Hus n, Programme Officer, SIDA, Stockholm

Mr. Roy Johansson Unge, Liasion Officer, SIDA, Maseru

Ms. Ingrid L6fstr6m Berg, Programme Officer, SIDA, Gaborone

Mr. Kaj Persson, First Secretary, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Stockholm

Ms. Berit Rylander, Programme Officer, SIDA, Luanda

Mr. Kjell Thorselius, Procurement Officer, SIDA, Stockholm

Mr. Jan blender, Swedish Ambassador to Zambia, Lusaka

Annex II

FINANCIAL STATEMENT PER 1/5 1936, SWEDISH COOPERATION WITH ANC (S.A.) 1935/86
(Amount in thousands of Swedish Kronor : SEK)

Item '

Botswana

Tanzania

Daily Necessities

Dakawa/Mazimbu

Zambia

Daily Necessities

Mechanical Workshop

Alpha Farm

Makeni Farm

Administration

Transport

Information

Home activities

SACTU

Zimbabwe

Sweden

Agricultural Training

Education

ANC office

Frame for 1985/86

Balance from 1984/85

'Estimated balance to 1986/87

8.200

100

Computerized

673

6.020

1.216

547

100

983

306

36.544

Estimated

disbursements 30/6

1.000

6.600

150

1.800

3.200

1.850

150

1.300

900

1.550

17.000

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400

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ANNEX III

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LIST OF OTHER DONORS

Governmentg

ANNEX IV

Government of the People's Republic of Angola

Government of the People's Republic of Algeria

Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique

Government of the United Republic of Tanzania

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These Governments assist the ANC in various ways by providing places to stay and land for ANC projects.

Government

Government

Government

Government

of Zambia

of Nigeria

of Lesotho

of Botswana

of Austria

of Denmark

of Finland

of Netherlands

Government of Norway

Government of France

Government of Italy

These Governments assist the ANC in many ways/e.g. providing humanitarian assistance, funds for SOMAFCO and various projects.

They also provide experts in different fields.

Government of Saudi Arabia

Government of China

Government of India

5. Socialist Countries

Soviet Union

German Democratic Republic

Bulgaria

Czechoslovakia_

Hungary

Yugoslavia

Cuba

These countries also provide humanitarian support and scholarships.

The ANC receives funds, food and assistance for the airlifting of food to Angola.

Support Organisations

Oxfam, CUSO, SUCO, Anti-Apartheid - Holland, Holland Committee on Southern Africa, Roddel Society, MOLISV, Swedish Save the Children Fund, Africa Groups in Sweden, IDAF, ICCC, etc.

These support groups provide material assistance and scholarships and help ANC projects; . '

NOVIB, Otto Beneke Foundation, Friedrich Ebert Foundation.

. These organisations give assistance for SOMAFCO e.g. scholarships and construction.

World Council of Churches, Development and Peace, Algerian Churches, Lutheran World Federation.

These organisations give small annual donations - humanitarian assistance.

Development Aid from People to People.

They provide technical material assistance as well as expertise at Dakawa.

Agencies

UNDP, UNHCR, UNESCO, ILO

These organisations give material assistance in the form of scholarships, airlifts (UNHCR) etc.

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11 black business people and democrat ic whites. ;The same can be said
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. point Where the regime is not able to rule in the old way to a stage wheroi
- that remarkable achievements would not have come without thorough and . ,
re can confidently reply in the affirmative.

F01 only in this way can victory of a genuine people's democracy be assured. It is for this reason that the AFC views the formation of COSAVA as one of the most significant developments in the history of our struggle. COSATU, which represents about 500 000 workers, promises to become an important weapon in the hands of all the democratic forces to achieve maximum organisation, unity and mass action by workers as part of, and hand in 'e

hand with, the oppressed people asna whele.\$

a) The extent of the education crisis is well known to all of us. Despite all odds: the students have sustained a steady offensive against gutter education. Credit also goes to the teachers, parents and the rest of the community. In this respect note must be made of the growing spirit of defiance among the teachers reflected in recent actions 9, the formation of progressive teachers' unions and the 54th Annual Conference of the African Teachers' Association of South Africa (ETA).

b) The crisis of apartheid is a result also of 'the actions of the people: in the rural areas, youth, "omen, democratic religious leaders, about community struggles around such issues as rents, high prices and farce. Suffice to note that the Rent Strike (which involves non-payment) so steadfastly sustained in such areas as the Vaal Triangle has been taken up in the Cape African townships, Dundee in Northern Natal, and other areas too numerous to mention.

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COI 'T (L ' I . - . USIOLT

These are some of the major land marks of political developments within South Africa. We could go on and on describing the epic battles fought by various sections of our people, singly and collectively, and the heroic actions of the soldiers of the people's army Umkhonto we Sizwe. ; We believe these facts are known to you. But let us hasten to add that ,uwhaamuwm am; mmw :

systematic organisation. Similarly, it is not possible to advance any_ step further without such organisation. I

As President 0.3. Tambo stated on January 1960, "our strategic goal must be to shift the balance of strength decisively in favour of our struggle, through the further ripening of the revolutionary situation beyond the

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it iii in fact waable to govern. _ ' '

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"...We must build cui' forces into an evormore formidable united mass army"-
of liberation, an army that must grow in strength continuously, able to
deliver and. actually delivering bigger blowsfat every stage and fighting
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as a. censcious force with its eyes firmly fixed'on. the goal of the
destruction of the apartheid regime and the transfer of power to the people."
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7 E .

3. Through organisation we have to further develop the people's identificatien
with the AIIC to the level of wellubuilt and Qynetienal units through the?

& .

length and breadth of our country.

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Through organisation, the mass democratic movementhas to be defended, and. 3'
further spread the spirit of resistance and. defiance to all corners of the 3 7; E
.land. At the same time, the legal and semi-legal movements have to find
-1:ays and means of functioning effectively under the conditions of what
amounts to martial law.

4. Through organisation we plan to move fon-rard to implement with even better
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t. W t. AX. w: mm

results? the popular programe for the year 1986 7- the education campaign
the May Day commemoration, June 16, the antiepass campaign, for the E Ii.
unconditional release of political prisoners, and. the centenary of the
founding of J ohaamnes'burg, to quote 'but a few examples.

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Our plans- will involve the unleashing of full-time and part-tine ,
orgenipers on the ground; the production and distribution of ropegande; ' , 3
organieation of rallies and demonetrations; transport and other facilities.
.hese programmes cannot be carried out without funds.

In South Africa, where the battles are raging, is where our hearts and ' E.
minds are as we pursue our goal with the purposefulness it deserves. , '5

..'./OUR g mnan msponsmumm

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OUR F'INAIx-"CIAL HES POITS IBILITES

Introduction

I

To understand the demands of the internal situation in respect of resources, let us briefly look at the internal strategic tasks. of the mement,as 'II outlined by the President: ' i

a) The extension and consolidation, throughout the country of an ANO underground machinery, capable of leading the majority of the people of our country.

h) The political organisation and mobilisation of the mass of the people for the perspective of seizure of power.

c) The intensification of- azmed stn-ggle and its escalation to the level of people ' F war.

Central among these pillars is the task of building the underaound stmctures. 131thout a network of revolutionary cadres none of the tasks of the Ft. 510 within the countrv can 'be c erried out. It should 'be a. network that spread it.e tentacles to trherever our people are to 'be found.

- in cities, the mal areas, the la :21 democratic organisations, in reactionary institution: and. movements, at the workplaces and. in the residential areas, etc. To meet the demands such a. a. network should develop and expand. far ahead of the dynamic political situation.

The 61111111cultie.e encomwtemd by the neighbouring countries. due to the regime's prerrvre, oblige us to z'urvive, both 1? side and. outs.- ide South Africa, in a clandertine manner. Therefore, in addition to the complications caused, the poverty of repressie.. at home, "hich meant further huge erpenditure2 for the rurvival oz." cperativer, "e have had to shoulder an

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In 2.11 the areas in which the mzdergmtmd operates, its efficiency depends, to 2. large measure; on the presence of full-time operatives, professional revolutionaries zrhose sole occupation is stnlsgle. Such operatives have to 'be maintained by the mavens .t; their fmihes depend. on us for their daily subsis'tence. They have to set up viable projects for their cover 'and for their undergmimd Work. '30 'be in constant touch With the people, .../2

, they have to have adequate means of transportation, a vast network of
I . accomadation and other facilities to service trained cadres and other
operatives, fallbacks to ensure mobility and so on.

2,, During the State of Emergency and the systematic repression against the
_ leadership of the mass democratic movement, many of our mmitionaries had
to resort to the underground so as to carry on with their noble work. As
we all know, many of them were, and still are able to survive; to emerge
and disappear when they deem it appmpriate, thanks to the msourcefulness
71 of our people and the relative strength of the underground network.
Occasionally some operatives have been uncovered due to some slip of 12.01;
of resources. Also, the. underground structures are drawing in the
multitude of youth who have participated and. continue to participate in
combat defence groups and other revolutionary actions. It should be
5. emphasised that where we have failed to meet the demands of the situation,
i we have lost, even if only temporarily, the cream thrown up by the mass
revolt -- an important reservoir of the underground.

day-to-day, if not hour-by-hour, guidance. One of the most important.
. vehicles to ensure this is propaganda, which articulates the aspirations
of the people without fear of enemy legality - to organise, educate and
agitate. You can well imagine the expenses that have gone into the
establishment of printing facilities outside the country, the production
and ferrying of our material into the country, the maintenance of fully
' ' . ' equipped. Radio IFreedom-units; But this is only part of the picture.
Day-to-day guidance means that we have to establish and maintain
"functional propaganda. units inside the country, many of whom have to be
5 self sufficient in drafting, editing, production and distribution of
1 propaganda material. In all the major centres we should have regular.
t

4 3. We are all at one, that the dynamic situation within our oatmtry needs
newsletters. To give a. general idea: to run one such newsletter, in one
' small locality, would require tan annual budget of approximately R20 000.
If we were to have mgular newsletters in the major regions with production
units with the capacity to produce leaflets in all areas 01' the country,
.. v-MU :

1 have Radio Fmedom.lmits producing cassette-recorded messages and leaflets, A
the budget would. run into hundreds of thousands.

. 4. We have already made mention. of: the major political campaigns for the year
4 '_fl, as reflected. in the President'sJammry 8 statement. For such cmxpaigns
' L I ,to take off the ground, our activists have-to undertake many organisational
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4.

tasks. In addition to propaganda, voting they have to work around the clock to ensure that mass organisations take up these campaigns; they have, themselves, to rally the people in various ways. Taking into account the number of these campaigns and the mass actions they are to generate, the work of the structures has to increase tenfold. The resources to be expended, will also multiply.

arm TASKS OF THE movement

We resolved at the National Consultative Conference that our effectiveness on the ground, has to be enhanced 'by injecting into the country cadres with the capacity to give leadership to our people. These cadres have to 'be maintained 'by the movement: there should be a network of reception facilities for them; they have to be transported, over long distances; they have 'to be fed and, clothed. If we have to implement this decision with the seriousness it deserves and with the urgency that the political situation demands, we have to also work much harder, provide our cadres with greater resources, modernise our machineries and, place much improved facilities at the disposal of our activists.

The task of systematic recruitment has become more urgent than ever before. For it to be fulfilled, we need to have the proper structures and facilities. At the same time, the underground machinery has to shoulder the responsibility of establishing training facilities and, extending as rapidly as possible. Practical experience has taught us that we cannot rely solely on facilities outside the country, as this will suffice only as centres for the education of the core of the activists. Our main complement for liberation has to 'be trained in the terrain of struggle. Without a machinery that monitors the politico-military and economic situation, the underground movement would not be able to carry out its tasks. This is a field, that more than any other area of work, requires both resourcefulness and, resources.

There are some of the activities that have to be carried out by the Area. Political Committees. This list is inexhaustible. For one such committee to function in a relatively small town, it requires a budget well in excess of R100 000 per annum. And they have to exist in all the cities, the towns and in the villages and, towns,

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CONCLUSION

These are some of the challenges we face as we move forward to the final offensive. The demands on all of us wherever V6 are, are not going to - di'minish but will increase dramatically with each step fonfud; We need to facilitate this process so that no single campaign will fail and.- no single. organ compmmised because of the lack of funds and other resources. Victory 12 within our grasp!
Long live international solidarity:
.9 so. A Pm me,