

African National Congress  
NATIONAL FUND RAISING WORKSHOP  
P.O. Box 31791, Lusaka, Zambia - Telephone: 213371 - Telex: ZA 45390  
SOLOMON MAHLANGU FREEDOM COLLEGE  
Mggch 14 - 201 1986

Dear Comrade,

Welcome to our historic workshop. We trust you will feel at home. If you have any needs or requests, please do not hesitate to speak to any member of the Steering Committee. Even since preparations for our workshop began, confrontation between our people and the racist regime has again increased dramatically. Let this workshop be a milestone on the road to liberation. Our slogan is ALL FOR THE FRONT ALL FOR VICTORY! Inside your folder you will find a note pad, the workshop programme, papers and reports as well as a breakdown of the membership of each committee and commission. If you are unhappy with any role assigned to you, please see the steering committee as soon as possibl .

Please note that the programme has been so arranged as to give MAXIMUM time for discussion. Papers and reports will not, repeat 233 be read to plenary sessions. Authors of papers will speak to their papers, and the comrades representing regional reports and comments will be limited to only answering points of clarification. Therefore it is extremely important that you read each appropriate document carefully before coming to the session.

YOURS IN THE YEAR OF UMKHONTO WE SIZWE  
THE ORGANISING COMMITTEE

THE AFRICAI-I NATIONAL CONGRESS NATIONAL  
' FUND RAISING WORKSHOP March 151'. - 20I 1986  
SOLOMON MAHLANGU FREEDOM COLLEGE  
March 13 First meeting of the Drafting Committee  
First meeting of the Steering Commiftee  
Hours Chairperson  
DAY 1 9.45I 9.00 % Welcome to participants. Cde Doodles Gaboo  
14.3.86 Announcements.  
9.00 - 11.00 2 Comrade T.T. Nkobi.  
11.00 - 12,062 g BREZ'  
447-15 - 4%:00 1" PMC Report preSented by Cde Chris Halli.  
13h00 - 16.00 3 LUNCH BREAK  
16.00 - 17.30 1%- O.T.G Report on current fund raising. Mende Msimang  
17.30 0 19.00 1%" Regional Reports.  
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19.00 DINNER  
EVENING PROGRAMME WILL BE ANNOUNCED

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QAX\_E 8-30 - 10.30 2 Complete Regional Reports Mende Msimang  
15'3'86 10.30 - 11.00 :1 BREAK  
11.00 \_ 12.00 1 The role of churches Andrew Masondo  
12.00 - 13.00 1 MusiCaJ concerts, other cultural  
events. Royalties.  
13.00 - 15.00 2 LUNCH BREAK V  
15.00 - 16.00 1 Sale of art and handicrafts through Eddie Funde  
existing galleries and shops, also  
Specialised solidarity galleries.  
16.00 - 17.00 1 pledges/Stop orders as a fund raising  
technique.  
17.00 - 17.15 :1 BREAK  
17.15 - 18.00 :2 Large Gifts. Tony Seedat  
18.00 - 19.00 1 Single Issue Campaigns.  
19.00 - 20.15 13- 011011311  
20.15 - 21.15 1 Direct donations from the broadest  
Spectrum of South Africans.  
EVENING PROGRAMME WILL BE ANNOUNCED

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Hours Chairperson

.fDAY 3 8.30 - 9.30 1 Levies on gainfully employed members. Neo Mnumzana  
16'3'86 9.30 - 10.30 1 Regional Fund Raising Committees.  
10.30 - 11.00 31,: ' BREAK  
11.00 - 12.00 1 Commercial solidarity shops. Mende Msimang  
12.00- - 13.00 1 Small industries and iestaurants.  
13.00 - 15.00 2 LUNCH BREAK  
15.00 - 19.00 4 Commissions commence.  
19.00 DINNER

EVENING PROGRAMME WILL BE ANNOUNCED

mm 8.30 - 13.00 4%: Commissions

17'3'86 13.00 - 15.00 2 LUNCH BREAK

15.00 - 19.00 4 Commissions

19.00 - 20.00 1 DINNER

20.00 - 21.00 1 Second meeting Drafting Committee

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le\_i 8.30 - 13.00 4%; Commissions complete.

18'3'86 13.00 - 15.00 2 LUNCH BREAK

15.00 - 19.00 4 Commissions report to Plenary Mende Msimang

19.00 DINT-IER

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ng;g\_ 8.30 - 13.00 4% Commission reports continue Eddie Funde

19'3'86 13.00 - 15.00 2 LUNCH BREAK

15.00 - 19.00 4 Completion of commission reports.

19 .00 DINNER

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DAY 7 8.30 - 10.30 2 Drafting Committee complete final

20.3.86 workshOp document. '

10.30 - 13.00 3% Prewertwtion and AdOption of final Doodles Gaboo

workshop document.

13.00 - 15.00 2 LUNCH BREAK

15.00 Closing session

19.00 DINNER

EVENING PROGRAMHE WILL E ANNOUNCED

Documents Of the  
National Fundraising Workshop  
held on 14-20 March, 1986  
at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College  
Tanzania

Address by Comrade T T Nkobi

Treasurer-General Of the African National Congress

Dear Delegates,

At the historic Consultative Conference held last year in Zambia, the highest organ of our movement - Congress - resolved to intensify our political and armed struggle for freedom, peace and social justice.

To this end, Congress charged the Office of the Treasurer-General with the task of preparing an all-round, co-ordinated and comprehensive five-year fundraising plan to enable the movement as a whole to plan its activities in a more effective way.

In my address to you today, it is my task to set out the broad guidelines within which the Office of the Treasurer-General operates. It is also my task to ensure that we fully and frankly discuss our method of work, our shortcomings, how to strengthen our organisation, etc, for to meet the demands of the time we must be effectively and efficiently organised.

Our Conference took place against the background of rising militancy in our country. Events before and after Conference clearly show that our people are ready to do everything within their power to bring the hated racist regime to its knees.

They have readily and unwaveringly answered our call to make South Africa ungovernable and apartheid unworkable.

By their concerted, resolute and fearless actions, our people have shown that they are ready to confront the enemy at all levels. It is our task, at this workshop, to draw up a programme of action that will ensure we have the material means to meet the demands being made upon us.

Ours is a struggle waged on many and varied fronts. We have to engage the enemy militarily, politically, diplomatically, culturally and, not least, on the economic front. We must give the enemy no quarter. Intensifying the struggle requires that we mobilise all our people in all their various formations the length and breadth of our country.

What does this mobilisation mean? Mobilising our people means that we need to increase the number of our full time organisers, as well as facilitate their mobility. They must be able to carry out their organisational and agitational work on a greatly extended scale.

To maintain one organiser and give him or her the necessary mobility to escape enemy dragnets while ensuring effective work, costs us not less than R4 000 per annum - and this is a very conservative estimate. How many fulltime organisers do we need to organise our people in both urban and rural areas - and at what cost?

Mobilising the people also implies that we expand our information network inside the country, so as to counteract the disinformation campaign of the enemy, to educate our people as to the true aims of our revolution, to mobilise our people for decisive action, and to expose all enemy manoeuvres and machinations.

Translated into practical terms, this implies that we set up our own publicity and distribution units inside our country, fully equipped with machinery, printing equipment and personnel. Our cadres can no longer solely rely on publicity material produced across the borders - the situation is too fluid, rapid response and initiative too important, and demand too great.

On the diplomatic and cultural fields, intensification of our struggle must entail stepping up the drive for comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions. We must work towards galvanising the international community to move from mere verbal condemnation of the Pretoria regime to decisive action against it. Our people have repeatedly asserted that they are prepared to suffer the effects of economic sanctions knowing that such measures will weaken the regime and hasten its downfall.

Comrade Chairperson,

The following is important for us to take note of:

1. The Treasurer Generalis Office at Headquarters must be organised in such a way as to ensure that there are proper channels of communication with all functional committees and regions. Our starting point must be that we, as the Treasurer Generalis Office, are organised to ensure that the needs of the movement as a whole are met. It is our task to see that the best method of obtaining the necessary funds, equipment, skills and technical advice etc is used. It is the Office of the Treasurer General at HQ that must have an overall view of what is being obtained, from where and for who. This centralised planning, execution, control and co-ordination is essential for us to work effectively, to avoid duplication of tasks and eradicate waste and incorrect use of resources. But this can only be effective if the Treasury Office at HQ has a full complement of personnel, an effective channel of communication with each region, and that treasury committees, wherever they are located, work effectively and in harmony with the local region, RFC and Chief Representative. I wish to stress the need for a common approach to our work, a unity of purpose wherever we may be located and whatever specific task we are fulfilling. This overview is imperative to ensure we do not duplicate our work, and waste valuable human and material resources.
2. We need to assess what our financial responsibilities entail. Firstly, we are responsible for the maintenance and well-being of thousands of people, based in many countries. Housing, food, transport, clothing, education etc must be provided. We need to provide the necessary finance for those comrades going home. We need to provide the financial and material needs that sustain our operatives at home - full time organisers and organisations functioning legally. We are responsible for the establishing and upkeep of the many missions of the ANC based worldwide. We also need to be aware that many more countries are requesting that ANC missions be established. This means premises, personnel, operating expenses, travel and greatly increased expenditure by the movement overall.
3. We need to discuss the source of our funds. Primarily,

and the most reliably, we receive material aid from the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union. Secondly, we receive funding from NGOs and support groups in the West - Sida, Norad, Danida, Novib, Finida, the Holland Committee, some UN agencies, etc \_ which provide the vast bulk of our financial requirements. This aid is either provided in cash that is specifically earmarked, or in the funding of specific projects. Thus the movement is obliged to spend the money on specific, quantifiable projects or items. Thirdly, we receive money from our own fundraising efforts. This source of funds is meagre, to say the least. Yet it is only from this source that the armed struggle and our efforts on the home front can be financed - it is the only funding which we can use at our discretion. Therefore, for us to escalate the struggle we need to pay great attention to ways and means of vastly increasing our own fundraising efforts. We need to look at some of the consequences of the above, bearing in mind the maxim iHe who pays the piper calls the tune. The aid received from the socialist countries is of inestimable value, and there are no strings attached. But it is material aid, not hard currency, and it is incumbent upon us to obtain the cash we need.

Mindful of the above, we need to assess the way in which we utilise the aid received from the various donors in the West. Firstly, we must have sufficient organisational discipline to ensure the following:

0 That projects are embarked upon only after we as a movement have determined that we need such a project.

0 That such a project can be made viable in terms of its objectives, be they self-sufficiency in specific areas, training of cadres, or raising of funds.

0 That we have the capacity to see the project through - in other words, we know that we have the means, both human and material, to run the project successfully once it is established.

0 That there is no unnecessary duplication of projects. We need to bear in mind that our trained personnel are limited. To set up a number of similar projects, thereby necessitating that we duplicate our personnel requirements and capital outlay, can lead to our projects requiring excessive allocation of human and material resources, etc, yet at the same time each project is using up our resources. If such resources were correctly utilised - for example, one successful project rather than a number of the same type of project that are unsuccessful - the needs of the movement as a whole could be better met.

0 That the projects we embark upon fit in with our overall strategy regarding the home front. We must ensure that we are not diverted into paying undue attention to external affairs at the expense of internal work.

Secondly, we need to bear in mind that this source of finance is unstable. The amount of money received, funding for projects etc can be and is influenced by changes of government, changes in personnel, pressure exerted by the United States and other reactionary forces, and the self-interest of the various countries and organisations. This makes it imperative for us to be self-sufficient, for unless we are, we are susceptible to external pressure, which can and will be exerted at the decisive moment of struggle.

This brings me to our third source of finance - our members, own efforts. Our people have taken to the streets, laying down their lives for freedom. Our MK cadres are facing the enemy, gun in hand. Yet there are many in our ranks who contribute neither politically nor financially. There are others who, for a variety of circumstances, are not able to be MK cadres. Yet they can fulfil as important a role by providing the financial and logistical material required to escalate our all-round offensive. We should aim to create, within the ranks of our movement, an awareness of the vital importance of funds, an awareness of the need to raise funds by all means possible, an awareness of the need to eliminate

waste and incorrect use of funds and resources. Within the Office of the Treasurer-General, we should create fund-raising cadres, just as we have MK cadres. Such cadres are not less important, indeed without them the work of MK cadres and all other sectors of our movement can be seriously affected.

During our seven days of deliberations, we need to pay particular attention to ways and means of mobilising our own people to raise funds. These funds are vital if we are to maintain our offensive. All members should be made aware of the political role fundraising plays, and be mobilised into an organised programme of action that will ensure we obtain the necessary financial and material resources we desperately need. We cannot be dependent on gifts and handouts. We have to devise a programme which will give us a quantifiable, regular income. This is essential if we are to plan effectively, budget, and correctly allocate such resources.

Comrade Chair and Comrades,

You have all been invited or elected to participate in this workshop because of your particular interest in, and imaginative approach to, raising of funds. You have all been asked to bring with you samples of the type of material you or your region produces in order to raise funds. We must utilise our time together to exchange ideas, assess how we can improve existing fundraising ventures, and explore new and innovative avenues open to us.

I would like to raise a number of suggestions for your consideration.

0 How can we publicise our struggle so as to ensure that the international community, which hitherto has given aid specifically for humanitarian purposes, contributes towards the armed struggle?

0 How can we mobilise the international church community to rally their vast membership to financially contribute to our struggle?

0 What must we do to raise funds inside the country, thereby creating the means for us to advance from within South Africa itself?

0 How can we publicise our projects and self-sufficiency drives so as to further generate funds while at the same time informing the world of the ANCLs policy and programme?

0 Each and every person should be contributing to the maximum, seeing the needs of the movement as paramount. How do we implement a levy or tax on our members? How much should it be? How is this to be determined?

0 Internationally, we need to strengthen our missions. This should include personnel whose prime responsibility is political mobilisation through the generation of funds. How is this to be done? What structures must be created and/or strengthened so that there is the close harmony of purpose between Treasury personnel, the RFC and the Office of the Chief Representative? We need to seriously address the question of why a country such as the USA generates virtually no income.



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Over the years the ANC has initiated many and varied fundraising schemes. Yet we must ask ourselves why these schemes have not been fully implemented. I would, furthermore, like to make some concrete suggestions for your consideration:

0 That we emerge from this workshop with a programme of action that will guide our fundraising efforts over the next five years.

0 That we create the means by which such a programme of action can be implemented, and the basis on which the Office of the Treasurer General can ensure effective and efficient working with all other departments.

0 That Fundraising Committees be established, in such a manner that they strengthen the local anti-apartheid work, with a specific convenor or co-ordinator.

0 That such Fundraising Committees draw up proper and co-ordinated annual plans as well as specific projects; see to the implementation of such plans, and ensure co-ordination and accountability to the relevant ANC structures.

That the priority be to obtain cash contributions.

That material aid projects embarked upon have the least possible strings attached.

0 That we ensure all our officers and members working in solidarity organisations co-operate fully with the Fundraising Committees to ensure maximum results.

0 That such Fundraising Committees should be comprised of our people, supporters of our liberation struggle, as well as nationals of the host country. Full assessment must be made of specific local conditions so that our efforts harness the machineries of the existing anti-apartheid movements and serve to strengthen them in their work.

0 That close links be established with national organisations, political parties, trade unions etc for the purpose of assisting our fundraising efforts.

0 That the widest possible range of cultural activities be organised, involving both local and South African artists, to serve to mobilise politically, financially and as propaganda for our struggle.

0 That we pay far greater attention to publicity material.

At present we spend a great deal of our resources on propaganda and publicity. What efforts are made to ensure that what we produce serves the dual function of propaganda and fundraising? Surely the distribution internationally of our publicity material, which serves as an effective means of publicising our struggle, can also be a major source of income. This needs very considered thought by the Department of Information, organised distribution on a systematic, planned basis, and close co-operation between the two departments. In my opinion it is an area of fundraising we need to explore.

0 That influential individuals and enterprises be contacted on specific ideas to see in what way their contacts and business skills can be utilised in the service of our struggle.

Comrade Chair and Comrades,

Following a full and frank discussion of our present method of work, a critical assessment of how to improve both in style and content, and the drawing up of a programme of action to meet the demands outlined above, I have every confidence that our organisation, the African National Congress, will be greatly strengthened. I wish to re-emphasise that while we have been stressing the need to generate income, the other side of the coin is the avoidance of unnecessary expenditure and waste. We must also give this question our serious consideration.

A great number of papers have been commissioned, and I trust that you all have complete sets and have had the opportunity to read them. I am confident that we will emerge from here galvanised for action as disciplined, dedicated

cadres of our movement, ready to meet the challenge that faces us. At this crucial moment in our struggle, we cannot fail our heroic people.

In the name of our People's Army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, in the name of our fighting youth and students, in the name of our heroic women, on behalf of the National Executive Committee of the ANC, I declare this historic workshop open .

Amandla! Matla!

Political Military Council Report

The Current Political Situation

Introduction

1. We are meeting at a decisive moment in the history of our struggle. Events in South Africa show beyond any shadow of doubt, that the collapse of the apartheid system is not far off. Internationally, humanity has committed itself to the struggle against apartheid, and is acting decisively to ensure that this system perishes sooner rather than later.

2. Yet apartheid colonialism will not crumble of its own. The actions of the mass of the people will not amount to anything tangible if they are not mustered into a mighty movement for the seizure of power; if they are not channelled into an organised force. This task falls on us, the vanguard organisation. History has placed on the shoulders of the African National Congress and its allies, and indeed the mass democratic movement within South Africa, the challenge to lead the people to victory.

3. It is in recognition of this mammoth responsibility that we find ourselves assembled here, to tackle one of the most decisive questions in the sphere of organisation \_ the question of how to acquire, preserve and systematically employ funds and other resources for the rapid advancement of the popular offensive.

In this regard, our deliberations will have, of necessity, to be infused with the correct appraisal of the situation that obtains in our country today. For it is on this front that everything else hinges. How then do we characterise the situation today?

The General Crisis of Apartheid Colonialism

1. The system of apartheid colonialism is experiencing an enormous general crisis. Like all archaic systems at the point of their decline, the factors which have always made it a colossus with inherent energies for self-destruction have

been unleashed.

2. The mass of the oppressed and democratic forces have risen in the most consistent, most resolute and decisive revolt ever to be witnessed in our country. This revolt combines both mass and armed action, in which the revolutionary movement, the ANC and its allies are playing a leading role. It is reinforced by the growing anti-apartheid movement all over the globe. On the other hand, the apartheid economy is experiencing a crisis that is structural in its essence, affecting its very marrow. These factors are precipitating a crisis of the ruling class, including the further worsening of divisions within this bloc.

3. The regime has therefore lost the strategic initiative. As President O R Tambo stated on January 8, strategically the enemy is on the defensive. The critical point is that any counter-offensive the oppressors may launch to gain some tactical advances will, at the same time, only result in further worsening their strategic position. The historic initiative is in our hands.

#### The Economic Crisis and its Significance

1. Volumes have been written on the current economic crisis which is the worst in over half a century. It is a crisis afflicting the entire structure of the South African economy, leading to the criminal underutilisation of the country's human and material resources, and above all to the further worsening of the terrible conditions of the working people. The effects of this devastating crisis are now also being felt increasingly among white workers as well. Production has fallen; whole industries and regions are on the decline; unemployment has reached alarming proportions. And, in the same measure as the wretched conditions of the poor deteriorate, the rich continue to reap the benefits obtained from super-exploitation, and to amass more property in their hands.

There are certain issues pertaining to this crisis which we need to identify, affecting both our strategy and our tactics. For the sake of emphasis we shall isolate only a few.

2. The decline of the Rand and other woes are linked primarily to the fall in gold prices. Despite declarations to the contrary by spokesmen of apartheid, the South African economy depends to a decisive extent on the mining industry. This raises the question of the strategic position occupied by workers in this industry. Their history is an epitome of struggle, their revolutionary example lofty.

The outflow of capital has further weakened the economy. Our resolute struggle on all fronts and the disinvestment campaign in particular have contributed to this development. A lot could be said about the question of loans. What has become obvious is the fact that, in a situation of serious crisis, they could make or break the system. Though the creditors are interested in bailing out the regime, the hard facts of the politico-economic equation in South Africa today forces them to consider the broader question of political change.

3. The albatross of spending by the government weighs down heavily on the economy: the war machine, the bureaucracy, influx control, bantustans, etc. This emphasises in a very direct manner the link between the political and economic developments, our oppression and our exploitation. As the democratic movement has always emphasised, the economic and political struggles cannot be separated.

The crisis can be traced to the impending collapse of the apartheid system and its specifics under apartheid colonialism. Its solution cannot be divorced from the political

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issues confronting the people and the goal of a free and democratic South Africa. The corner-stone of such freedom and democracy is the return of the wealth to the people. In the words of the Freedom Charter, The People shall share in the country's wealth; The land shall be shared among those who work it.

#### The Ruling Class

1. Botha and his clique are experiencing a very serious crisis

of policy. Total Strategy has, in the broad sense, collapsed. A profound expression of this is the admission by all and sundry that apartheid is a failure. Each of the ruling class camps has its own perception of what apartheid is, of the reasons for its failure and the way out of the quagmire. But the ruling class in its totality admits that it can no more rule in the old way. The serious contradictions within this bloc have come out into the open.

2. Within Afrikanerdom, the parting of ways expresses itself in three basic directions:

a. The forces to the right of the Nationalist Party continue to consolidate their positions. Driven to panic by the decisiveness of the revolt and Botha's floundering, these forces are dutifully seeking solace in the past.

b. Despite attempts to paper over the cracks, it has become an open secret that all is not well within the Nationalist Party, including at cabinet level. The differences are on how to extricate the system out of the all-round crisis - how far and how fast!

c. The voice of dissent to the left of the Nationalist Party - the few youth, academics and the clergy who openly acknowledge the legitimacy of the liberation struggle and favour a just resolution of the crisis - has become louder. Their defiant self-expression shows that there is growing dissent beneath the surface.

3. In the place of the politics of consensus that characterised ruling class politics for close on to seven years, 1985 witnessed the deepest divisions ever between monopoly capital and the ruling clique. They criticise Botha more openly and more scathingly. They have gone ahead to initiate the Convention Alliance, held consultations with the ANC, formulated the Business Charter, etc. The resignation of two leaders of the Progressive Federal Party from parliament has had a profound effect in that, among other things, complete rejection of reform came from quarters which can hardly be called revolutionary, and it has shifted, in the most dramatic manner, attention away from the racist parliament.

4. Unlike Botha who believes repression, like in the early sixties, will quell the revolt, big business fears the outbreak of revolution. They are demanding far-reaching decisions including negotiations with the ANC in order to avert revolutionary change, and protect the system of monopoly capitalism. Also, they seek to maintain their position as representatives of whites who are becoming disillusioned with the vicious system, to ease international pressure, to diffuse the revolt and achieve political and economic stability. These aims are inter-related; some are short-term and some are long-term; and they will entail many gambles on their part. For them, a peaceful solution - couched in such terms as confederalism and consociationalism, - means that the regime should negotiate from a position of strength so that it can determine the final outcome, that the system of monopoly capitalism should not be tampered with, and that the privileges of the white minority and the ethnic divisions

fostered by apartheid should be maintained though in a slightly modified form.

5. The fact that these forces elected to confer with the ANC is an acknowledgement on their part that the ANC is central to the solution of the crisis in South Africa. These discussions were a mere exchange of views, not negotiations. The ANC position on the latter is quite clear: we cannot negotiate behind the backs of our people, when our leaders and other patriots are behind bars, when there is no intention on the part of Pretoria to dismantle apartheid colonialism, etc.

6. Naturally, there are differences of opinion on such fundamental questions as armed struggle, reforms, our concept of a free and democratic South Africa, etc. For our part, nothing in South Africa warrants even a consideration of a change of strategy; rather we are called upon to intensify the mass and armed offensive, including against those who exploit and harass workers and bolster the political, military and other programmes of the regime. At the same time, without compromising our basic policy positions, we encourage all trends that move in the direction of weakening the regime, and all those who sincerely seek a just settlement of the crisis. We shall also continue to wage a political struggle against forces which want to derail the liberation struggle, by proposing a middle course which entails nothing more than tinkering with the apartheid system without fundamentally changing it.

7. In the same vein, while dealing with the difficulties imposed by the regimes repressive actions, we should also work towards defeating in action the regimes counter-offensive of reforms, co-optation and divide-and-rule, in particular, the latest 'package' in the form of Regional Services Councils, National Statutory Council, regulations on urban Africans, etc.

#### The Forces of Change

1. It is on the motive forces of revolution that the strategic initiative now lies. What then, is the level of development of struggle; which are the strategic and tactical considerations which necessitated our Programme of Action for this year and the near future?

2. For many months now our country has witnessed an uninterrupted revolt by the oppressed and democratic forces. There have been ebbs and flows, but the offensive has been sustained and it is escalating. The regime's battle weapons - reforms and repression - only fan the fires of revolt. Despite the state of siege, the revolt continues to mature into a revolutionary situation.

3. a. The determination and resolution of the people has never been more solid. Openly and in large numbers, they defy death, display mass heroism on a scale unheard of in many, many years. United Action is the order of the day.

b. The people are not only refusing to be ruled in the old way; they are refusing to be governed by anybody but themselves. The legitimacy of the regime has collapsed.

c. In addressing the fundamental question of the transfer of power, they have gone ahead to smash the regimes institutions and created in many areas rudimentary organs of power: democratic organs which represent their aspirations and effect popular legality.

(1. Elements from among the people, especially the youth, have gone ahead to create combat groups which are essentially an important layer of the Peoples Army. The mass of the people continue to master mass battle tactics of confronting the enemy, and where necessary carry out mass revolutionary violence and popular justice.

e. At appropriate moments, the weapon of the general strike has been put to good use. Also, the experience of the consumer boycott has shown what a mighty weapon we wield in our hands.

f. Steadily the struggle is spreading to the white areas. This entails workers' mass and armed action, greater involvement of white democrats, actions against enemy institutions and

personnel in these areas and so on.

g. Having built their democratic organisations, the people continue to evolve organisational formations suitable for the State of Emergency.

h. The overwhelming majority identify with the ANC and its revolutionary perspective as enshrined in the Freedom Charter.

4. Linked to all these developments is the uninterrupted escalation of the armed struggle. Despite Pretoria's attempts to emasculate the movement and the people's army within South Africa and abroad, armed actions have increased tremendously in scope and quality. Gradually, armed struggle is involving the mass of the people at different levels - assuming the form of People's War. We can say today that MK has irreversibly rooted itself among the people and, with them, possesses the potential for a rapid intensification of the armed struggle.

5. The ANC holds the view that the working class, in particular black workers, are the vanguard of the national democratic revolution. In this regard, the following questions emerge: Are black workers sufficiently engaged in mass action around their day-to-day demands? Do they link these struggles to the broad political issues? Are they sufficiently organised and united in their trade unions? Are they, as individuals and in their organised contingents participating in community struggles? Are they to be found in the forefront of these struggles? To most of these questions we can confidently reply in the affirmative. Yet we constantly have to find ways of ensuring that this role manifests itself in word and in fact. For only in this way can victory of a genuine people's democracy be assured. It is for this reason that the ANC views the formation of Cosatu 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-hand with, the oppressed people as a whole.

6. a. The extent of the education crisis is well known to all of us. Credit for such stoicism goes to the students who, despite all odds, have sustained the offensive against gutter education; it 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, the formation of progressive teachers unions and the 54th Annual Conference of Atasa.

b. The crisis of apartheid is a result also of the actions of the people in the rural areas, youth, women, democratic religious leaders, black business people and democratic whites. The same can be said about community struggles around such issues as rents, high prices and fares. Suffice it to note that the Rent Strike so steadfastly sustained in such areas as the Vaal Triangle has been taken up in the Cape Town African townships, Dundee in Northern Natal, etc.

## Conclusion

1. These are some of the major landmarks 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 peoples army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. We believe these facts are known to you. But let us hasten to add that these remarkable achievements would not have come without thorough and systematic organisation. Similarly, it is not possible to advance any step further without such organisation.

2. As President O R Tambo stated on January 8, 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 point where the regime is not able to rule in the old way to a stage where it is in fact unable to govern. We must build our forces into an ever more formidable united mass army of liberation, an army that must grow in strength continuously, able to deliver and actually delivering bigger blows at every stage and fighting as a conscious force with its eyes firmly fixed on the goal of the destruction of the apartheid regime and the transfer of power to the people.

3. Through organisation we have to further develop the peoples identification with the ANC to the level of well-built and functional units through the length and breadth of our country. Through organisation, the mass democratic movement has to be defended, and further spread the spirit of resistance and defiance to all corners of the land. At the same time, the legal and semi-legal movements have to find ways and means of functioning effectively under the condition of martial law.

4. Only through organisation can we move forward to implement with even better results the popular programme for the year 1986 - the education campaign, the May Day commemoration, June 16, the anti-pass campaign, the campaign for the unconditional release of political prisoners, and the boycott of the centenary of the founding of Johannesburg, to quote but a few examples.

Only through organisation can we successfully realise our objective of the rapid escalation of the military offensive; set up, train and upgrade the combat groups; acquire the necessary equipment also within the country; transport what we have - in brief, raise the armed struggle to the level of peoples war. Only through organisation can we move forward to the seizure of power.

5. All these require the unleashing of full-time and part-time organisers on the ground; the production and distribution of propaganda; organisation of rallies and demonstrations; transport and other facilities. These programmes cannot be carried out without funds. Hence the importance of this workshop.

We hope that as we share our views on this question, we shall also seriously reflect upon the possible and practical means of acquiring funds and other resources within the country - in a multiplicity of ways - basing ourselves also on the concrete experience and the initiative of the struggling masses, and drawing from the storehouse of revolutionary experience in other countries.

In South Africa, where the battles are raging, is where our hearts and minds should be as we pursue our important deliberations.

Every patriot, a combatant and fundraiser!

Victory is within our grasp!

Report of Commission A

Commission A considered fundraising through musical concerts and other cultural events; income from

Royalties; the sale of art and handicrafts through existing galleries and shops, also specialised solidarity galleries.

Preamble

The traditional and progressive art, culture and music of our

people has been persistently suppressed, at times even denigrated by the racist rulers of our country. The maximum exposure of this illustrious and rich talent of our people is a political act incumbent on us. It has the profound potential of achieving three important things:

1. Encouraging and promoting the culture of our people.
2. Utilising art and culture as a medium for conveying the message of our struggle.
3. Generating funds.

Commission identified five thematic areas on which to deliberate viz:

1. Sale of arts and crafts
2. Concerts, theatre, etc
3. Fundraising videos
4. Sports
5. Art to Defeat Apartheid as an international cultural manifestation

1. Sale of Arts and Crafts

#### 1.1 Procurement

Procurement must be a mosaic representation of all our people

in accordance with our will as enshrined in the Freedom Charter. Therefore, commission recommends that the movement set up an independent agency(s) with the task of procuring arts and crafts from within the country and from our own projected cultural centres. In addition, arts and crafts be obtained from other countries.

#### a. Home

The commercial agency buys (imports) from artists/crafts persons/craft centres inside South Africa, located with the assistance of democratic formations there, eg existing progressive crafts projects, artists' collectives and new structures created for this overall project.

#### b. Outside

i. Arts and crafts produced in projected ANC cultural centres.

ii. Buying outside in host countries including from non-ANC South Africans:

0 Part-time ANC members, sympathisers and other South Africans.

0 In countries with similar traditional culture (Lesotho, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Swaziland).

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0 Other countries, eg Nigeria, Ghana, India, etc  
Commission recommends that the ANC request governments, parties or other organisations to donate locally made crafts of quality for sale by the Procurement Agency, especially in the case of countries which are unable to make cash donations.

Commission also recommends that roving art collections, already ANC property, be expanded in their South African component and catalogued for distribution through our missions. That these works, either as single collections or combined to include the UN exhibition be used for fundraising.

#### ANC Cultural Centres

Emphasis must be laid on self-production ie production within the ANC particularly through the setting up of professional scale art, learning and production centres at places like Mazimbu, the ANC Development Centre (Dakawa) and Angola.

#### Dakawa

- 0 Building infra-structural facilities.
- 0 Identification of staff/workforce.
- 0 Establishment of skills base.
- 0 Procurement of materials, eg tools, instruments.

#### Mazimbu

- 0 School of Arts and Crafts.
- 0 Cultural curriculum in the school.

#### Angola

0 Region should be provided with adequate materials for creation of cultural artefacts for sale/fundraising.

### 1.2 Sales

#### Administration

- a. Commission recommends that sales/distribution of such handicraft and art items should be administered by a company or trust.
- b. The function of such a registered trust or company should be to service and supply projected permanently based trading centres possibly run and staffed by salaried members of the Anti-Apartheid Movement or other solidarity organisations, where possible, such trading centres could be run along the lines of a charity organisation as is the case in the FRG.
- c. The company should also supply such products for sale at ANC bazaars or stalls or at any other appropriate manifestation.

### 2. Concerts

Increasingly, internationally renowned artists are beginning to conform to the UN Sports and Cultural Boycott Against Apartheid. Similarly, more and more artists are willing to assist the struggle against apartheid through providing their talents in support of our cause. Some musicians have cut discs, donating whole proceeds or part thereof to the ANC and/or the struggle against apartheid.

#### 2.1. Concrete Proposals Abroad

- a. In each country where we have missions we should establish contact and build excellent rapport with talented and popular artists.
- b. These artists should be deployed to donate their services for benefit concert performances.
- c. Artists of international stature should be asked to perform benefit concerts in more than one country.
  - (1. At such concerts, additional funds should be obtained from video and film royalties, sales of the disc as well as ANC publicity material.
- e. ANC members, sympathisers and other South African artists should be encouraged to participate in such concerts.
- 1'. Fundraising concerts should be organised extensively in African countries as well.
- g. TV, Radio, Music and Art personalities should be asked to endorse ANC fundraising concerts and campaigns. Also leading political figures as was the case with the late Swedish Prime Minister, Olof Palme.

#### 2.2. Internally

- a. To promote self-sufficiency amongst democratic organisa-

tions at home by way of encouraging musicians inside South Africa to intensify benefit concerts for these organisations. The PMC should ensure that progressive positions taken by musicians at home are fully exploited.

b. As part of the growing campaign by our people to unban the ANC, the movement should look into the prospects of musicians from home performing in ANC benefit concerts outside South Africa.

### 2.3 Theatre

South African theatre has become popular, capturing large audiences in many countries - and can have a powerful impact in winning the hearts and minds of audiences. In Mazimbu, Dakawa and Angola we should develop theatre talent of high calibre. Such groups should be made available to perform in a number of countries on contract basis.

### 2.4 Fine Arts

Approach leading and progressive artists to donate their work to be sold at specially organised solidarity exhibitions.

### 2.5 Others

- a. Organise poetry reading sessions with collections.
- b. Publication of literature/anthologies, which in turn should be translated into various languages, for sale.
- c. An ANC publishing house run along commercial lines should be set up.

## 3. Fundraising Videos

3.1 Audio-visual instruments are a powerful force of propaganda and fundraising. The movement should take full advantage of the popularity of commercial and home videos by marketing our own produced videos as well as those produced by others. Each mission should be supplied with a complete set of videos which could be rented out, duplicated and sold to institutions and individuals.

3.2 The movement should consider the organising of film and video festivals in all our missions. The value of such festivals is again two-fold, publicity and fundraising.

3.3 Commission proposes the production of fundraising videos tailored to specific issues, projects, eg Somafco/Dakawa, interviews and footage about internal events or international campaigns.

3.4 Video availability should be drastically increased with the establishment of a central supplying pool. This pool should be accountable to a designated ANC structure eg DIP, Lusaka or London, or else to the Video Centre in Lusaka.

All missions and areas, including the home front through PMC, should be speedily supplied with a strategic selection of videos. To avoid the existing haphazard distribution new videos should be automatically sent out in agreed upon numbers.

(We note that the video supply problem is due to lack of professional high-speed dubbing equipment - even IDAF dubbing is a slow and laborious business - ANC should acquire this equipment).

#### 4. Sports

4.1 Commission proposed that small scale fund raising be undertaken through lMandela Marathonsl or tournaments of various kinds, eg lMandela Chess Tournamentsl.

4.2 Establish contacts with sporting organisations for purposes of intensifying support for the sports boycott against apartheid, leading to donations of sports equipment and/or funds.

4.3 Sports personalities should be persuaded to endorse ANC fundraising campaigns.

4.4 Famous sports personalities should be approached to donate autographed sports equipment for the Movement to raffle.

4.5 Missions should encourage sports events with proceeds to ANC, eg as in Sweden with two ice-hockey teams about to do this.

4.6 Fundraising walks (walkathons), runs, bikathons in which the general public participates should be organised.

4.7 At home, benefit matches should be encouraged as fundraising efforts for democratic organisations.

#### 5. tANC 75th Anniversary Festival of Art to Defeat Apartheidl

5.1 Commission recommends that the 75th Anniversary of the ANC be utilised to mount a massive International Festival of Art to Defeat Apartheid. Such an event has the potential of raising a large amount of funds. The festival could engulf such areas as:

- a. Art and craft sales and exhibitions
- b. Video and film exhibition and sale
- c. Concerts by international artists, South African artists abroad and artists within the country
- d. Book, literature and photographic exhibitions and sales
- e. Theatre and dance

We should seek sponsorship for such a festival from governments, political parties, non-governmental organisations, trade unions, business organisations, artist groups, etc.

5.2 Other large festivals should be organised simultaneously in many other countries and centres internationally, including centres within South Africa.

5.3 That the preparatory structure is appointed and preparations on such projected festivals commence no later than ' April 30, 1986.

#### 6. General

6.1 There should be a deliberate move to recruit candidates among our cadres, to train specifically in the commercial aspect and administration of the Arts and Crafts, including professional courses in various art forms.

6.2 A great deal of income generation can also be made from royalties. We should improve our relationship with progressive artists and encourage them to use our colours and slogans as other means of not only getting royalties to benefit our struggle, but also to have our authenticity recognised world wide.

6.3 Arts, Crafts, Video, Theatre, Cultural Anefacts of all kinds can be created using donated materials. Sale thereof yields untied funds.

6.4 With the popularity enjoyed internationally by ANC as the leading liberation movement, conscious effort should be made to shift support from only anti-apartheid to positively pro-ANC. Also anti-apartheid solidarity activity utilising this popularity must be monitored in order to ensure that the results of such activity is in the interests of the ANC.

6.5 Implementation of above projects should involve a co-ordination role by the Department of Arts and Culture, in full co-operation with treasury structures, missions, other departments and any other specialised fundraising organs established by the ANC.

Report of Commission B

#### 1.1 Tasks

The tasks of the commission were to consider the following fundraising issues:

1.1.1 Pledges/stop orders as a fundraising technique.

1.1.2 Large gifts from organisations, commercial undertakings and individuals.

1.1.3 Single issue campaigns. Appeals to well defined groups.

#### 2. Findings and Recommendations

2.1 Pledges and stop orders as a means of fundraising

This method of fundraising is already being used in some of our missions eg Canada, Australia and the Giro system in the FRG and Sweden. There are two major categories.

In one case some prominent people could be found to act as trustees, as in the case of Australia. In another the pledges could be made directly by the offices without trustees. The latter is used more widely.

2.1.1 The pledge form could take two forms:

a. The Giro system - individuals and organisations are given a form which has a tear-off. The one part is what they send to the bank, like a cheque, the other part is sent to the address of the recipient of the donation so that they know that the money has been sent to them. This is a one-off donation.

b. The stop order has a similar type of form with a tear-off to the bank and a slip to the recipient. The form includes an instruction to the bank to deduct on a weekly, monthly or yearly basis.

c. Special appeals. In this category can be included appeals which are made for specific campaigns. A form printed with the name of the appeal written on it and an explanatory letter accompanying it. These can also be printed in publications of the ANC and of friendly organisations.

2.1.2 All these forms can be inserted in publications of the movement and of friendly organisations or simply given out

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at rallies, or speaking engagements, etc.

### 2.1.3 ANC Free South Africa Fund

An international fund with this name was suggested. The fund would be promoted by all our offices and would take the form of a special appeal to the international community. To promote the fund, the following proposals were made:

- a. That an appeal letter be signed by the President/SG/TG.
- b. That a pledge form and a folded leaflet on the ANC accompany the appeal letter.
- c. That the fund be launched on a particular date with a press conference conducted by the President/TG/SG.

(1. That all missions and units of the ANC be informed at least one month earlier, and the material enumerated above be produced centrally in various languages and dispatched to reach them not later than two weeks before the launching. Material to be embargoed until the date of the launching.

- e. That the regions organise the mass media to publicise the appeal.

f. That in each region the Fundraising Committee follow up the progress and an individual be appointed to have special responsibility for the fund within the committee and report regularly to HQ on progress.

- g. That a certificate be made to be issued to those who donate above a certain amount, but that it should only be given to those who want to receive it.

b. That journals of friendly organisations be asked to popularise it and to search for prospective donors amongst those who advertise in such journals.

### 3. Large gifts from organisations, commercial undertakings and individuals

3.1 Gifts could be obtained from them and raffled, auctioned or sold in exhibitions to raise funds.

#### 3.2 Raffles and holiday and travel gifts

3.2.1 Gifts of holiday packages can be sought from friendly governments, airlines, travel agents and friendly organisations. An NEC member could directly, or through the Chief Representative, request such gifts from governments, airlines and travel agencies who can also be approached with the help of fundraising committees.

3.2.2 The holidays should be arranged so that those in Europe go to tropical or warmer areas and those from the countries like Australia and New Zealand etc go for skiing in Europe, eg Australians to skiing holidays in Sweden, Europeans to go to the Pacific, Seychelles, Madagascar, Mauritius, Senegal, Algeria, Tunisia, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Egypt etc.

3.2.3 Developing countries with their own national airlines, would be preferable. In the developed countries the prospect of advertising could be attractive to donors, eg by including the name of the airline or company in all publicity and tickets connected with the raffle.

3.2.4 A specific person, not necessarily ANC, should be included in the Regional Fundraising Committee to deal only with this aspect.

### 3.3 Raffles of items where the demand for them is great

3.3.1 Motorcycles, landrovers and other such items could be obtained from organisations and commercial enterprises and raffled in developing countries such as Tanzania (landrovers), Zambia, Madagascar, Egypt, etc.

3.3.2 Regional Fundraising Committees should appoint a special person to conduct the raffles.

3.3.3 The items could be obtained in the same manner described above for obtaining holiday gifts.

3.3.4 It is interesting to note that objects like TV sets are highly prized in places like Senegal, etc and that a raffle of a set/hi-fi is likely to realise a substantial amount eg 50 000 for a relatively small effort bearing in mind the return.

3.4 That specific individuals be identified for contact by senior members and where necessary, by NEC members or

the TG for direct large donations.

4. Single issue campaigns;

appeals to well-defined target groups

4.1 Occasions when single issues are being tackled can be used for stimulating fundraising and can also be targeted to specific groups. ANC and other material can be sold.

4.2 Single issue campaigns for this year could be, amongst others:

a. 75th anniversary of the ANC

b. 100th anniversary of May Day, for fundraising among trade unions

c. 10th anniversary of Soweto Uprising, South Africa Youth Day - June 16 for Youth and Student organisations.

(1. 30th anniversary of South African Women's Day - August 9 for women's organisations.

e. International Year of Peace, World Conference for Peace, October - for peace movements.

f. Fetes, exhibitions, bazaars - such as Saba Saba, Trade Fairs in Zambia, National Fetes, etc.

g. 40th anniversary of Mineworkers Strike (11 August, date to be confirmed)

4.2.1 75th Anniversary of the ANC, January 8, 1987

It is recommended that the NEC set up a national preparatory committee for this purpose but that the fundraising activities connected with this should begin immediately.

4.2.2 A poster for the anniversary should be made before May so as to allow groups in Europe and North America and other countries to discuss action before they go on holiday in June and take decisions for the autumn season. This will be necessary for southern African countries as well.

4.2.3 A 75th anniversary ANC commemorative coin be minted as a collector's item; using the same design chain, bracelets and other decorative items be produced.

4.2.4 The DIP suggestion for a diary be adopted and made in two sizes, one pocket and one desk.

4.2.5 The suggestion for a calendar be adopted.

4.2.6 A visual presentation of the Freedom Charter be designed and produced combining the clauses to six, each poster standing on its own, and together forming a mural.

4.2.7 A Live Aid type concert to be organised during 1987 in some Western countries. Perhaps the Swedish rock groups and other artists could be asked to initiate such a move with groups in the US, UK and Australia. All proceeds to the ANC Free South Africa Fund. Preparations to begin immediately. Various offices to report on the question of timing.

4.2.8 During 1987, the organisers of the Africa Cup be asked to name it Africa Cup Against Apartheid and a percentage of the proceeds could go to the ANC Free South Africa Fund.

4.2.9 That one-day cricket matches be arranged as Cricket

against Apartheid, and the proceeds, or a percentage thereof be donated to the Free South Africa Fund.

4.2.10 A postage stamp be solicited from one of the governments. The idea would be to ask African states, through the OAU to use the stamps in their countries and the proceeds to go to the ANC. The stamps, if sold in countries which have people writing to South Africa, could have a devastating impact on the morale of the regime.

4.3 100th Anniversary of May Day - May 1st

4.3.1 The 100th anniversary should focus on calling on unions to give financial support to Sactu and political support in the form of messages to Cosatu as well. The May Day Fund could be initiated immediately in all countries. Appeals can be mailed to all unions to donate something towards the May Day Fund. The money could be used perhaps for the defence of treason trialists or whatever is being organised by Sactu and others.

4.4 10th Anniversary of the Soweto Uprising \_  
South Africa Youth Day

4.4.1 Various regions could initiate a South Africa Youth Week from June 16 to 26, during which films, photo exhibitions, books and emblems of the youth could be shown and sold to the public.

4.4.2 The FRG mission of the ANC should make available the exhibition of photographs depicting the struggle of the youth for the last ten years, to be used on June 16.

4.4.3 Other exhibitions already prepared be made available to all missions.

4.4.4 International and national youth organisations should be encouraged to organise youth activities. The IUS, WFDY, PYM, AASU, OCLAE, ASA (Asian) could be solicited to organise special activities to commemorate this day and produce publicity material.

4.4.5 The widest range of youth organisations be mobilised to commemorate this day.

4.5 30th Anniversary of South African Women's Day,  
August 9th

4.5.1 A good day to target women's groups in all countries as this day is also recognised by the UN.

4.5.2 Women's groups should be asked to give money to the women's struggle inside South Africa through the ANC Women's Secretariat.

4.5.3 Photo exhibitions should be held with a view to fundraising, bazaars, etc.

4.5.4 Literature on women's struggle be obtained from all sources.

4.5.5 Target groups for fundraising could be:

a. South Africans resident outside South Africa. These should be mobilised to contribute through pledges, donations of gifts for raffles, musicians to put up benefit concerts, artists to donate paintings, etc.

b. Youth, women and student organisations, trade unions and churches can contribute either from their own membership or by conducting fundraising campaigns for the ANC.

c. Very little attention is paid to the mobilisation of the black community in England and other countries. There is a need to mobilise them. Many of them tend to follow the BC or PAC groups. We should not leave this group to our rivals to exploit.

d. Professional groups. These can be targeted for donations, pledges, stop orders, etc. They could also be asked to donate their services to the movement.

e. African and other friendly diplomats could engage in fundraising activities and also encourage their nationals in foreign countries to do the same.

f. On August 9th or any other special occasion wives of diplomats can be asked to engage in fundraising. Diplomats could also donate craft from their countries which can be sold or raffled.

g. School children have already been involved in enormous fundraising projects in Europe especially Scandinavia. The

example should be extended to other areas.

4.5.6 That an international art exhibition and sale be organised, donations of artistic work being obtained from artists, particularly African artists. This requires a specific individual being given responsibility for this task. Someone be asked to compile a list of likely artists.

#### 4.6 Other proposals

4.6.1 Pennants and flags be made in the GDR and Senegal with specific logos - Youth, Women, ANC and MK. That . such items be produced for distribution and sale to all missions in the areas.

4.6.2 That the idea of a bracelet being produced in the USA (with the names of political prisoners) be extended to all other areas.

4.6.3 New realistic fundraising ideas should be made available to all member missions for their consideration, either to purchase or produce.

4.6.4 That the relevant organ of the ANC discuss with the Angolan government the possibility of using the metal material from the South African planes downed in Angola in order to convert the material and produce bracelets and other ornaments, by another friendly country, which could be utilised towards raising funds for the ANC.

#### Report of Commission C

Commission C considered direct donations from the broad spectrum of South Africans wherever they may be;

levies on gainfully employed ANC members; Regional Fundraising Committees;

the role of the church in fundraising

#### Preamble

Raising money to sustain the liberation movement and to successfully prosecute the armed struggle is political action.

At this crucial stage, every ANC member should consider it a duty and an obligation to collect funds in one form or another for the above objectives.

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If we are to meet the immediate needs as indicated by the Treasurer-General, each participant at this workshop should leave prepared to mobilise our membership into:

- a. making personal contributions;
- b. soliciting donations from all other South Africans, friends and sympathisers.

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This will be the speediest method of ensuring the largest sum in the shortest period. Towards this end, a very strong appeal from the President/TG must be issued immediately.

#### 1. Regional Fundraising Committees

This Commission recommends that RFRCs be set up without delay in all areas and wherever possible the Chief Representative and a member of the Treasury of that mission as members.

0 That these committees be established in such a manner that they strengthen the local anti-apartheid work, with a specific convenor or co-ordinator.

0 That such fundraising committees draw up a proper and co-ordinated annual plan as well as specific projects; see to the implementation of such plans; and ensure co-ordination and accountability to the relevant ANC structures.

0 That the priority be to obtain cash contributions.

0 That material aid projects embarked upon have the least possible strings attached.

0 That we ensure all our officers and members working in solidarity organisations co-operate fully with the FRC to ensure maximum results.

0 That the FRC should be comprised of our people, supporters of our liberation struggle, as well as nationals of the host country. Full assessment must be made of specific local conditions so that our efforts harness the machineries of the existing anti-apartheid movements and serve to strengthen them in their work.

The following should be the duties of the RFRC:

- a. To provide ideas for fundraising.
- b. To advise on the means of implementing ideas.
- c. To make feasibility studies on long term fundraising proposals, such as business enterprises. '
- d. To endeavour to set up registered charitable trusts.
- e. To enlist the support of sympathetic experts as advisors and consultants.
- f. To launch regular fundraising campaigns.
- g. To utilise our publications to mobilise funds.
- h. To keep a list of all donors.
- i. To concentrate initially on the priority tasks such as levies, subscriptions, donations and short-term campaigns.

0 They should have a full time executive secretary.

0 They must submit six-monthly reports to the National Fundraising Committee on their proposals and results.

0 They must issue receipts for all cash received.

#### 2. National Fundraising Co-ordinator

A senior member of the movement should be appointed to head this committee full time. Such a person should be based at headquarters.

The task of the National Fundraising Co-ordinator should be as follows:

- a. The establishment of RFRCs.
- b. To be responsible for co-ordinating the fundraising activities of the movement and accountable to the OTG.
- c. To monitor the work of the Regional Fundraising Committees.
- (1. To give advice and support to the committees.
- e. To present half-yearly reports to the OTG on fundraising activities.
- f. To ensure that the Fundraising Committees in each region are carrying out their tasks.

#### 3. Levies on Gainfully Employed Members of the ANC

It is important for the membership to have a sense of belonging to our organisation, and as in all other organisations, clubs, etc where it is obligatory to pay a membership fee, levy or contribution so it should be in our organisation. When people outside of the ANC, whether they can afford it or not, make voluntary contributions to our cause, we even more so, should be making sacrifices. Giving money is a small

sacrifice when others are giving their lives.

The Commission therefore recommends that a regular monthly or annual contribution, preferably by banker's order, should be compulsory. This should be a fixed percentage of a minimum of 5% of net income.

#### 4. Subscriptions from Non-gainfully Employed Members

These comrades too, with the exception of those in the West, receive some incentive or stipend from the movement and should also pay a subscription. We must bear in mind that many South Africans come to us without ever having formally joined the ANC, while taking it for granted that they are automatic members. Paying a due can only assist them to develop a sense of belonging and reinforce their commitment. This should equally apply to students of Somafo and the Orientation Centre of Dakawa - even if the amount they pay is minimal. Students going abroad on further scholarships will then carry this commitment with them and will continue to pay their membership fee wherever they are.

The commission therefore recommends:

0 Recognising that the payment of dues/subscriptions to the ANC Fighting Fund is a political act, the Regional Fund-raising Committees be called upon to collect a regular prescribed tariff from this category of members.

0 There should be an exemption for comrades who are unable to make a contribution. Members in both the above categories who refuse to pay their subscription must be seen in their homes by representatives of the movement; they must be politicised, and where all attempts at persuasion fail, they must be denied certain rights, eg voting at general meetings, elections, etc.

#### 5. Role of the Churches in Fundraising

The potential for the church movement organisations and other religious bodies to provide financial support to the ANC is vast, but to date we have not really explored these possibilities, or utilised this source, and receive help from only a very few church commissions.

In addition to hard cash there are many other areas of aid such as development, health, education and refugee assistance.

This commission recognises that with some of the above there will be religious strings attached, and others could be tied to projects.

This commission recommends that a delegation of the ANC should visit the headquarters of the International Church Organisations and other religious bodies, eg Muslims.

It further recommends that in regions where contacts and aid from churches has already been established, people should be appointed to study further ways and means of approaching and soliciting of funds and such persons could serve on the RFRC.

The commission recommends, too, with some urgency, that our movement should convene a special conference or workshop to address itself to the Church Front, drawing on

the experience of those who have worked in religious organisations, and in order to set up a proper functioning structure or department to work with and obtain funding from the World Religious movement.

Such a conference or workshop should look into the many possibilities in this area. For example:

- a. The sale of ANC publicity material in vast quantities at General Assemblies of church organisations.
- b. How to combine the World Day of Prayer, June 16, 1986 with the ANC National Youth Day.
- c. Take cognisance of the fact that the World Council of Churches sees southern Africa as its first objective.
  - (1. With the setting up of a labour desk in the SACC, examine how to mobilise financial support from Christians inside the country.
- e. Examine further avenues of support from the Dependents Conference for our activists at home.
- f. Instruct chief representatives to approach Bishops in their regions who all have discretionary funds and many of whom are sympathetic to the ANC.
- g. Investigate ways of taking advantage of the Church Training Programmes, provided they do not compromise the security and political programme of the movement.
- h. Utilise free church facilities, eg loan of halls, low-priced housing, etc.
- i. Take note of world religious trends, eg Dutch church groups threatening to boycott firms with links to SA; the role of Student Christian Youth bodies who are becoming increasingly involved in funding as well as political action.
- j. Consider a high level delegation of the ANC to Saudi Arabia and other parts of the Arab world.

The question of the Church Front is referred to the NEC to resolve.

#### 6. Direct Donations in Cash and Kind from the Broadest Spectrum of South Africans

As already stated in the preamble to this commission report, the collection of direct donations from South Africans worldwide could produce results in the shortest time with minimum delay.

0 The document CRP 70 is very detailed and this commission recommends that it be adopted by the workshop and should serve as a guideline for Regional Fundraising Committees to tap this vast source of income.

0 Taking into account the complex tax laws and prohibitions for funding political organisations that exist in many countries the commission also requests this workshop to consider how the Luthuli Cultural and Welfare Service Trust could be utilised to provide a service to the ANC which would enable donors to contribute where they otherwise could not do so. If not possible to utilise the Luthuli Trust, all efforts to be made to set up other charitable trusts.

#### 7. Single Issue Fundraising

The Commission recommends the adoption of document RP 37 by the workshop.

#### Report of Commission D

##### Introduction

The Mandate of the National Fundraising Workshop was to examine ways and means of creating financial resources to supplement the funds presently available with a View to rendering our struggle self-sufficient.

The commission's task was to study:

- a. The viability of the movement managing small industries and restaurants in Africa and elsewhere;
- b. The profit-making potential of establishing commercial solidarity shops.

The commission executed this task in two parts. The first part dealt with management control structures. The second part considered specific projects.

##### Part A

##### 1. Primary Objectives

The commission concluded that the objectives of any pro-

ject should be clearly defined as follows:

- a. Self-sufficiency
- b. Creation of funds
- c. Cadre training
  - (1. Productive engagement of our personnel
- 1.1 Some of the problems undermining the efficiency of existing projects were identified as follows:
  - a. Lack of managerial skills or experience;
  - b. Lack of skilled and unskilled personnel;
  - c. Unco-ordinated deployment or movement of personnel;
- (1. Lack of work discipline.

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1.2 The above points to the lack of an adequate means for monitoring and ensuring efficiency of projects. To redress this flaw we recommend the creation of a project management control structure at Headquarters, consisting of appropriately qualified personnel, whose two immediate tasks are:

- a. To thoroughly investigate existing projects;
- b. To establish managerial control structures on the site of the projects.

1.3 We recommend the following as the functions of the management control structure:

- a. The examination of all existing projects with a view to establishing their financial position as at a given date.
- b. The establishment of a uniform method of financial recording which is applicable to all projects.
- c. The analysis of such financial returns in respect of each project so as to enable the Treasury to assess the progress and general state of affairs of each project at all times.
- d. To exercise financial control over all projects in all their aspects.
- e. To exercise full managerial control of all staff appointments, promotions, transfers and dismissals.
- f. To develop cadre training including in the managerial fields.
- g. All new projects to be the responsibility of. this department:

0 Each new project submitted must be examined and discussed fully on the basis of established agreed criteria.

0 The department to develop the expertise to assess all such proposals and evaluate their viability, and in this way secure

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the optimum benefit to the movement.

In evaluating the viability of existing and envisaged projects the management control structures and Headquarters will be guided by the principles set out below.

## 2. Principles to be Considered in Evaluating Current and Envisaged Projects

### 2.1 Capital Requirements

Capital is often provided by governmental agencies, inter-governmental agencies, non-governmental organisations and by solidarity groups in the form of equipment, etc. Moreover, the nature of the equipment, the manner of operations must be considered professionally. We need experienced guidance. Thus, for example, our installations of plants may create a dependence on foreign currency reserves for all time. Inclusive of this cost are the funds required to sustain the project. Thus the cost factor is not only the initial purchases through solidarity funds but also the labour cost, local raw materials necessary to give effect to the project until such time as the project becomes self-sufficient and/or generates funds.

### 2.2 Product Demand both by the Organisation and General Public

The project may be conceived to satisfy the needs of the community but already at this early stage, the project should be planned to enable expansion to take place to satisfy public demand, without undue expense and disruption. Increased production reduces the unit costs, with all the attendant benefits to the organisation.

### 2.3 Cost Analysis to Determine Production, Distribution Costs, Optimal Locations and Market Trends

Projections must be made of estimated costs to establish whether the project can be profitable. This analysis of production and manufacturing processes will provide an added insight into the prospects, difficulties, etc, which have to be resolved before inception.

### 2.4 Continuous Availability of Materials

A dependence on overseas supplies would result in a drain on foreign currency reserves. The extent of this dependence must influence our decisions.

### 2.5 Manufacturing and Administrative Skills

These are skills particular to the project under consideration. Success or failure will often depend on the abilities of the project manager.

### 2.6 Manpower Deployment

There should be proper allocation of manpower resources to the projects to ensure their efficient operational running.

### Summary

Our aim is to create projects which provide both for the community as well as to generate funds. To achieve this we need to be efficient. Lack of efficiency will be a drain on our resources and will possibly create the situation where further input of funds is necessary to keep projects alive.

How we set up the projects will also play an important role in determining efficiency and viability. A project must be well planned from its inception.

We recommend that the Projects Department:

- a. be reorganised and placed on a professional basis;
- b. examines present projects with a view to determining their viability and further development prospects.

## Part B

### Introduction

On the basis of actual investigations, guided by the principles set forth in Section 2, we recommend the following:

1. a. The establishment of workshops;
- b. Purchase of second hand material abroad for sale.
2. The establishment of a cobblery (see Appendix II)
3. The establishment of a commercial graphic enterprise within the DIP to launch, maintain and expand a co-ordinated international fundraising campaign using our materials to fight a propaganda war and raise funds. (see Appendix III)

4. The establishment of cottage industries as well as arts and crafts production units wherever possible in our communities; these should be placed on an organised basis and on a viable scale.

5. The establishment, in co-operation with the PMC, of cover industries, eg dress making, food markets, canning, taxi services and other small service industries.

Concluding note

Other proposed projects could not be investigated definitively due to lack of sufficient detailed information. We therefore recommend them for further study by the National Fund-raising Committee.

Appendix I

1. Proposals for the Establishment of Workshops, etc

The present economic situation in Africa is one of rapid inflation, a very weak infra-structure and a scarcity of capital goods and accessories necessary for the establishment of a viable business, such as a workshop.

The situation in the UK as well as in western Europe is one of the liquidation of the small and large engineering workshops. Machinery is thus available for purchase at liquidation prices.

The proposed project would thus be favourable in the climate that prevails at present.

1.1 The Project .

Setting up the necessary structure to purchase second hand materials, plant and machinery and equipment, etc, in England for resale or investment in Tanzania.

The structure would be as follows:

Establishing an enterprise with a low initial capital. The enterprise to be an import and export agency with a telephone, telex and postal address in London. This enterprise would have a two-fold purpose:

a. The purchase of goods, equipment, etc, with a view to immediate resale.

The price to be paid is crucial and must ensure a favourable return on the investment.

These goods would remain the property of the ANC until sold.

The proceeds of these transactions to be paid into a special account in Tanzania and the corresponding amount paid into the funds of the London office.

b. The purchase of equipment for the purpose of establishing workshops, etc.

#### Establishment of a Workshop

The advantage of this would be the quick turnover and this ensures constant returns on a very low investment.

a. A licensed business enterprise would be registered. An agreement of partnership would be entered into with suitable selected individuals with the provision that the ANC or its nominee holds 51% of the enterprise.

b. The ANC would purchase the equipment necessary and enter into an agreement to lease the equipment to the business. The equipment thus remains the property of the organisation.

c. A lease agreement, would inter alia, provide for a payment of a lease premium based on a percentage of turnover or a minimum amount, whichever is the greater.

(1. The lease premium would be paid into a special banking account for the transfer of funds to the ANC. Thus funds would be transferred irrespective of the state of affairs of the workshop and/or its profitability.

#### 1.3 Conclusion

This type of project would be advantageous to the ANC for the following reasons:

3. Input of foreign currency is limited to the initial purchase of equipment apart from the purchase of spares for the maintenance of the plant (when necessary).

b. A return on investment is fixed and could represent a substantial return irrespective of the profitability of the business.

c. The capital goods remain the property of the AN C as they are being leased.

d. The project is dependent on foreign currency for the supply of parts, etc, and additional equipment only.

e. This type of project offers many opportunities of expansion into different areas of production and services, etc.

1'. Because of low capital investment and expenditure and quick return dependency on donors is considerably reduced.

#### Appendix II

##### An External Project

##### Cobblery

A project for the manufacture of shoes (open type - ladies, men and children) is submitted for consideration. This would be an external project and established on a strictly commercial basis.

##### The Manufacturing Process

1. All the components required for the manufacturing process are purchased from wholesale suppliers. The manufacturing process involves the assembly of all the components.

2. Materials required for the manufacturing process are purchased from the same source.

3. Components and materials are purchased in bulk at six monthly intervals and shipped to premises to be acquired.

4. Training required could be arranged with the suppliers. The basic skills could be acquired in one week.

5. Actual production of three fully trained and experienced workers is more than 600 pairs per week. For purposes of our calculation a figure of 250 shoes per week has been used.

6. Styles, colour, design, etc are open to selection.

This project must be favourably considered for the following reasons:

1. Low capital input

2. Ease of manufacture and implementation

3. Consumer demand

4. Expected returns are high in ratio to capital investment.

Note:

A bag manufacturing enterprise could be considered in conjunction with the above project but figures are not at hand.

#### Appendix 111

See Document RP 15:

tProposal for Co-ordinated International Fundraising Campaign using our Material to Fight a Propaganda War and Raise Funds

Report of Commission E

Commission E considered the opening address of the Treasurer-General, with a view to making recommendations for strengthening the Office of the Treasurer-General, and the introduction of an overall proper budgeting system. The chair pointed out that Commission E would be guided by guidelines enumerated in the Treasurer-General's address to the workshop. The commission agreed on the suggestion to approach our deliberations with a view towards studying the keynote address by the Treasurer-General and extracting therefrom those elements which were not covered by other commissions. '

Discussion was structured along the following lines to meet the requirements of the plenary session:

1. Discussion of a five year plan.
2. Discussion of structure of the Office of the Treasurer-General.
3. Discussion of planning, co-ordination, control and communication.
4. Discussion of projects.
5. Discussion of budgeting.
6. Discussion of programme of action.

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1. Discussion of Five Year Plan

We took note of the need for the identification of national and financial requirements of our movement.

It was agreed to consider a plan in the context of a five year national plan, an annual plan, regional plans and a plan for internal needs, ie home front. During the exchange of views it was pointed out that the National Consultative Conference (NCC) had resolved that a Department of Economics and Planning should be established. Commission E therefore recommends: .

- a. In accordance with the decision of the National Consultative Conference a Department of Economics and Planning should be established, which should fall under the Office of the Treasurer-General (OTG).
- b. Its composition should be subject to approval of the NEC.
- c. The Treasurer-General should pursue the implementation



of the decision of the NCC. It was noted that a committee had been set up to formulate a national plan, but that it had not functioned satisfactorily because some of its members were reassigned to other tasks.

The commission further recommends that the Department of Economics and Planning be assigned the task of formulating the National Plan.

## 2. Structure of the Office of the Treasurer-General

The commission noted that the structure had been approved by the NEC. Its outline and changes were noted. The two main changes are:

- a. The TG is a member of the External Co-ordinating Council (ECC) and Political Military Council (PMC).
- b. The clause which refers to a special representative of the TG is no longer applicable.

The commission further noted:

- i. With the growth of our movement, the T05 workload has increased enormously, and that there has been no corresponding increase in personnel to assist him.
- ii. The absence of a deputy Treasurer-General.
- iii. The personnel needs of the OTG and these were identified.

- iv. That the convening of the National Fundraising Workshop is a result of the TG's report to the NCC.

The Commission recommended that the Office of the Treasurer-General be strengthened as follows:

- 0 Assistant to the Administrative Secretary.
- 0 TG's Personal Secretary.
- 0 Additional members of staff as required.

### Deputy Treasurer-General

The commission recommended that it was necessary to define the tasks of the Deputy Treasurer-General and not just state that he will act in the absence of the Treasurer-General. The tasks of the Deputy Treasurer-General should include:

- a. Management of finances.
- b. Overseeing the efficient management of the different organs of the Treasury.
- c. Representing the TG in his absence.

### Treasurer-General's Office Departments

The current structure only mentions the heads of the different departments. The commission recommends that these departments be strengthened as follows:

- 0 Head
- 0 Assistant Head
- 0 Administrative (Departmental) Secretary
- 0 Recording Secretary (Typing, tiling, etc)
- 0 Additional member of staff

The commission further recommends the development of detailed job descriptions by the OTG for all additional personnel we are recommending for this department, eg we recommend that the Deputy TG oversee the efficient management of the different organs of the Treasury. This is a general recommendation which requires a job description that can only be developed by the OTG.

Cognisant of the generalised personnel shortage in all departments and the necessity to meet the manpower needs of the TG's office, it is further recommended that training and study facilities be provided as mentioned below.

### Analysis of Manpower Requirements - OTG

#### Finance and Accounts Departments

1. Financial Accountants IFM
2. Cost and Management Accountant IDM
3. Statisticians NABOCE
4. Accounts clerks NABOCE
5. Insurance (managers) NABOCE
6. Bookkeepers  
(National Bookkeeping Certificate) IFM

#### Logistics

1. Shipping, forwarding and clearing Dar es Salaam
2. Warehousing College of
3. Materials Management Business

#### 4. (Stock Controller) Education

##### Transport

Institute of Transport Management. Full professional course.

(Dar es Salaam).

##### Administration

##### Chartered Secretaries

The commission further recommends that the officers and departments of the ANC should guide the National Scholarship Committee (NSC) and the Department of Manpower Development (DMD) on the type of courses our cadres should undertake. This is based on the requirements of the OfflCCS and departments; priority should be given in all cases to training in Africa.

##### Structure of the Regional Treasury

The structure of the Regional Treasury was outlined. Its relationship with the office of the Chief Representative was explained. The Chief Representative and chairman of the Regional Political Committee (RPC) are ex-officio members on the Regional Treasury Secretariat. This would ensure a harmonious relationship where views could be exchanged and problems resolved. Thus this would create a basis for collective decision making. It was also noted that a regional treasurer is:

a. An ex-officio member of the RFC

b. Expected to give periodic reports to the RFC and HQ Treasury.

A regional treasurer deals with the day-to-day affairs of decisions taken at monthly meetings.

Commission E examined regional treasuries as presently constituted in East Africa, Zambia, Angola and the UK.

In the case of East Africa the commission urges the OTG to create a structural machinery which would facilitate greater co-ordination of existing structures.

In the case of Zambia, no changes were recommended as the situation is reported to be improving.

With reference to Angola, it was noted that the Chief Representative has assumed the functions of the regional treasurer, thereby creating conflicts, especially with the increase in the number of new projects being established.

Since the present machinery is unsatisfactory, the commission recommends a treasury commission to visit Angola to create a suitable committee to perform the tasks of administering and co-ordinating the funds of that region.

With reference to the situation in the UK, the commission recommends that the regional treasurer be instituted as

an ex-officio member of the RFC (just as a Chief Representative is an ex-officio member) and not by virtue of co-option by the Chief Representative. The commission noted that:

- a. Significant sums of the movements funds are administered through London.
- b. The RFC and Chief Representative have no control over these funds and that these are the prerogative of HQ Treasury.

The commission recommends:

- i. the separation of administration of HQ funds from the administration of local funds.
- ii. the strengthening of HQ's treasury section in London.

Discussion followed on the need for setting up an international purchasing unit in Europe since purchases involve payment of a commission to the donor designated bodies. It has been noted that purchases by and on behalf of the movement are on the increase.

The commission recommended:

- a. an investigation into the utilisation of Luthuli Welfare Services for the purpose of purchasing goods.
- b. Danchurch Aid and other similar bodies should be approached to train one or two of our people in the field of purchases.

### 3. Planning, Co-ordination, Control and Communication

The commission noted that:

- a. There is an overlap of requisitions to donor organisations.
- b. There is a lack in the communication of requisitions. The treasury is not informed of requisitions submitted by departments, regions and individual heads of departments.
- c. Goods received are not duly acknowledged.
- d. There is a lack of systematic presentation and planning in the submission of requisitions to donor agencies.

Commission recommends:

- a. Projects should be prepared professionally. Those dealing with projects should be adequately trained. All projects should be submitted through the OTG for purposes of control and co-ordination. The control and co-ordination of existing projects will remain the responsibility of the Office of the Treasurer-General.
- b. As a temporary measure Chief Representatives in Europe and when necessary from other areas will meet at intervals to exchange views and discuss planned requirements in the absence of a strong centralised Projects department at HQ. The meeting will be held between the Chief Representatives and a representative/s of HQ Treasury.
- c. That since the Health Department forms an integral part of welfare, the Health Department should fall under the OTG. It should initiate discussions with the Office of the Secretary-General in order to resolve the matter accordingly.

### 4. Projects

The commission was referred, by Comrade TG, to a draft document on management of projects drawn up in 1982. Specific reference was made to the establishment of projects which inecessarily require that they be run on proper business lines. After all projects are the state enterprises, in embryonic form, which we intend to set up in a future South Africa. We cannot, therefore, allow them to flounder. The commission noted that the basis for acceptance/non-acceptance of assistance of any type should be determined by political criteria, ie how far such assistance satisfies our needs and furthers our struggle.

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The commission noted that all projects of the movement be identified and examined in accordance with our basic objectives:

1. Self-sufficiency
2. Training
3. Fundraising

The commission recommends that:

- a. Chief Representatives should follow the lead given by Headquarters Treasury, in spite of its problems. All projects,

regardless of their nature, can only be submitted by HQ Treasury for funding.

b. Departments could prepare and initiate their projects but these should then be submitted to HQ Treasury for approval and submission to donors to ensure adequate monitoring.

c. Wherever a project involves the employment of expatriate personnel, such personnel should be approved by the relevant office at HQ in consultation with the Department of Manpower Development.

d. The commission further recommends the adoption of the following small scale projects, three of which involve the utilisation of raw materials from our own farms, to generate income:

0 Production of pickles and jam at Mazimbu and Chongela.

0 Production of fruit juices.

0 Production of meat and dairy products.

0 Manufacture of soap.

e. The commission also recommends to the OTG to obtain reference books on small scale industries, published by the UN, the Intermediate Technology and the Indian government.

#### Budgeting

The commission noted that there has been a call for a monetary budget. Whilst there is an objective need for a draft budget we need to take into consideration specific features of the three main regions ie East Africa, Angola and Zambia. East Africa is composed of Dar es Salaam, Mazimbu and Dakawa for which sub-budgets are required.

The commission therefore recommends:

a. The OTG to appoint a budgetary committee to be sent to East Africa and other regions in order to prepare draft budgets for calendar year 1987, which would form the basis for a subsequent envisaged budget;

b. That such a committee presents its findings within a period of three months.

#### 6. Programme of Action

The drawing up of a programme of action is seen as the task of the Drafting Committee. However, our commission urges the following points to be noted for their inclusion:

a. The NEC, in conjunction with the OTG, should embark upon a programme for soliciting funds from governments throughout the world. This delegation be at the highest possible level. It should be provided with a well-documented brief on all our requirements. The follow-up to these approaches should be systematic and concerted.

b. Approaches to governments for contributions should include several of the Frontline States.

c. Efforts to the Socialist countries be strengthened to utilise to the full all the possibilities.

d. The commission recommends that the NEC discusses with the Board of Trustees of the Luthuli Cultural and Welfare Services, the possibilities for raising funds in the UK for internal use, ie with special reference to assistance for the Victims of apartheid.

## Declaration of the National Fundraising Workshop

### 1. Introduction

1.1 The first historic National Fundraising Workshop of the African National Congress, pursuant to a mandate given by the Second National Consultative Conference, was held from March 14 - 20, 1986 at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania. The workshop was called to devise means of obtaining the financial resources essential to prosecute our struggle. It was attended by 55 delegates, consisting of 14 chief representatives from our missions abroad, representatives of all departments and Youth and Women's sections of the ANC, elected delegates representing most regions where we have missions, as well as a representative from Sactu.

1.2 In his opening remarks, the Treasurer-General of the ANC, Comrade T T Nkobi set the tone of the workshop when he declared, inter alia, that our people are ready to do everything within their power to bring the hated racist regime to its knees. They have readily and unwaveringly answered our call to make South Africa ungovernable and apartheid unworkable. By their concerted, resolute and fearless action, our people have shown that they are ready to confront the enemy at all levels. It is our task, at this historic workshop, to draw up a Programme of Action that will ensure we have the material means to meet the demands being made upon us,.

1.3 Reports from regions, sections, departments and Sactu were considered in an atmosphere charged with enthusiasm, inspired by the militant spirit of resistance of our people. The delegates, fully conscious of the enormous resources at the command of the Pretoria regime, drew up a comprehensive Programme of Action. Guided by the ANC view of fundraising as a political act, the Programme reiterates that the purpose of such funds is to advance the struggle for liberation on all fronts.

1.4 We have to engage the enemy politically, militarily, diplomatically, culturally and economically. To intensify the struggle we must mobilise our people the length and breadth of our country. To do this we need, inter alia, to:

1.4.1 Increase the number of our fulltime organisers.

1.4.2 Expand our information network inside and outside the country.

1.4.3 Provide the means by which our MK cadres can be sustained.

1.4.4 Intensify our offensive internationally.

1.4.5 Step up the campaign for comprehensive mandatory sanctions.

1.4.6 Galvanise the international community to move from mere verbal condemnation of the Pretoria regime to decisive action against it and active support for the ANC.

1.5 The workshop placed the emphasis on centralised planning, co-ordination, control and implementation. Our common approach to work, the unity of purpose with which all departments, committees and cadres discussed and resolved issues and problems, the full and frank discussions over the seven days of deliberations, resulted in the following findings.

### 2. Findings and Recommendations

2.1 Considering the immensity of the task and workload falling on the Office of the Treasurer-General, this workshop recommends that:

2.1.1 In accordance with the decisions of the second National Consultative Conference, a Department of Economics and Planning be created within the structure of the Office of the Treasurer-General with the task of formulating a National Budget and an overall Economic Plan.

2.1.2 The strengthening of the Office of the Treasurer along the lines proposed by the National Consultative Conference and the NEC, including the appointment of a Deputy Treasurer-General and all other essential personnel.

2.1.3 The tasks of the Deputy Treasurer-General be defin-

ed to include the management of finances, overseeing the efficient management of the different organs of the Treasury, and representing the Treasurer-General in his absence.

2.1.4 That all the departments within the Office of the Treasurer-General be strengthened by the correct deployment and allocation of essential personnel, for whom the necessary facilities for training be provided. In particular, steps should be urgently taken to train accountants.

### 3. Regional Treasury

3.1 Optimally Regional Treasurers should be appointed in all areas in accordance with the structure of the Office of the Regional Treasury as approved by the NEC.

3.2 That the regional treasurer, chief representative and chairman of the RFC maintain harmonious relations, collective decision-making and a monthly review of all matters pertaining to the Treasury, through the Regional Treasury Secretariat.

3.3 The Regional Treasury Secretariat is required to submit monthly reports to the Treasurer-General through (and with copies to) the chief representative, to the RFC and the Treasury Secretariat.

3.4 That the regional treasurer be an ex-officio member of the RFC in all regions.

3.5 That the Office of the Treasurer-General should take steps to ensure the introduction of uniform and satisfactory guidelines for operation in all areas, including the maintenance of adequate records.

### 4. Planning, Control and Communication

4.1 Having regard to the overlap of requests to donors and the need for a systematic presentation of requisitions, this workshop recommends that all projects be submitted through the Projects Department of the Office of the Treasurer-General.

4.2 That full use be made of donor funds available by presenting projects that are professionally prepared and speedily dealt with by the Projects Department.

### 5. Budgeting

5.1 The compilation of an annual budget is absolutely necessary for the efficient working of our whole organisation. Careful husbandry, elimination of waste and proper

allocation of our resources cannot be ensured in the absence of regular budgets. The budget must be tailored to the specific conditions obtaining in each region.

5.2 At the present moment the organisation is woefully ignorant of budgeting procedures and skills. This is a serious defect which must be remedied, if necessary by selecting cadres for specialised planning and budgetary training. For this purpose the Office of the Treasurer-General must draw up a set of rules to guide the regional treasurers, departments, sections and offices of the movement.

5.3 All sections and departments at Headquarters as well as regional treasuries must submit budgets for approval to the Office of the Treasurer-General. For this purpose it is essential that the Office of the Treasurer-General should, without delay, draw up guidelines to enable regional treasurers to become an integrated part of the process involved in drawing up a national budget for the ANC as a whole.

5.4 That ultimately all budget allocation is decided upon by the Supreme Finance Committee.

## 6. Fundraising Structures

6.1 It is necessary to systematise and strengthen fundraising activities. This workshop recommends that a National Fundraising Committee be created within the Office of the Treasurer-General, that a full time senior ANC member to head this Committee be appointed, and be based at Headquarters.

6.2 The work of this Committee be to establish regional fundraising committees, to stimulate, guide and monitor fundraising throughout the movement and in all countries.

6.3 The main tasks of the National Fundraising Committee are to establish fundraising committees, monitor the work of regional fundraising committees, and present six-monthly reports on all fundraising activities to the Office of the Treasurer-General.

6.4 The Regional Fundraising Committees be established in all areas in such a manner as to strengthen the local anti-apartheid work. Such committees undertake all steps and procedures designed to attract gifts, subscriptions and contributions of other kinds to the work of the ANC in accordance with the directives of the National Fundraising Committee.

6.5 That such committees ensure proper planning, co-ordination and accountability to the relevant ANC structures. The work of the regional fundraising committees be carried out in co-operation with the existing anti-apartheid movements, support groups, sympathisers and other members of the local community.

6.6 That regional fundraising committees be accountable to the Regional Treasury Secretariat for all their activities and ensure that proper records are kept. The chief representative and the chairman of the RFC will be ex-officio members, and the regional treasurer a member of the regional fundraising committee.

## 7. Programme of Action for Five Years

7.1 This workshop emphasises that raising funds for the prosecution of our struggle is an important political act. At this crucial stage it is the responsibility of every member to be involved in fundraising activities.

### 7.2 Recommendations for Raising Funds Immediately

7.2.1 Every member is obliged to pay an annual subscription,

the amount to be determined by the RPC. In addition members who are gainfully employed outside the ANC are required to pay a levy of at least 5% of net income.

7.2.2 The broadest possible spectrum of South Africans, wherever they may be, should be mobilised to contribute directly to the movement in cash or kind.

7.2.3 Sympathisers and supporters must be encouraged to make financial contributions.

7.2.4 That ANC publicity material must be produced and made available to all missions for the widest possible distribu-

tion and sale. Regional Fundraising Committees should utilise the facilities of the DIP for production of all material relevant to their fundraising activities, including preparation of information packs.

7.2.5 Pledges, appeal forms and stop orders are an effective means of fundraising. Appeal leaflets with stop order forms should be available in all regions and circulated through journals and sympathetic organisations, be distributed at public meetings, functions and through the post.

7.2.6 This workshop recommends the setting up of a Fund to be called the tANC FREE SOUTH AFRICA FUNDi. The purpose and nature of this fund is explained in detail in the report of Commission B, paragraph 2. 1.3. We further recommend that the Fund be launched on a suitable occasion by our President. A draft appeal in the form of a letter which will go out to individuals and organisations is in preparation.

7.2.7 To bridge the gap between our immediate pressing needs and the results of long term fundraising ventures, we recommend that an appeal be made to heads of state and government, and governments themselves, along the lines of the above appeal by President Tambo, and that arrangements be made to establish and maintain contacts of this nature.

7.3 Recommendations for Intermediate Fundraising

7.3.1 That Regional Fundraising Committees be urged to canvass friendly governments, organisations, airlines, travel agents, etc, for money contributions, and items such as TVs, hi-fi sets, and motor bikes. These articles can be raffled or offered as prizes in competitions or quizzes on apartheid.

7.3.2 Canvass organisations, airlines, governments, etc for package holidays which can be offered as prizes for raffles and quizzes. Each region is urged to organise such raffles.

7.3.3 Leading members of the movement be assisted to identify and make direct appeals to persons of substance for contributions to our cause.

7.4 75th Anniversary of the ANC - January 8, 1987

7.4.1 This can and should be made an occasion for widespread publicity and fundraising campaigns, involving public meetings, sporting and cultural events (eg Africa Cup, One-Day Cricket Matches and Live Aid Concerts), appeals, for cash donations, the sale of ANC literature, flags, pennants, badges, posters and so on.

7.4.2 That posters and leaflets advertising the event be circulated to all regions by no later than April 30, 1986.

7.4.3 Commemorative items be produced, such as medals, coins, diaries, calendars, to be made available for distribution and sale in all regions by no later than September 1986.

7.4.4 Considering the wide scope and great potential of such a campaign, the workshop recommends that a 75th Anniversary Campaign Committee be formed to plan and execute the campaign. One of the functions of the committee will

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be to extract from workshop papers and other sources ideas and proposals to enrich this campaign. In the mean time fundraising activities connected with the 75th anniversary should begin at once, pending the creation of such a Campaign Committee. '

7.4.5 The 10th Anniversary of the Soweto Uprising should be widely publicised. It has great political significance, being one of the major turning points in the development of our revolution, and has important fundraising potential. Prepare an exhibition of photos, books, articles, leaflets, posters and other items recording and analysing the Soweto Uprising.

7.4.6 Other anniversaries that could be given similar prominence and used for fundraising are the 100th Anniversary of May Day, the 30th Anniversary of South African Women's Day, August 9, and the 40th Anniversary of the 1946 Mineworkers' Strike. Other anniversaries could likewise be used as focal points for fundraising campaigns.

7.4.7 Target groups for fundraising consist of people who would respond positively to appeals such as South Africans, anti-apartheid groups, professional bodies, students and pupils, as well as all the clergy and laity, and non-governmental organisations.

7.4.8 This being the International Year of Peace, special attention should be given to organising and mobilising all peace lovers to defend peace by contributing generously to our ANC Free South Africa Fund.

7.4.9 This workshop considers that the riches of our traditional and progressive arts, culture and music should be given maximum exposure and be harnessed to our fundraising efforts, while at the same time conveying the message of our struggle.

7.4.10 This can be realised through the sale of artefacts, paintings, sculpture; by organising concerts, festivals, plays and cultural dances; sports events, films and videos; all under the slogan **ART TO DEFEAT APARTHEID**

7.4.11 This workshop recommends that organised and systematic methods of procurement, production and sale be investigated, and those suitable implemented. Specific proposals are detailed in the Report of Commission A, together with proposals on concerts, theatre, and sports. In addition, attention is drawn to the suggestion contained in the report that an ANC publishing house be set up and organised as a commercial venture.

7.4.12 Workshop recommends that cultural centres for production of items for sale such as carvings, sculpture, leather work, etc be established forthwith in Mazimbu, the ANC Development Centre Dakawa and Angola, to fully realise the existing potential of our own artists and craftsmen and women. This work could be widely exhibited, accompanied by the display of material explaining our cause.

7.4.13 DIP and Department of Arts and Culture establish a commercial graphic enterprise to launch, maintain and expand a co-ordinated international fundraising campaign using our materials to fight a propaganda war and raise funds. Every effort should be made to ensure close inter-departmental co-operation thereby effectively utilising all our resources.

7.4.14 This workshop, having given careful consideration to our all-round achievements, urges all fundraising units and activists to include in their operations methods of informing the public of our significant advances in the field of childcare, education, arts and culture. The printed material produced on Somafo and the ANC Development Centre - Dakawa - is especially suitable for this purpose. Let us acquaint South Africans with our work in these fields and ask them to support South African children who are being cared for and educated away from home, but under conditions that safeguard their health and development.

7.5 Long-term Fundraising

7.5.1 That long-term projects, including the establishment

of small industries, be undertaken to generate funds.

7.5.2 That all projects be defined in terms of ability to meet four criteria: productive engagement of our cadres, cadre training, self-sufficiency and creation of funds.

7.5.3 That adequate monitoring and control structures, with suitably qualified personnel, be established at Headquarters within the Office of the Treasurer-General, with the mandate to thoroughly investigate existing projects, with a view to making them viable and to establish managerial control structures on project sites.

7.5.4 That the function of management control structures be clearly defined, using the recommendations of Commission D as guidelines.

7.5.5 The evaluation of existing and proposed projects be guided by principles that include the capital required, product demand by both the organisation and general public, thorough cost analysis to determine production, distribution costs, optimal location and market trends; the continuous availability of all materials and our manufacturing and administrative skills.

7.5.6 That existing projects be examined to determine ways of placing them on a sound financial footing; and that all projects suggested by this workshop be assessed by the appropriate body of the Office of the Treasurer-General, using the above guidelines: and that those found suitable be undertaken without delay.

## 8. Conclusions

8.1 That this historic workshop, after seven days of deliberations, has outlined a Programme of Action which will provide the movement with the material means to ensure self-sufficiency and the continuous intensification of our struggle.

8.2 The Treasurer-General to initiate discussions with the Secretary-General to look into the transfer of the Health Department, being an integral part of Welfare, to the Office of the Treasurer-General.

8.3 That the NEC ensures that each and every member is actively engaged in productive work in the different spheres of our movement and that all measures be taken to guarantee the most effective deployment of the cadres in all our projects.

8.4 That the relevant structures of the movement be instructed to immediately implement this Programme of Action as it applies to their departments, regions and sections, under the guidance of the Office of the Treasurer-General.

8.5 That the address of the Treasurer-General to the workshop, the five Commission Reports and this Final Workshop document be made available to all regions, departments and sections, within one month from the end of this workshop, and that all these hold immediate report back meetings in their respective areas.

8.6 That the Office of the Treasurer-General immediately creates an Action Committee to commence the implementation of the recommendations of this historic workshop pending the institution of the National Fundraising Committee.

The workshop was closed with an address by Comrade Robert Mancini, member of the NEC, who thanked the participants for their contributions, and exhorted them to spare no effort in translating this Programme of Action into reality without delay.

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS NATIONAL FUND

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RAISING WORKSHOP March 14 - 20, 1986\_

SOLOMON MAHLANGU FREEDOM COLLEGE

Some points to be considered on the topic : SOLICITING  
LARGE GIFTS

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Prepared by Comrade Manala Manzini

On several occasions sympathisers and support groups have launched campaigns for material and financial resources in support of the struggle of our people, as led by our organisation the ANC.

When we meet in our workshop to discuss the important question of fund raising, one of the areas we need to address ourselves to is how to go about soliciting large gifts, from people who have not already identified themselves as ANC supporters.

What do we mean by this, and how should we approach the task?

To clarify the question we give you one example of the experience of one of our comrades. The comrade had this to say. Firstly she used to go through all the progressive journals and newspapers concentrating on the advertisement section, shops, garages, tourist agencies, wholesalers etc. Because the above categories were advertising in progressive journals, .. in many cases after a discussion they became very sympathetic to our cause and when invited would make material or financial contributions. In the case of material given it ranged 'rom furniture, electrical goods, cloths, food. paintings, china and a tourist agency offered a free holiday for two (which was raffled): motor car spairs etc.

There are many more examples that could be given, vast possibilities which have not yet been explored.

Furthermore, through some of the initial contacts we can be introduced to their friends, and from those friends to other friends!

Sometimes, of course these sympathisers do not want to be seen publicly associating themselves with the ANC. In which case we shall have to devise carefully ways of handling this aspect.

In doing this type of work it must be properly organised. Not every member of the movement should go about collecting in this way. Members should be asked to identify such possible donors and referred to the appropriate structure i.e. The Regional Fund Raising Committee . Proper records of all gifts received must be kept and all donors must be officially thanked however large or small their contribution.

There are many such friends and supporters we can win.

The challenge is before us.

ALL FOR THE FRONT ALL FOR VICTORY.

SOMAFCO - 14 to 20 MARCH 1986.

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PUBLICITY.

The DIP would like to emphasise that fundraising is a political task and our publicity is an integral part of fundraising. At this historic workshop, the DIP would like to raise the following points for discussion:

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This occasion provides us with a forum within which we can work out ways and means by which the DIP can better meet the information and publicity needs of the movement as a whole. We should look at the role DIP could play to maximise our participation in such events as the various fetes eg: those held in France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Dar es Salaam etc. Items such as T-shirts, badges, posters, cards, stickers etc could have extensive sales at such events. The demand for ANC flags and pennants is enormous, and they should be produced for all areas.

There should be better utilisation by the DIP of Treasury facilities and connections when production of DIP material is considered. We should aim to produce a great deal of our material without resorting to utilisation of ANC funds; Solidarity organisations and other groups should be approached to pay for items such as posters, stickers, booklets, pamphlets etc. In this way the movement would benefit by not spending money on production, and because proceeds from sales will come to the ANC.

However,  
there needs to be discussion and clarification on how DIP slots into the various needs of the movement as a whole and our campaigns.

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4. We need to pay particular attention to ' Africa in terms of-our propaganda \_ both in form and content. The use of English as the only language of publication is a great disadvantage and ways of.remedying this situation should be found.

15. We need to look at how the material needs of the DIP can be obtained through solidarity action. For example, DIP uses tons of paper, thousands of envelopes, vast quantities of ink, a great variety of equipment etc. Every effort should be made to obtain these items without resorting to ANC funds.

6. we suggest that the Office of the Treasurer .General makes greater use of DIP and publicity generally tot project their appeals and needs, self-sufficiency drives and projects. There is an overwhelming international public response to the needs of the ANC and our people. Public appeals and correct utilisation of publicity will generate a corresponding public respOnse. There is no need for us to be short of basic items such as clothing, toiletries, ' specified medical supplies etc. The wilflingness of the international community to donate such items such as short, direct appeals in a variety of forms, includihg leaflets, are essential; However, we \_ should avoid giossy and expensive-looking presentation, bearing in mind that we are appealing for funds. The Office of thei Treasurer General Should utilise the DIP to facilitate production of such appeals - particularly the presentation.

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Material/cloth printed in various ANC colours and designs is enormously popular and a whole range of such material could be produced for international and home sales. Its visual effect in demonstrations, marches, rallies and funerals is tremendous - 'legalising' the ANC in illegal conditions, visually portraying peoples support for the ANC. '

International interest in South Africa includes the area of craft skills. What is the possibility of creating craft, work-7' shops for the production of beadwork, batks

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etc, which can be sold at international fetes and events? :

T-shirts, badges, carrier bags; posters are all very popular. 'We need to make more extensive use of good designs. 'Designs from one region should be made available to other regions. 'Samples of all such items produced should be sent to DIP (HQ) and DIP (UK) so that their usage can spread to all regions. 0

The movement as a whole should look at ways of utilising DIP skills and expertise in the many and varied campaigns we launch.

'1987 is the 75th anniversary of the foundation of the ANC. In order to reflect this historic year adequately, the movement should establish a working group to plan our activities. Items such as a commemorative diary could be produced and distributed both at home and worldwide, generating extensive funds. Cost of production for 10,000 diaries is approximately 3,750 pounds sterling. Each diary can easily be sold for

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at least 2 pounds. This needs effective and early planning as such an item must be on sale by no later than September to have widespread distribution.

Any fundraising drive we launch requires, publicity. This ranges from information, public relations, lobbying, advertising and "packaging" the drive, and would involve a multi-media approach, including culture.

DIP should be utilised to give\_maximom publicity to any fundraising drive.

Given DIP's growing technical skills base, we should look at which areas could begin undertaking contractual production -.we have facilities for typesetting, printing, word processing, film, photography etc which should begin to raise funds for the movement if properly organised, managed and quality work\_iswproduoed.u l I '

All 9ur publicat19ns must be on subscrption as a principle, with a carefully selected a list of recipients being supplied on a complimentary basis. We should also run an effective circulation department which would mean that our publications are in all the major bookshops and institutes, while at the same time we generate funds, inform people and convey our political positions.

It is possible to arrange and undertake extensive lecture tours. Fees are high, and these can be a source of unfettered funds for the movement. Clarification is also needed with regard to monies paid to cadres who are undertaking this kind of work at present.

16. Organisations, institutions and individuals

' can be organised to commit certain regular amounts to the movement as a percentage of their income or profits.

17. Financial management: Proper financial administration, economy, cost-effectiveness etc can release or save funds. In this regard we should look at means of travel, methods of purchase, self-sufficiency etc.

For the above to be effective we need to emphasise proper planning, advance preparation and effective co-ordination for the movement as a whole to both raise funds and ensure our views are heard and our political positions known.'



WORKSHOP March 14 - 20, 1986

REPORT YOUTH smwion ' - FUND RAISING ACTIVITIES

Under the auspices of the abovementioned structures, it has been possible for the Youth Section to raise funds and material assistance through bilateral and multilateral contacts. (The activities have not been well coordinated because of a lack or absence of a clear policy on the part of the movement. Certain sources are tapped by the Youth and once they start functioning or donating, 'no information is communicated to us. I

1. ANC Students Abroad (Regional Youth Organisations).\_\_

3.) Monthly payment of a certain percentage of their stipend. to the union  
8.8 e\_subscription fee; ' ' "

o) Oi-genising of concerts, bazaars and fund raising parties on national 6.835;

e) Work camps 'hy all students in the socialist countries hosted. by one of the unidhs, eg mlgaria or Hungary.

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Fund raising by students and youth in the capitalist countries falls within the jurisdiction of the Office or Mission concerned of the movement. From reports and information from the missions concerned, substantial funds and material have been collected.

## 2. Foreign Organisations.

In this grouping falls regional, national and international organisations cooperating with us. In the last few years, especially since the reorganisation of the Youth Section at the Morogoro Youth Conference, broad relations have developed with several youth and student organisations. Consequently, we have been able to receive directly and indirectly financial and material assistance to the ANC Youth Section. As a rule, all financial contributions and donations are deposited with the office of the Treasurer General.

Fund raising actions are related to several political activities and events at home and internationally. At the present moment we are involved in fund raising activities with the SDAJ of FRG, FDJ of GDR and the International Union of Students (IUS) through affiliate unions.

### SDM Fund Raising Activity:

There is a current three month fund raising campaign in the FRG by the Young Socialist Workers for the ANC Youth. Grassroot organisations of SDAJ have adopted about ten young MK combatants, currently in racial war, and are mobilising mass meetings in their names for their families. The campaign will run up to the SDAJ/Spartakus 5th Festival of Political Songs. If the campaign becomes successful, it will be repeated yearly.

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Following discussions with the IUS Secretariat and the concern the international student movement has raised towards the plight of the South African students, we proposed a European tour of Amandla Cultural Ensemble. The tour would cover GDR, West Berlin, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Denmark. The proceeds from performances in the socialist countries would be used to purchase material goods to be proposed to the IUS. As for proceeds from capitalist countries, they would be donated in money form to the ANC Youth Section.

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At the present moment the Young Gommists of France are mine a similar exemise.

We hepe to keep the office of the Treasurer General informed on future activities in this regard.

Once more, it is our hope that the coming National Fund Raising Workshop will come up with a. concrete 9W9 of action.

.WORKSHOPu March 14 - 20I 1286 (?;ii E;

SOLOMON MAHLANGU. FREEDOM COLLEGE

SMALL INDUSTRIES AND RESTAURANTS

FEASIBILITY STUDY ON THE ANC MANAGING SUCH CONCERNS IN AFRICA AND ELSEWHERE AS WELL AS THE PRACTICAL AND REALISTIC' EXAMINATION OF THE PROBLEMS AND ORGANISATIONAL PROCEDURES CONNECTED WITH SUCH UNDERTAKINGS.

WORKING PAPER BY NATTIE MARCUS I

1. Approach to Treasury Management

1.1 Introduction

This important workshop is undertaken to examine ways and means of creating financial resources to supplement the funds presently available and in order to attain this objective it is important to have a clear conception of what factors must be considered.

1.2 Primary Objectives

The primary objectives of all our future raising undertakings should be as follows: i

a) Self Sufficiency

b) Creation of Funds

c) Cadre Training

d) Deployment of Personnel.

At this point in time we are engaged in the following projects in many areas:

-Agriculture; This embraces crops; piggyery, poultry, animal husbandry, vegetable production.

(Each of these sectors demands its own specialised managerial skills)

-Building and Construction :

-Furniture Factory

- Carpentry Workshop

-Clothing Factory

-Cobbler and Shoe Repairs

-Motor Mechanical Workshop

-Printing Shops

What guidelines do we consider when establishing workshops/projects and how do we attain our objectives?

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These questions can only be answered by an intense investigation into all these projects to ascertain how each project is conducting and recording its daily activities and at the same time, from the information obtained establish the financial position of each of the projects at a given date. This gives us the starting point which must be established for all the projects. From this stage onwards, each project must keep financial and other records in a manner determined by the Treasury.

This information will be submitted on proper forms designed by Headquarters and submitted to Headquarters on a regular monthly basis. This record keeping is essential to provide Headquarters with the necessary information for proper planning and efficient working.

#### 1.2 Treasury Control

How does the Treasury exercise managerial control?

This control will basically depend on the information obtained from the projects on a regular monthly basis. In order to make the control effective, the pre-arranged administrative bodies must be set up, both at Headquarters and on site.

The function of such a body, a department of the Treasury, will be as follows:

- a) The examination of all existing projects with a view to establishing the financial position as at a given date.
- b) The establishment of a uniform method of financial recording which is applicable to all projects.
- c) The analysis of such financial return in respect of each project so as to enable the Treasury to assess the progress and general state of affairs of each project at all times.
- d) To exercise financial control over all projects in all its aspects.
- e) To exercise full managerial control of all staff appointments, dismissals and transfers.
- f) To develop Cadre training including the managerial fields.
- g) All new projects to be the responsibility of this department:
  - each new project submitted must be examined and discussed fully on the basis of the established agreed criteria. \_
  - The department to develop the expertise to assess all such proposals and evaluate their viability - and in this way secure the optimum benefit to the Movement.

h) Prepare consolidated reports on all projects at regular intervals for consideration by the Treasury, thus keeping the Treasury fully informed at all times in this regard

## 2. Factors to be Considered when Undertaking Projects

### 2.1 Capital Required

Capital is often provided by solidarity groups in the form of equipment etc, and this aspect of ready support may influence us to involve ourselves in projects that on clear reflection are not necessarily of benefit to us. Moreover, the nature of the equipment, the manner of operations must be considered professionally. We need experienced guidance. Thus for example our installations of plants may create a dependence on foreign currency reserves for all time. Inclusive of this cost are the funds required to sustain the project. Thus the cost factor is not only the initial purchases through solidarity funds but also the labour cost, local raw materials necessary to give effect to the project until such time as the project becomes self-sufficient and/or generates funds.

### 2.2 Product Demand both by the Organisation and General Public

The project may be conceived to satisfy the needs of the community but already at this early stage, the project should be planned to enable expansion to take place to satisfy public demand, without undue expense and disruption. Increased production reduces the unit costs, with all the attendant benefits to the organisation.

### 2.3 Cost Analysis to Determine Production and Distribution Costs

Projections must be made of estimated costs to establish whether the project can be profitable. This analysis of production and manufacturing processes, will provide an added insight into the prospects, difficulties etc, which have to be resolved before inception.

### 2.4 Continuous Availability of all Materials

A dependence on overseas supplies would result in a drain on foreign currency reserves. The extent of this dependence must influence our decisions.

### 2.5 Manufacturing and Administrative Skills

These are skills particular to the project under consideration. Success or failure will often depend on the abilities of the project manager.

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g) The entire proceeds are cash. No effective means can be used to knee control of cash and limit theft. --

h) This type of business, in order to be profitable, should be run either as a family business or a food chain. The former would not give us the return needed, the latter requires huge capital investment and capable and trained managerial personnel.

A business of this type and size in London is not suitable for the purpose of generating funds. The above criteria would, in the main, be applicable to all this type of project in any other country.

#### 4.2 Summarz

I have attached herete the type of 'aaeStions which ariSe for consideration of the purchasa of restaurants in London. This could apply equally to other small mprojects. New projects;...oa.rmot, in my view, be seriously considered unmlt'the'eriteria governing projects have beeh satisfied. It would, however, be possible to consider other forms in whiohtless dependence is placed on the existence of competent managerial and administrative skills .

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The present economic situation in Tanzania is one offetbid-iazfladdon, a ... very weak infreT-structure and a scarcity oftcapital goods and accessories.

necessary for the establislment of a viable business, mch as a workshop.

The situation in the UK as well as in Western EnrOpe is one of the liquidation of the small and large engineering workshops. Machinery is thus available for purchese at liquidation-prices.

The proposed project would thus be favourable in the climate that prevails at pres ent .

#### 5.1 The Project

Setting up the necessary structure to purchase seoond-hand materials, plant and. machinery and equipment etc, in England for resale or investment in Tanzania.

This structure would be as follows:

- BtablShing an enterprise with a low initial capital. The enterprise to be an import and export agency with a telephone, telex and postal address in London.

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a) The purchase of goods, equipment etc with 1; view to immediate sale in Tanzania.

The price to be paid is crucial and must ensure a favourable return on the investment.

These goods would remain the property of the ANC until sold.

The proceeds of these transactions to be paid into a Special account in Tanzania and the corresponding amount paid into the funds in the London office.

b) The purchase of equipment for the purpose of establishing workshops, etc.

5.2 Establishment of a workshop

The advantage of this would be the quick start and this ensures constant earnings on a very low investment.

a) A licensed business enterprise would be mastered. An agreement of partnership would be entered into with suitable selected individuals with the provision that the ANC or its nominee holds 51% of the enterprise;

b) The ANC would purchase the equipment necessary and enter into an agreement to lease the equipment to the business. The equipment thus remains the property of the organisation.

c) A lease agreement, would internalise, provide for a payment of an lease premium based on a percentage of turnover or a minimum amount; whichever is the greater.

d) The lease premium would be paid into a Special banking account for the transfer of funds to the ANC. Thus funds would be transferred irrespective of the state of the affairs of the workshop and or its profitability.

### 5.3 Conclusion

This type of project would be advantageous to the ANC for the following reasons:

a) Input of foreign currency is limited to the initial purchase of equipment apart from the purchase of spares for the maintenance of the plant (when necessary).

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- b) A return on investment is fixed and could represent a. substantial return irrespective of the profitability of the business.
- c) The capital goods remain the property of the ANC as they are being leased.
- d) The project is dependent on foreign currency for the supply of parts, etc and additional equipment only.
- 9) This izype of project offers many Opportunities of expansion into different areas of production and services, etc.
- f) Because of low capital investment and expenditure and quick returns dependency on donors is considerably reduced.

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS ' . 1.1. 1.1... \_  
NATIONAL FUND - N wo P MAR  
SOLOMON MAHLANGU FREEDOM COLLEGE  
MEMORANDUM  
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION  
FUND RAISING IJORIqOP

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Since its inception in 1978, the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom college has been an important focal point in our fund-raising activities; The money received from donors, support groups and individuals in many countries has gone a long way to meeting the enormous costs involved in the building of the Mazimbu complex. It continues to be an important mobilising agency enlisting a sympathetic response from members of the general public in socialist and capitalist countries who give generously to the movement's welfare and educational work.

The physical structure erected in Mazimbu and the eager participation of the youth of SOMAFSCO have aroused interest and elicited a positive response also in circles that do not always approve of our armed struggle and revolutionary policies. It would be a mistake, therefore, to separate the educational and relief side of our activities - from fundraising from the internal struggles. They belong together and should be presented as a whole, with the emphasis on our policy of self-reliance and goal of maintaining our cadres out of our own productive enterprises.

Our policy and achievements have been recognised by major donors such as United Nations Agencies, SIDA and other Scandinavian aid organisations. To underline the importance of this recognition we refer to the report of the joint Terminal Evaluation Commission of September-October 1985. The Commission, consisting of representatives of UNDP, UNESCO and OAU, reported that the ANC "continues to make excellent progress with assistance received from many donors"; is "very well organised and fully conscious of its development priorities and needs"; and has had to cope with an unplanned shift; in our systematic approach resulting from the influx that followed the Nkomati Accord of March 1984". The report notes that Mazimbu is expected to have a population of 2 500 by the end of 1986, while Dakawa, with 300 ANC members at the time of the Commission's visit, may grow to 5 000 in the next two or three years.

One of the Department's urgent aims is to improve the quality of teaching in SOMAFSCO schools and provide qualified instructors for the Dakawa Orientation Centre and Vocational Training Centre. In addition there is need for specialists in education administration and curriculum development - "areas in which the (evaluation) mission found a great need in ANC educational projects". In the and other specified areas of development the ARC failed to provide qualified candidates for study. The Department also needs to upgrade its present teaching staff through Workshops, Seminars and other short courses.

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5. The Department recognises that the ANC should make strenuous efforts to obtain suitable candidates for higher education in both university subjects, such as Biology, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Geography, History, and Vocational subjects; including Mechanical Engineering, Metal Work, Electrical Installation and all branches of construction. The recruiting should be undertaken by a special committee which includes specialists in these fields, as well as DMD, the National Scholarship Committee and representatives of the Construction Department at Mazimbu/bakawa.

6. Funds and places for training can be obtained from official UN donors and sympathetic governments. Nevertheless, reference to current needs for systematic training of teachers and instructors should be included in a brochure setting out the ANC's needs for the next five years, 1986-90-.

#### 7. Fund Raising

- The Department should continue to draw funds from UNESCO and other United Nations Agencies for 1987-1991 cycle.

- It should explore ways of utilizing 5 million Canadian Dollars that have been set aside to support increased education and training of Blacks in South Africa and Canada". The Treasurer General will have to advise on this matter.

- The Department should raise funds from the National Herd University Services such as Danish WUS which has set aside one million Tanzanian shillings for maintenance of students at the Dakawa V.T.C. and those being trained elsewhere in Tanzania.

- We should look into the possibilities of raising funds for education/training from the Ford Foundation.

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THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRES NATIONAL FUND RAISING %

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WORKSHOP March 14 - 20: 1286

SOLOMON MAHLANGU FREEDOM COLLEGE

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National Fund Raising WorkShop, aimed at searching, discussing and. adopting a. new policy guideline for mobilising funds for the successful. waging of the armed struggle at home. The event in itself is a. positive step towards the implementation of the decisions of the National Consultative Conference (NCO) held. last June in Kabwe, Zambia.

Fund raising for a movement like ours is a political act, closely related to the general aims and objectives of our revolution. It should not be examined purely on the basis of productivity and profitability of projects and/or raising large sums of money within a short period of time. Our approach should be guided by the politico-military objectives falling within the next five year period referred to in the memorandum. A proper balance must be born in mind between internal activities, administration, welfare and other demands of the general membership based outside the country.

The NYS agrees with the aims and objectives of the workshop and is of the opinion that the subject is theoretically well understood by both the general membership and leadership of the Movement. The problem lies with practical implementation of the countless proposals and recommendations forwarded at different times by various units, departments and regions of the movement. It is worth underlining particularly those submitted for the discussion and approval of the National Consultative Conference.

The NYS, therefore, calls on the National Fund. Raising Workshop Organising Committee to baSe their recommendation to the Workshop itself on the above-mentioned recommendations, notwithstanding the additional ideas and views presently being submitted for: your compilation for the event. The central theme throughout the Workshop should be creation of viable structures for supervision and coordination of the fund raising campaigns and projects. The success of the above proposal lies in linking it to the correct placement of cadres, that is balancing political considerations with professional skills and interest. Several projects of the movement, particularly in the region are running at a loss due to the mismanagement as well as lack or absence of accountability. In some cases corruption 2/...

becomes the order of the day since culprits go free.

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

NATIONAL FUND RAISING WORKSHOP MARQH 14-20th 1286

SOLOMON MAHLANGU FREEDOM COLLEGE

\_s 0 U T H A F R t i c A N c o N ' G R E s g o F T R A D E U N I o N s  
R E P O R T

It is a recognised fact that fund raising activity is an important Political task. This is so, because the National Liberation Movement, led by the ANC, is waging a struggle for emancipation has to convince the people of the worthiness of its cause. It is only then that support from the oppressed people and the International Community will be forthcoming. We can say, with a large measure of confidence that our struggle for the realisation of the Freedom Charter has tremendous following in our country and also in the International Community. In view of this, we have tremendous potential to raise funds and mobilise material assistance for our revolution. In the light of the rebellion on the Home front and the growing support for our struggle internationally, we should exploit the opportunity to launch a massive drive for funds and material assistance.

We should seize the opportunity and draw a bold and clear plan for various fund raising and material mobilising activities.

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The plan should include some of the following areas of work:

1. International Projects
2. External "
3. Government and NGO's
4. Bazaars (Arts and Crafts)
5. Amandla Cultural Group

In order to effectively tackle the above tasks we should create a strong National Fund Raising And Material Mobilisation Committee. Such a committee should be charged with the task of planning, directing and managing the whole aspect of this work.

This committee should set up its own administrative machinery which should work under the jurisdiction of the office of the Treasurer General. The committee should have at least five full-time functionaries. It should also be given full power: to set up committees for the forementioned tasks where ever necessary and expedient. We wish to sound a note of warning that fund raising and material mobilisation cannot be done on a part-time basis but it needs full-time personnel who will tackle this huge and important task vigorously.

Brief amplification on the above mentioned projects.

a) We ought to select a few areas in this regard such as:

(i) Garment factories

(ii) Retail shops

(iii) Real estate (property development)

These various enterprises would also give us an opportunity to carry out both overt and covert activities.

b) External Projects:

We have several projects mainly in Africa.

Whilst these projects are functioning, they are in dire need of suitably qualified personnel in order to make these projects viable. At the present stage we should not create new projects in Africa, but we should consolidate the present ones.

It should be stated that with proper planning and with sufficient resources, these projects have great potential for the future. It should be stated that with proper planning and with sufficient resources, these projects have great potential for the future. It should be stated that with proper planning and with sufficient resources, these projects have great potential for the future.

a) Governments and NGOs

The main problem is the lack of financial assistance from Governments and NGOs.

At our work needs greater attention to get maximum results. As indicated earlier, because of the sharpening of the competition in our country, many Governments and NGOs are reluctant to assist the movement.

tel. gazaags (Agriculture and crafts)

We should organise annual Bazaars on the same lines as is organised by our London Committee in other Western countries as well. We should also consider setting up arts and crafts shops in the U K and other Western countries because such bazaars have proved to be popular in the European countries. Apart from purchasing arts and crafts for such bazaars and shops, we should approach governments who cannot give us financial assistance but who could donate the arts and crafts of their countries (we are thinking here mainly of the Third World Countries).

e) Amandla Cultural Group

The Amandla Group so far has been effectively projecting our Culture and Struggle to the International Community. It has not been organised for Fund Raising purposes. We ought to consider seriously to organise Amandla on a fund raising basis.

If properly tackled, we could raise large sums of money.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS which is part and parcel of the National Liberation Movement is raising funds and material assistance in the following fields:

- 1) Trade Unions
- 2) Strike Fund
- 3) NGO's

Trade Unions have been supporting SACTU on the basis of projects.

Some of the SACTU projects are:

- 1) Education and Research
- ii) SACTU full-time organisers Internally
- iii) Workers Unity etc

These projects are mainly for Home front activities.

We also raise funds for running SACTU's Administration.

SACTU has a Strike Fund which was launched in 1980 for the following purposes:

- a) To assist workers on strike
- b) To assist families of those imprisoned, detained etc
- c) To give legal aid
- d) To educate workers on the Strike Weapon and Trade Unionism.

SACTU directs its appeal to trade unions in the socialist Community of nations, non aligned and western countries.

It also has two fixed properties and it derives benefits so far from only one. The other would be a source of income as soon as it becomes a freehold property.

CONCLUSION:

We are confident that the first ANC NATIONAL FUND RAISING WORK SHOP will seriously examine the proposals made herein and also



others with a view of drawing up ,a comprehensive plan.  
We wish the deliberations of the Workshop every success.

LUSAKA

h/03/86.

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6. What other organisations are already doing :

a) MRAP - Solidarity

Sold a badge and over about three months made 10,000 FF.

Unfortunately this money was earmarked for medicines for our children. I have asked them to start another such project for our needs.

b) Movement Anti-Apartheid

This organisation has started a T Franc Campaign in support of the ANC.

c) CGT

CGT have been requested that they support the South African Miners Campaign.

I have other ideas which I think should be discussed at the Workshop.

PARIS

January 23rd. 1986.

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, THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA  
\_gggIONAL FUND RAISING WORKSHOP March 14-20 1986  
SOLOMON MAHLANGU FREEDOM COLLEGE  
REGION REPQRT - ITALY

Our mission to Italy started in the late seventies. I am the third Chief Representative to be posted to this country. There are no members of our organisation that know of in this country, except for one student who studies about three hundred kilometres from Rome and someone called Govin Reddy who is a journalist.

Our organisation has no office of its own, we conduct our operations from a little corner inside the offices of a sympathetic non-governmental organisation called CIES. This NGO was responsible for the December 1985 visit to Italy of our SOMAFCO students. This mission is staffed solely by the Chief Representative.

In April 1985 I assumed duties. Comrade Thami Sindelo before his departure introduced me to the Communist Party of Italy, comrade Soncini of Reggio Emilia; to two trade unions CGIL and CISL respectively and to the NGO Molisv. These organisations give monthly contributions towards our rent and transport costs. I

MOLISV has had a long relationship with us and has for several years been engaged in ANC projects. In Reggio Emilia, comrade Soncini through the National Committee has spear-headed support programmes. Prominent among these was the sending of two shiploads of solidarity goods to our OOmrades in the West and to East Africa. Mention is also made of support we once received from factory workers in Modena, who donated woodworking machinery for Star Furniture; I am following up this contact.

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This mission has no records of past projects; whatever was done in the past was apparently handled directly between the particular donor and our National Treasury. However, we are presently in the process of reorganising ourselves. Thus far we have had three meetings at the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation together with four NGOs who have expressed interest in understaking projects with the ANC.

#### FUND RAISING

Italy has a population of fiftysix million people and is a multi-party country. There are no records in this office of past fund raising activities that were taken here on our behalf. In this connection through the recently created National Coordinating Committee against Apartheid, we have embarked on a nation wide campaign. Our objective is to conscientise the local public into supporting our just struggle politically and materially.

Financial support in this country is very difficult to obtain. Business houses because of commercial links or other ties to South Africa are reluctant to support us.

CIES has currently launched a subscription campaign for SOMAFCO; prospects for its snccess are bright. In addition to appealing at rallies I have also been speaking toi church groups and recently been given by a Protestant group a cheque for one million lire for our Womens' Section.

Public interest in the South African quuestion continues to grow here in Italy. Local trade unions, NGO's, Catholic and PrOtestant church organisation are willing to fund projects for us but are less enthusiastic when it comes to making cash contributions. Together with the friends I have just mentioned we are in the process of devising ways of ' fund raising apart from project undertakings. Needless to say, the Iltalian lire is not a strong currency, It is strictly controlled and is not negotiatable outside the  
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the E.E.C. countries.

In conclusion, our mission will at the forthcoming Fund Raising Workshop give a comprehensive report. In the meantime, we are seriously addressing ourselves to the President's call of January 8, and are conscious that for our struggle to move we need money. We are gearing ourselves to go out and find it or perish in the effort.

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL VQONGRESS NATIONAL FUND RAISING

WORKSHOP March 14 \_ 20: 1986

SOLOMON MAHLANGU FREEDQE COLLEGE

MADhGASCAR REGIONAL REPORT

It is very difficult to say that we can organise a fund raising committee with the local people, except on an individual basis, also by the occasional commodity contributions from friendly political parties.

Needless to say, foreign currency reserves here are zero.

The one place which one can safely mention for the purposes of fund raising is MAURITIUS.W0 have established contact at an individual level and are awaiting a response from the government.

In Mauritius there is the possibility of drawing large numbers of sympathisers of substance. We have already made some investigations. One person has suggested that we operate a loose partnership, he suggested that he sent goods from Mauritius and we sell them, i.e. find someone who owns a store and would dispose of the items. We would then give a percentage to the owner. We were not keen on this idea.

While inclined to be influenced by the emphasis on the special quality of the participants to the workshop. We think that some latitude should be given, for the simple reason that we have not developed, or in any way encouraged the flair element for fund raising among our people. This flair element is something either inherited or must be encouraged and developed and requires study.

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THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS NATIONAL FUND

RAISING WORKSHOP March 14 - 20, 1986

SOLOMON MAHLANGU iREEDOM COLLEGE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA - Repor .

Background

There has been a marked increase in the United States public interest and awareness of apartheid South Africa. This 'awareness has been successfully translated into active anti apartheid participation by significant segments of the US population. American campuses have been besieged by student divestment groups, community activists, composed of members of the political left, liberals and the Afro-American community have pressed State governments and municipalities to pass divestment measures: and the advent of the Free South Africa Movement has extracted the executive order from the Reagan administration meant to forstall the oposition of sanctions by the Congress of the United States.

The pace of events in the United States is in direct response to the-liberation struggle at home. The growth and strengthening of the labour movement, the birth of the United Democratic Frant, thehupsurge of active and militant resistance to apartheid and its administrative structures in Black communities throughout South Africa and the escalation of MK operations, all served as an impetus for the U.S response. Of paramount importance was the attraction of the news media especially television, to the kindling of the reVolutionary fires in South Africa. The belated clamp down of the news media by the apartheid regime? though successful in diminishing UQS. television coverage of the brutality of the occupation forces in our communities, is nevertheless incapable of erasing the image of that brutality. Censorship of the press has only served to confirm the already established image of a murderous regime. Scenes of a morden military machine facing it off with Black youth has struck a raw nerve with a . good segment of the U.S. public, especially the Black community. There is a palpable anger among American.Blacks deriving from the seeming expendability of Black life. A mirror image

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of Black history in the United States.

(This kind of anger moves people to want to involve themselves meaningfully in the South African struggle. Many of our movement's representatives in the United States have gotten enquiries about how can I help the fighting effort, Prominent elected leaders in the community such as Maxine Waters, Democratic CAUCUA Chairwoman, California Legislature, Gus Newport, Mayor of Berkeley (who addressed the Annual General Meeting of the ANC U.S. branch November 1985) Margaret Burham, former municipal judge in Boston, have all stated their willingness and eagerness to assist the ANC raise unrestricted funds in the United States. We have been requested to come up with the organisational structure into which figures such prominent members of the U.S. society can fit themselves and help us acquire the means by which our revolutionary struggle can be carried forward.

ETngsal for Fund raising campaign lg the ynited States

Submitted by the ANC (USA) Fund raising Task Force.

Because we seek to raise funds that will not be restricted in their use by the liberation movement, the type of organisation we need to set up is a non profit organisation, but not tax exempt. The organisation will be taxable by the Internal Revenue Service and the State in which the corporation will be located. ' '

Board of Directors

A governing board to direct the affairs of the operation would have to be constituted. We propose that the prominent U.S. citizens who want to assist the ANC be recruited into the board. Two major functions will be provided by their participation, One is public visibility, so essential to fund raising, the other is insulation from official harassment, which would be reasonable to expect under any other likely U.S administration. The composition of the rest of the board membership should be from our branch members, The highest officers of our U.S. representation and branch wowed representatives would enhance the board.

Potential suEEorters

Sufficient numbers of blacks, political activists of all hues and perhaps many youths (students and recent graduates)

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and others would provide enough numbers to make the whole project viable. Since there would be no tax gains for donations to a non-tax exempt organisation, very few people indeed would give sizable sums at any one time. We would have to rely on a ULEDGE system (say, starting at 1 dollar per month) from many individuals. Due to the tediousness of such a task we would have to computerize the process for efficiency and speed. We would also have to maintain some communication with the donors, for example, through a newsletter. We think it would be most appropriate for the staff to be ANC members. Fund raising, management and communication skills would be among the requirements for the staff. We have requested opinion on the legal viability of such a set up. Some changes to this proposal may be in order depending on legal expert opinion.

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AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS  
SOLOMON MAHLANGU FREEDOM COLLEGE

The Ahged Kathrada Theatre Unit was formed on July 2nd 1985 by a group of SOMAFCO students. The idea of the drama unit arose during a cultural workshop in SOMAFCO which had been arranged by the Department of Arts and Culture in Lusaka. Comrades Bob Mooki and Cosmo Pieterse met two of the students who were attending the workshop and who are now members of the Tkeatre Unit.

The F'it is named after a hero and leader of the South African people who is at present imprisoned in Pollsmoor. He is a symbol of resistance and the unit wanted to honour his name. The theatre group was formed on the sole initiative of students and is organised and run by them. It falls under the students' Cultural Committee.

A teacher was approached to join the unit because of her interest in drama. By doing this, the unit has put into practice the idea of the student-teacher alliance which is so important in SOMAFCO. Also, because she is white, they are trying to break the embryonic racist myth of "Lacks Only" and "Whites Only" theatre. Other members of the unit are : (at present) Philiswa Biko - playwright, producer, director, actor; Molefe Moleleki - lights; Solly Nkadameng - props; Alan Marsden - props and sound; Triza Bailey - actress; Lebogang Otsekeng - assistant; Stella Marsden - secretary. The Unit is proud to pioneer a new type of theatre in SOMAFCO, non-racial and innovative.

The group's first production is "Unwanted Worker" in which the role of a "coloured" man is played by Triza Bailey. The play was written last year and was to have been put on for the Official Opening of SOMAFCO but this was not possible. The writer of the play, Philiswa Biko, is a very talented young artist and at present he is in Form IV. He has a lot of experience in experimental and community theatre at home and he worked for some time in a mobile non-profit making theatre group WGuerrilla Theatre which performed for the families of detainees and other cultural groups inside the country. This is his first play in SOMAFCO and he was entirely responsible for directing the actress and producing this innovative piece of theatre. Philiswa intends studying theatre when he has completed Form V.

The play is dedicated to his mother and is the realisation of a long-cherished dream. The unit hopes to bring theatre consciousness to the community in Mazimbu and hopes this is just the beginning of the Unit's productions.

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EAST AFRICAN DELE LTION - PROPOSALS FOR FUND-RLISING IN THIS REGION  
PLPER PRESENTED TO FUED-RLISING WORKSHOP

14 - 20 MLRCH 1286

As a community of the African National Congress, we are eager to become self-sufficient and to make our contribution, however humble, to the struggle being waged at home.

We believe that there are possibilities here for raising funds to support our projects, thus relieving Headquarters of the obligation to provide us with money which could be diverted to the political and military areas.

#### 1. Cash Contributions and Bankers Orders

There are many multi-national firms, U.N. based organisations Embassies, volunteer agencies, church and non-Governmental bodies whose members are sympathetic to the aims and objects of the ANC; Letters of appeal should be sent to them, possibly inviting representatives to visit Mazimbu and the Dakawa Development Centre, and followed by personal visits from the Chief Representative or others appointed to this task.

#### 2. Saba-Seba Fair

This annual event in Dar es Salaam has always been an excellent medium, both for publicity and fund-raising for the ANC but has never been fully exploited by us. We believe that large quantities of emblmed T-shirts, hats, bags, key rings, badges and posters could be sold as well as records, cassettes and books.

In this instance, we need the assistance of our missions abroad and HQ to supply us with the goods. Realising that it may be bad economics to spend hard cgggigcy on such items, it is hoped that donations of such goods/be obtained from friendly Governments and business enterprises.

#### 3. Sale of Goods and Produce from Mazimbu

Once we have satisfied the needs of our projects, we believe We could readily sell on the open market in this country, furniture, earments and sur lus roduce from our farm.

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Page 2 -

#### Cultural Performances

Tours by youth and students in various areas of Tanzania, if properly organised and controlled could be a profitable source of income, at the same time popularising the 4NC to the people. Efforts should again be made to get the Lmandla group to perform in Tanzania. and the possibilities investigated for a group of hNC musicians and performers to tour this country.

#### Small boutiques or Shogs

if permission from Government could be obtained, goods in short supply, e.g. perfumes, baby clothes, underwear and many other items could be profitably sold. The PLO runs a duty-free shop in Dar es Salaam.

#### Fighting Fund

When the call was first made at Mazimbu for the workforce to contribute to the Fighting Fund, the Eeapdhse thrSugh production units was very good. Interest waned, however, ' t mainly because all efforts to get reports from the Treasury as to amounts handed in, were in vain.

A new appeal should be made from this Workshop giving a 9%E3g explanation of how these donations reduce the cost on HQ/making more funds available for the Front.

March 1986.

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THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS NATIOEAL FUND RAISING

' WQEEHOP March 14-20: H1986 1 11577 -;

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soggMON M&ANGU FREEDOM COLLEGE ' "1' "3-37-3311. 1

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7, BACKGROUND PAPIiuh ' 'i' \_ .1311 ,

In 1983 the 'Iireasuw Department oommssmned the preparation of a. paper to  
identiiyf'areas of astlvltles towards fund raising., The following paints  
have been extracted for Consideration by the National Fund. RaiSing Workshop.  
3.5"1- 7111'

, Introductiog -'

At preSent most pf our needs and budget requirements are met from donations  
V and grants by gqvepmmental and nonegOvernmental organisations. Theses  
idonatiens or contribii'bione' have, to a large extent, been directed towards  
the haihteance of our increasing pbpuiation outside the country as well as  
our insreasing administration costs. ,1 '1 g"? .-

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As thestsuggle develops these cbntributions and grants haveeproved 126 be,  
inadequate fgir satering for eur- needs externally but more primarilmfor the'  
struggle inside the country. This situation has created the urgent need to  
seriously consider viable Schemes twwbrds fuhd raising. The following  
areas were identified:

10 Fishi Industr

a). Deep sea fishing. Very poorly developed sector in Africa. Much of

' Ht is dominated byl gon-Afrioan deep sea going trawlers e.g. ;  
Norwegian etc. It is appreciated that fishing is a big industry  
which needs specialist skills and large capital outlay for buying  
trawlers and other equipment. Perhaps, initially, our friends  
could be approached. for aSSistanoe. . '1' . 'r\_ :-I:-. \_;%.'n'3'\_ 'f  
, (H):

b) River/lake fishing. The rivers and lakes of Africa are not fully  
exploited for fish breeding. There are possibilities in this areas V  
NORAD does offer scholarships related to the fishing industry., .. I  
Other aponsqrs could 3,159 be approached as this venture would 31: '  
only be impogtant forg immediate fund raising but would definitely  
be relevant far the future South Africa.

2. Shoe and Leatherware Industry ,. . 4 \_;... ,

The materials commonly used in this sector, namely hidesy rubber  
canvass, etc are readily available in Africa. This venture should  
also include Setting up shoe repair serviees. Howeverf once again the  
need for training personnel should be emphaSmed. ,1 2/

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### 3. Clothigg

This sector includes Several lines e.g. tailoring, dressmaking, . production of school uniforms, afro-shir'bs, jeans, betiqdze articileag' 1 .- caftahs, woollen wear, etc. The necessary materials for manufacturing 001116. be obtained from Third World countries e.g. Egypt and India. ' The training of personnel could be done in countries such as Indla, etc. which haVe fer years offered scholerships in trainlng for small industries.

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4. RetaiIYTraae" '1 7' "h - '1 1 1', 1' y, 'ny'wllW  
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The retall'tradie offel-s very high turnover if effieiently managed.  
The followmg lines could be considered:

a) Gift shops for African handicrafts, soulp'hu'e, orndherrts;  
vceremics, etc. . i 1. :5 3:1: x

b) Blitohe'ries ' '1 '1 ' 1- I. J I .1 1.2:. .

c) 3-Tall0rlng dressmaking Shaps ' L V ' p I p , . ' 7'3"; '1

d) leutiques " \_ ' i 1" ' ' I

c) Bookshops. h , - 1 ; " ' " '1 ,1

5-. Soc' Cultural ements

The mobilisation/organisation of cultural- workers, artists, musicians

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to perform for fund rais 11lg.

Organise discos, night-clubs, film shows, fates, concerts, gala.

eVenln5ge, festivals, etcrr

6. Impor'b-mort Agencies

To obtain licences for import/expor'l: activitles colrereng a variety  
of products. . '

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To run agricultural industries for generating profrb or- funds in  
various sectors e.g. poultry, beef, meat pmadsmg, plggeries,  
dairy products, etc. 1 1 5- . - 1-.,

81 W95 ' Set up industries. ' '1 .? .

9. Professional services 1 r ; ' "1 ' -

Encourage Cadres with Specialised training in dlfferent fields to be  
gainfully employed to contribute mnds to the Movement. Those in  
business to" make contributions. 1

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THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS FUND RAISING WORKSHOP

MARCH 19 - 20: 1986

SOLOMON MAHLANGU FREEDOM COLLEGE

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BENELUX COUNTRIES REPORT

As our liberation struggle reaches

unprecedented heights at home, we find that we just cannot cope

with the demands made upon us by the local communities.

Last week I went to Luxembourg at the invitation of a large group of organisations, comprising trade unions, political parties, churches,

women's and youth organisations, students, etc. It was extremely

hectic as I had to rush from press conference to

leaders of non-governmental organisations and opposition parties.

A broad political front is being formed which is going to mobilise

public opinion for the isolation of the racist regime, and for the

Specific task of raising material and financial support for us.

A similar front has also been set up for the Flemish part of Belgium.

A similar structure is established in the Netherlands. This unit has

already raised \$0.000 Dutch Guilders which we will commit to our

Mozambique account in London.

We have many other schemes and plans for raising money which I will

explain at the workshop,

I suggest we send some

of our cadres here to study through the medium of French. We could do

far more by way of fund raising if we had more manpower.

Forward to victory in the

Year of the Struggle for the People's

Amy!



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THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS NATIONAL FUND RAISING KFZ/

WORKSHOP March 14 - 20: 1286

SOLOMON MAHLANGU FREEDOM COLIEDE

REPORT - ARTS AND CULTURE

#### 1. Sale of Art

A pilot project was recently put into process whereby an amount of art was to be bought inside the country and sold at a gallery overseas by our department. .

All indications were that this would be extremely viable from several angles. Firstly, it would give the artists at home a channel to sell their art at non-exploitative prices; secondly it would yield a tidy profit, - thirdly it would put us more and more in control (of the international distribution of the culture of our country; in this instance in the form of fine art, sculpture and crafts.

Because of administrative problems this pilot project has not yet matured; the problems \_at this stage being on the procurement end rather than the sales end.

#### 2. Music Concerts and. Music Royalties

A lot of funds have recently been raised through musical concerts by international musicians.

In the past our own musicians have also held. benefit concerts for ANC.

A Culture Department representative attended an extremely successful two-day concert in Sweden which entirely benefitted the VANC - the sum raised being extremely impressive. Leading Swedish musicians have also pledged part of the royalties of their records sold to ANC 's struggle.

In the case of the Sun City Concert ,and record in the USA, funds (earmarked for "educational" and "cultural" projects) have already been received. Royalties from this 'record will continue to come in to the ANC as long as the record continues to sell.

Many other regions, in cooperation with the Department of Arts and Culture, could be in a position to hold similar large scale fund raising concerts using leading musicians from that area. But basic funds are usually needed to make concerts possible for publicity, halls, transport accommodation, etc .

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In certain cases musicians may freely donate royalties or a portion of royalties to ANC, but this should be volunteered on a case by case basis and not imposed.

It should be noted that in many cases even monies raised by music concerts are tied to specific projects (e.g. SOMAFCO) or specific project areas (e.g. Education). In the case of the recent concert in Sweden, however, the funds raised were not "so tied."

3 o mmdla.

Because of its size, Amandla has not really been a money making proposition. Travel expenses, hotel bills, etc for a group of 30 or over renders them commercially prohibitive. But in the long term their mobilising work yields more donations to ANC.

However, in the recent UK tour (although aided by substantial grants from 610, etc) Amandla did break even. This meant that considerable monies did come in at the box office as people paid to hear our music and see our Show.

The indication therefore, is that if smaller groups could be constituted out of Amandla members (and perhaps including other ANC musicians), to do solidarity fund raising tours, then considerable monies could be raised for our coffers.

Amandla records, if marketed commercially on commercial or semi-commercial labels, could also raise considerable funds.

Again we reiterate that the publicity and goodwill which Amandla generates must contribute to the good climate for ANC fund raising generally.

4. Fund Raising Via. our Cultural Journal "Rixaka"

A Finnish Cultural Workers Union held concerts, plays, poetry readings and a party to raise money for Riataka in 1985. They intend campaigning again for Riataka in 1986.

The fact that a substantial amount of funds were raised, over quite a short period of time illustrates the effectiveness of using sympathetic cultural workers internationally to raise funds for our cause.

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We believe that many people not previously involved in solidarity or support work were drawn into the Rixaka campaign. New sources were tapped and a new constituency created for ANC fund raising efforts. If certain of our missions (e.g. USA, UK, Soviet Union, Sweden, Australia, etc) were to be supplied with full time "Cultural Attaches", we are confident that extensive fund raising through culture and the arts could be done on an ongoing basis.

M AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS FUND RAISING WORKSHOP

MARCH 1 - 20 1 86

SOLOMON MAHLANGO FREEDGJ COLLEGE

THE SALE OF ART AND HANDICRAFTS THROUGH EXISTING GALLERIES AND SHOPS  
AND SPEC IALIS'I' SOLIDARITY GALLERIES. by Comrade Barbara Masakela.

!

We believe that the African National Congress can successfully buy and sell arts and crafts as a fund raising activity. It is a feasible activity that requires proper planning and fearless capital investment.

It is also important for our organisation to consider seriously, personally producing arts and crafts for sale. We have been highly impressed by the popularity and profits of ANC bazaars in various centres. But unfortunately, at these bazaars, most of the commodities have been acquired in other countries, made by other nationals.

We have received so many gifts in funds and kind from so many quarters, that we have come to depend on Sponsorship without ourselves being producers. The popularity of our organisation, the goodwill towards our people and our struggle can easily be transformed into considerable financial gain if we were to offer goods made by our own cadres. Besides, we would also be engaging ourselves in an enterprise that promotes our culture and, heritage. A productive and creative initiative that is a concrete one that will also be personal, as our supporters will be able to say "this was made by ANC cadres".

The workshop must grapple with the problems inherent in marketing arts and crafts as a way of anticipating the practicalities involved in setting up outlets for the arts and crafts to be bought and sold by us, as well as arts and crafts produced by the ANC.

First let us acknowledge that there has always been a roaring interest in perceiving the cultural artifacts of South Africa, both inside and outside South Africa. Art collectors and dealers have denied the country of valuable cultural artifacts which they have acquired at the most exploitative prices, the people who create the work have gained very little if anything for their great efforts. /

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In the traditional sector, goods that have proved to be popular items are beadwork, grasswork, woodwork, pottery and an occasional painting Or drawing; In the last thirty years there has been a marked growth gndt devel0pment in- the.- area of Fine Arts. Paintings. and drawings have been collected in bulk and sold at high prieee, mostly in the U.K. but more recently in the U.S. A. i

White South Africans living abroad who enter and leave the country .at will buy them in bulk at at song and sell them abroad at market Value. One such man lives in Hudgen, New York and has 'an art exhibition every year.

More recently, at the Culture and Resistance Festival MEDU they 'set' up an impressive exhibition of fine arts. The ANC subsequently purchased some of it as a permanent collection, in trust for the people of South Africa. To date the exhibition has travelled and been shown in Sweden, Soviet Union and the O.x. It is presently being sent to the U.s.A. This exhibition serves to mobilise support and yields untold material support for the AM in retrospective.

In addition, inside South Africa there is a growing movement in 'oooperatives' that produce and sell commodities like modernized traditional clothing, I beadwork etc. ' '

We therefore prepose that! .

1. A pilot Solidarity Gallery that will sell South African fine arts and crafts, initially in London, Sweden or Amsterdam, with a view to proliferating these outlets in other countries. .

2. i That a trust of emminent people with Amllleanings and experience in t the field be Set up to administer the enterprise with a. solid business ' format. e.g. auditor, accountant, lawyer, buyer and supportiize staff.

3. 'Elat the overwhelming tactic of the enterprise should be to ensure quick and maxim turnover on a continuous basis.

4. That once a year, the ANC should entrust the trust with the task of setting up a special exhibition of Fine Arts and Crafts.

We suggest that the purchase 'riteria be Worked out in advame and that the Wingpperation be ooordihated. For instance, we, could identify a supporter er hire an individual to go to South Africa to buy the commodities in bulk from the craft collectives within the country. Goods for the Solidarity Gallery could also be commissioned directly frOm sources in

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Southern Africa. where cultural artifacts are similar to ours.

In the purchase of arts and crafts, it is essential to have buyers who have an eye for the aesthetic's provenance of the commodities. In other words, we should not fall prey to limiting ourselves to "tourist art" only, but should insist on quality; '

It is important to understand that fine art is usually purchased by a particular economic group. It is not a general market item and it tends to 'be rather expensive - beyond the pocket of ordinary supporters. In this context our buyer must be practical and our retailing policy must - differentiate between special purchases and day to day purchases. It is extremely important that we should also offer producers of the works a fair price.' In the case of paintings, they must be properly framed and exhibited in the outset. .

We stress again that the operation must be financially justified and that it requires certain boldness and direct purchasing by an agent.

While emphasis would be on goods from South Africa and neighbouring countries, we should also continue to acquire commodities from other countries. Chief Representatives could be charged with the task of soliciting friends of the ANC, organisations, governments etc. to donate art and Craft objects to our solidarity galleries. The ANC Department of Arts and Culture would be directly involved in soliciting these gifts for sale.

In this way, beautiful art objects from areas where we have a presence e.g. 'Nigeria, Madagascar, India, Cuba, Ethiopia, Egypt, Algeria etc. could be acquired. t -

The trust would be the key here, as we should have to bear in mind the legalities involved in the transfer of art objects from one country to another. South African artists not in South Africa could also be approached to donate works of art.

Finally we must look seriously into ANC production of creative works of art and crafts for fundraising. In the final analysis, investment in this sector would still be our best move for the reasons (a) we are in direct

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control of the venture, (b) we will be establishing a productive and creative sector in our organisation which serves both our present needs and can be a pilot project of the kind of activity which will be politically essential in post-apartheid South Africa, (c) we already have a skeletal infrastructure for serving this need.

Concretely, the Department of Arts and Culture is embarking on a Cultural Centre. Our pilot project will be a craft centre to produce textile printing, batik, tie and dye. These can be sold as fabric and they can also be made up into garments. The more creative work can be used as hangings and framed as paintings.

We have been in contact with an experienced textile printer (Malin Sellman) who is drawing up plans for our textile printing. She worked for nine years in South Africa and assures us that initially they started with only five women who were trained. They have now become consummate artists who provide unique works of art in tapestry, textiles etc. In fact, our Chief Representative in Sweden recently purchased works from Roshi's Drift which are to be added to the AND art collection. Malin Sellman has agreed to prepare a project document for us detailing the material needed to start such an enterprise. She has also offered to come and help us set it up. We hope to begin in June and should be in full production of textiles by the end of the year. We can then arrange for our factory in Mazimbu to make up the fabrics into various garments. . .

The equipment for textile printing can also be used for producing silkscreen Q .

posters, postcards etc. Production of artifacts can also include calendars, badges, stickers, rings, key rings and T shirts.

DE with Culture are now working on a project for a video centre to copy and produce videotapes for sale.

The purpose of this paper is to stimulate discussion on ways and means of fund raising. It is our conviction that in addition to purchasing in bulk, from inside the country, we can, as an organisation, take example from the P.L.O. and produce our own fund raising commodities.

R912

1985 - Year of the Cadre

PREMIMRY 'JB ARCHITECTS BRIEF FOR DAKAWA CUL'HJ'RAL CEM'RE -f ' 1

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## 1. Preface

We prefer this paper by stressing that this document does not constitute in any way a final or near planning draft for the Dekawa Cultural Centre (DCC). It is merely intended to direct discussion and invoke the comment and criticism which will greatly aid us to more precisely formulate the DCC concept.

It should be borne in mind at all times that the DCC should 'be considered as a model for a future South Africa; as an example for future Cultural Community Centres to be developed in the liberated South African reality. At the same time the DCC must also act as a means and instrument of gaining that free South Africa not least of all 'by acting as an important vehicle for our cadre developments

## 2. Introduction

The DCC is intended to answer the pressing need for an MIC Cultural Centre, as well as to serve as a community cultural centre for the Dakawa settlement. The envisaged DCC would have a training and production function not only in the realm of "culture" narrowly considered but also in the realm normally designated as "crafts". The DCC would function to concentrate and focus our ANC cultural and craft programme provide logistical and administrative infrastructure for the practice of a wide range of disciplines

We are convinced that the developed DCC will be in a position to produce, inter alia

shaming, entertainment and propaganda, videos.

Design of art and sculpture for sale at the proposed ANC gallery;

Finished craft for sale as above. Likewise pottery, ceramics, batik, etc.

Printing of textbooks and training manuals, creative texts, and all general printwork

Silk screening and posters and material for fund-raising and propaganda

Purposes

f) Design and layout services for ANC

g) Photographic services of all kinds

h) Resource Centre, including library and reference facilities

i) Word-processor operation and training facilities. Also computer applications:

(1) Theatre production and training of community theatre.

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k)Musio ensemble 370171: and aroduotion of Music cassettes for DOG  
fundraiz'sing at. 16. mogugani aparposeso

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mGenaral communivy prog mmes,espez .ally childrenVs programme

3. Drama anisation

The DOC should be ofaremcly 11" gh 51L); administered.A full-time director  
should be appointeri , Who would. also be appointed to the National Cultural  
SecretariaLioAn odml3-3t1117vo unit wi h ploper administrative facilities  
should 01.07-01.20 0.57.1137 (.0.\_\_J rvor Juhe ECC'S valuable resources.

Each 6.1501131 mo 017 17.72171; 511013-71 possess an inizisial staff of at least one  
WW).

coordinators

4. Training of DCC P93391131

Identification of DCC personnel 11.3 tentatively begtmoTraining and up-  
grading of DCC personnel must 1:15.311 at the earliest opportunity.

5. Flmdraising 1

Fundraising for DC C muxs' 110074 11 n: earnest at the earliest opportunity.

Aside from 2101711111 fuzdreisi: .13 0113317101 89W0 could also investigate new  
or mdomtilized a :09 ,s of suppert for ANC cultural workgegocultm'al  
groups,mllon;s 0.10.7.1 organisations around the world;individua,l anti-apaD-  
theid 81-11 "-00-1 '15."; con :20: 0-5. ox'gitions by our own and solidarity

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C)

artistsgbomlatoraj 0::n11-..17nc- 311371 0114511131 organs of gowemmontgetcg

We should 11015 :33 "7 7- , "33315.5; raised ogy- tho sale of arts and crafts :  
produced "by our 052.1 3511-302: yours 1;;7 owe own msiciansgsale of publications,  
calendars. -30-i:r...om :2: 201m ed. )3; omsolvos;lund reused 'by showings of  
our own video 3 1:17 17.717 771.110 sale 0; o :3 own records and. music  
cassettes;otoc

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Directorso "1" 192.000.

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Emapmon't room for ronoo and :photos-Lc '31; machines.

110de up 91-0129 waroom

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Should. includge-z

Adequate sizc-l theatre 321553; stage Lighting facilities .

Rehersal room.)

Dressing rooms: 3

large 1001:1111) Suomnroom.

Covered 1311221315729 anon; 311 for outdoor functions and rehershals.

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DCC "3"

Small childrens Theatre.

Coffee bar facility.

Theatre office for Drama, ocuordinator and staffo

8. Music Unit

ML J... p; ,\_\_,.

This unit should be extensive enough to acoodate Amandla. if necessary

It could. include:--

1 large music room With piano

2 smaller practice rooms

1 Office /Worlu-onm

1 inStrumont looli-up store room

one large studio (to be shared. With Video Unit)

All rooms "to be acoustically tiled.

9. Fine Arts Unity

w&.-.n..4..4 7.4.; L4. .

2 large studrhos With good light dining the day and. good artificial lighting.

Sillcscreening . space a .

Look-up store-room for art material,etc.

Running water and. washbasin are desirable in region of Fine Arts Unit.

10-ihotographi9.3n.ij

.;\_. a7.-

Open Space offioe/workroom with look-up facility for Equipment

large photographic dark-room

1.1.1 Libraxxy Unit

4... JJHJ&J-O

Library should be easily accessible to communi'by with ample reading space.

A large seminar room should be adjacent to the library.

A smaller room is needed. where two vroxdhprooessors can be installed.

A private offioe/workroom would. be desimable.

1 2 o Handicraft sjuji

1 large sewingwroom

2 handicrafts workrooms

Pottery and ceramics facility to be allowed for.

1 lookv-up workshop With 'bools.

largo storOwroom

1 office

13. Video Uni;

Video vietmlg room for small groups.

Editing room for video editing equipment;

largo Office/I-rorlmoom

Look-up facility to store video equipment and video library.

large studio (to be shared. with music unit)

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DCC .4.

#### 14. Printing Unit

Mwu#um

We envisage a. well-organised and well equipped printing facility

1 office for unit oo-ordinator.

Jlargo general office

Typesetting :boom.

m-mt loom.

large Dark-moom (including cold storage facility for film stock)

Large floorspace for machinesgdllotinombinders, and staplers,

orbllating,eto.

large lock-aup stomroom

#### 15 . Guesthouse

wwwm

Important that there be a. guesthouse facility for artists or lecturers

in roaidgnoewr visiting artists or craftsmen.Could be an extension of

,t R Dirootm-"a residence.

#### 16 . Recreational Facilitigg

m/w.& \$.5J mhmth. 5/.....

Indoor games room

mtdoor mimming pool

#### 17. Catgrjgg

Kitchen and. dinning hall.

#### 18. Toilet and Bathroom

WWW

Appropriate toilet and bathroom facilities

#### 19. Air Conditionim

u hMM .

Air conditioning is essential for the Video Centre and for the, Photograp-  
phio unit because of the dust and humudity factors.

Air conditioning would also be highly desirable for some of the other

Units, 63'. library,me art,administrativot

Our recommendation would. be that all closed areas he air conditioned

#### 20. mbitioatgaog

Given the nature of the DCC,it might be desirable to have a spaoeoasily

accessible to the oorrnmitymhem various exhibitions could take place.

This could also be the foyer or a. wa.Jk-through entrance or an ante-

room in the theatre complex '

#### 21 . ConolusiLOlzg \_

The DOC might seem elaborate at first glanoo-but we are concerned to stress

its nature as a, groductiigg centre .Many of the skills concerned with

the DCC already exist in our ranks,but we lack the adminstrativs focus

and logistical means to bring them into oporationAt the same time

training and wading will 'be vital components of the DCC's success.

Success in the DCC project will establish a firm mzlturel revolutionary

impetus within our movement; ;a.nd implemented. in side South Africa --

from oomnm to community , a. firm wltural thnlst in out roconshu-

otion period. V

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS NATIONAL  
FUND RAISING WORKSHOP March 13-20, 1986  
SOLOMON MAHLANGU FREEDOM COLLEGE  
' CANADA REGIONAL REPORT'

1. Preamble

There is an organic relationship between fund raising and political work; No struggle, no liberation can effectively pursue its objectives Without adequate funds. In this context we welcome the opening of this workshop. It is indeed timely in the sense that we recognise the urgent need to raise massive funds to ensure that the momentum that is currently gripping your country is not only maintained but feverishly accelerated. We look forward, at this workshop, to contributing and gaining new ideas for fund raising.

2. Some Achievements in our Region'

a) In 1983 we made an attempt for the first time to raise funds amongst the South African Community in Toronto. Two comrades were assigned from headquarters to assist us in the task. Considering that this was the first such attempt; it could be considered quite successful. The attitude of the South African community as a whole towards our movement was indeed positive.

b) In December of 1985 we issued, for the first time, an appeal to our individual supporters for immediate and sustaining funds for inside the country. To date (in two months) the response resulted in accumulating a total of \$10 000.

c) Publicity Materials. we have from time to time produced a number of materials and sold them as a fund raising project. T-shirts, buttons, ANC pens and recently we have placed an order for lighters, cloth calendars, posters, etc.

3. Some Suggestions

a) A substantial increase in the production of ANC materials that can be sold. Such production should be coordinated so that large quantities are produced and thereby reduce production costs. Detailed investigation should be carried out so as to obtain the lowest quotes, e.g. in Toronto it costs us \$2.25 to produce a complete T-shirt. This includes material, design and printing. 2/

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b) There is a great demand for ANC publications. Pamphlets and books could be produced in large quantities and sold, both as publicity material and for foreign raising. There is an urgent need, for example, for a pamphlet on the history... of the LANG." ..

c) The taxation of working members of the ANC must be strict and compulsory. There must be a firm policy as to what action is to be taken against those employed members of the ANC who earn high incomes and make zero contribution.

d) The idea of opening retail outlets of a variety nature is an excellent one. But we will have to bear in mind that:

i) the provision of investment capital and

ii) we will need to find personnel who must possess two definite qualities: business skill and honesty. . ,

h. Conclusion

The above suggestions are provided just to excite the taste buds. We hope to participate and contribute fully in the workshop where we feel certain that many new raising concepts will emerge, -but more importantly we will adopt a concrete plan ready for implementation.

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS NATIONAL  
FUND RAISING WORKSHOP March 1Q'20: 1286  
SOLOMON MAHLANGU FREEDOM COLLEGE

PROGRAMME FOR THE CULTURAL PERFORMANCE

DATE: 1b March 1986

VENUE: UNIT 3 HALL (LILLIAN NGOYI)

TIME: 20h00 SHARP!

1. NATIONAL ANTHEM

2. WELCOME TO DELEGATES

3. 59mm saga /(F7E M&Ar7i.f C2545? (7%?"

h. SOMAFCO GROUP (OPERA)

5. KATEMGB-ABE 039K (DOUBBE WT) gamma 100579

Q.Dmmmmmmzfl&v(1m71#cw.

&. PIONEERS GUMBOOT DANCE - DAKAWA GUMBOOT DANCE

8. SOMAFCO TRADITIONAL DANCING TROUPE

9. VOTE OF THANKS BY FUND RAISING WORKSHOP DELEGATION

10. NATIONAL ANTHEM

WTOR CIRCULATION T2 UNITS AND BRANCH 1w: :TBERE  
MEMORANDUM ON Tr PATIJNAL FUND RAISING WORKSHOP  
Wx

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The second National Consultative Conference of the ANC took place in June 1985, in the wake of nine months of concerted action by the oppressed majority of our country against the minority regime in Pretoria. Conference characterised the situation as an 'unprecedented phase of revolt, whose objective was to make apartheid unworkable and South Africa ungovernable'

There is no doubt that the ANC underground machineries played a key role in raising the united mass action to a higher level. This effort must be sustained until the slogan 'From Conference to Victory' adopted at the HALOO is translated into reality

To sustain the armed struggle requires vast financial inputs which is why the NQCOC, devoted special attention to financial resources and adopted the very necessary resolution that a special meeting must be convened to consider the problem

Accordingly, members of the ANC in all regions and at all levels of the movement are called upon to recognise their responsibility and take an active part in preparing for this Vital workshop. All branches and units are expected to critically and constructively examine ways and means of fund raising including the exploration of new avenues and techniques, as well as the maximum utilisation of existing channels,

#### AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE WORKSHOP

t To prepare a comprehensive ANC policy document constituting a "blueprint" for fund raising for the armed struggle over the next five years.

t To determine ways of mobilising increasing numbers of South Africans wherever they may be found to demonstrate their patriotism by responding to the ever increasing financial needs of the movement. The demands placed upon the ANC should be shouldered.

by all democratic South Africans

t To examine new ways to generate funds, such as:

m fund raising musical concerts,

- art, handicrafts posters etc

in ARC solidarity galleries,

w single issue fund. raising campaigns

egg. 'Support the mine workers'

w pledges (stop orders)

- direct donations in cash or kind,

- commercial solidarity shops - books, records,

handicrafts etc.,

- small industries and restaurants,

- special campaigns to raise large gifts  
from organisations, commercial under-  
takings and individuals.

e To examine the pros and cons of levies on employed  
ANC members.

e To evaluate the importance and need for regional fund  
raising committees, their potential relationship to  
governments, political parties, solidarity organisations  
and individual sympathisers.

WHO SHOULD BE RECOMMENDED AS WORKSHOP PARTICIPANTS

e Key ANC comrades presently involved or having past  
experience in fund raising. ,

e Comrades having a flair for fund raising and/or  
are able to identify fruitful areas for investigation.

e Comrades with relevant commercial or professional  
experience.

EXHIBITION MATERIALS

Regions are asked to arrange for the following to be  
taken (or sent) for the workshop in Somerset:

- examples of fund raising publicity material  
produced by the movement in their region'  
or by solidarity/support groups, church  
groups, fraternal organisations etc, such  
as stickers, badges, campaign appeals,  
pamphlets, brochures, hand bills, concert  
programmes etc.

- Items produced or procured for sale, such as  
records, art work, handicrafts, bags T shirts  
etc.

FROM CONFERENCE TO VICTORY

In the Year of the Cadre!

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Thomas . obi E5.

Treasurer General

Chairman National Fund

Raising Workshop.



THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS NATIONAL  
FUND RAISING WORKSHOP March 1Q-20I 1286  
SOLOMON MAHLANGU FREEDOM COLLEGE

#### THE PLEDGE SYSTEM

WORKING PAPER BY CDE THEMBA VILA AZI

The pledge system is a way for the donor to budget their contribution over a year. The fund raiser sets a minimum monthly donation, say \$10 per month. The minimum yearly donation would amount to \$120.

The success of this system is a direct function of the number of pledges obtained. This can be achieved by a liberal proliferation of pledge forms for every speaking engagement, movement functions, ANC publications and support group actions and materials should be used to distribute pledge forms.

Pledge form design:

Name: first \_ . H , lest

Address:

Phone:

Monthly pledge :v 510 \$5 520 525

Any other amount: 5

To facilitate returns of pledge forms the flip side of the pledge formu has the address and the addressee postal permit printed. This is far better than putting stamps on the cards since a very small percentage of the cards distributed will be mailed back. I

The pledge system depends on volume for success. Computerisation allows for the most efficient processing of the large data. There are special programmes designed for this purpose that are very simple to use. The programmes keep track of all donations, generate thank you letters or pledge fulfilment requests; sort donors by region/interest/size of donation. The US region can attempt to get these programmes free. Failing that, their purchase would still make for a very worthy investment.

(Note: 'it WOULD be wise to consideichmpatibility 6r identical systems in computer purchase.) '

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(2M; g.M1L-.21(c.  
THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS NATIONAL FUND RAISING  
. 1 WORKSHOP March 14 - 20, 1286  
SOLOMON MAHLANGU FREEDOM COLLEGE  
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#### WOMEN'S SECRETARIAT m COMMENTS ON MEMORANDUM

we have the good fortune of being one organ that works closely with the Office of the Treasurer General. Our report will reflect this relationship. Hereunder, the women's Secretariat, basing itself on your circular makes observations and suggestions to be considered by the Workshop.

B&ggeting

We have been reminded now and again that "we are overSpending". In order to know that we are overspending there must be a given budget, realistic to the requirements and cost of living in a particular country.

What we are getting at here comrades, is that there was an idea, .which we wish to support as a Women's Section, that each department/organ should have an annual budget and Spend within that budget. This would make the work of the.TGO much easier.

Budgeting also goes with fund raising. While we withdraw funds from the Treasury, organs/dopartments of the Movement must, as an obligation, , replenish those funds. by mobilising Sponsorship and fund raising and aim at a certain target in raising funds.

There must be an auditor-general in the ANC to work closely with the Control Commission proposed by the last National Consultative Confereneew " Planning and proper division of labour is important within the Treasun&5Tt' Department.i Accountability is the key to organisation even in this offioe. When dealing with funds one must realise that one is dealing with the . most Sensitive nerve of our Movement. Therefore, we need honesty, striot\_ accountability and organisation. It is clear that the Treasury Department, much as it does its best, still leaves much to be desired. Promht disciplinary action must be taken against people who embezzle funds of the Movement. The same applies to all other organs.

Loaistios

The logistics stores need to be organised. There must be a National Stores and Regional Stores, particularly in Lusaka. The stores must be divided into compartments, each having a supervisor e.g. sportswear, men's wear, children's shoes, etc. It makes the task of taking stock  
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and requisitioning very easy. Planning of logistics is also imperative. Still, with logistics, we have not learnt 'the art' of rationing. This is a serious problem that causes ill-feeling among comrades and breeds nepotism or favouritism in the membership's relation with logistics officers.

In our report, we raise very strongly, the question of coordination. Again, we will remind the committee of our strong reservations in opening big ventures that will corrupt the membership. We must guard our Revolution from diverting its personnel to ventures that will in the end destroy us. All business oriented venture should at least not antagonise locals where we are operating against us, especially during these hard times when the economies of our Close friends are in crisis. Our positions should not be seen to be better.

We must try by all means to promote production for the use of the membership, e.g. soap-making projects, underwear/diaper making workshops, etc. We already produce our own furniture, we can produce other things for our consumption and surplus can be sold. Private business will mean the beginning of the end for our Movement. We must learn from the experience of contemporary liberation movements. Money is corruptive even to 'organisations inside our country and has destroyed some people and diverted people from tackling the real issue - the destruction of the racist regime in our country.

#### Conclusions

The projects and ideas of raising funds are all useful". But above all - we must see to it that monies raised are properly accounted. We must see that the material support we receive from our friends is not misused. Therefore, this Workshop must consider proper accountability forms, For us to handle the tasks enumerated above training of personnel at all levels is imperative.

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS NATIONAL

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FUND RAISING CONFERENCE' March 14 \_ 20 1986

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WOMEN SECRETARIAT REPORT

Introduction

This report covers the work of the Women' 3 Section in raising funds and material support for the movement, in particular for women and children.

Over the years, the Women' a Section has considered raising funds for the struggle as one of its obligations. Both at the level of the Women' 5 Section units and the National Secretariat. Much effort has been devoted to highlighting the plight of women and children under apartheid and projecting the aims and objectives of our national liberation struggle. In this process we have gained friends and allies who fully support our cause. Our affiliation to the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF) has enabled us to strengthen ties with women's organisations all over the world. These organisations continue to finance projects and send donations in cash or ,ind,

Womens Units

Below are some examples of fund raising done by our units in various regions:

Lusaka

Raffles are a common practice. For example on one occasion an item worth K150. These funds were sent to the Fighting Fund.

At each meeting, each member gives 20 ngwe.

In the Early and mid 1970s, house sales were organised to sell unwanted clothing. That practice stopped due to the rise in the cost of living, members are now selling their cloths to meet their individual needs. This is a problem requiring attention.

' Sale of ANC publicity material.

Joint fund raising with support groups such as the Multipurpose Group - formerly The South African Mothers Group.

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United States of America , , a -

In 1978, at the initiative of the USA unit, WREE, one of the largest American Womens organisations, introduced a diaper fund for infants of the ANC. For several years we received cheques from groups and individuals, also cash and in some instances the goods themselves.\_

August 9 celebrations and other important dates in our calendar have been used to renew appeals for women and children. The response has been tremendous. After speaking engagements, the comrade(s) assigned would report the amount of money or material aid raised from such tours.

- the USA, our mission there has requested that the Women' 5 'Section send a representative there to coordinate both political and fund raising activities. A comrade has now been designated to take up this position.

.Unfortunately, it must be said that not all members report back on the funds raised.

Lesotho

Until 1981. the womens movement was contributing R6. 00 each annually to the movement. In 1983 a knitting machine worth R720 was bought by the Womens Section to make and sell knitwear. The project was interrupted at the beginning of 1984, by the expulsion of many comrades from Lesotho." Political working conditions have since changed.

Zimbabwe

There are many South African women and families of South African origin who make contributions. We have encouraged the creation of support groups.-Already some South African women, namely The Helping Hand have made a substantial contribution of underwear which was sent to Angola.

Harare

Young and small as this unit is, a T-shirt printing project has been established with a comrade equipped with silk screening skills who is in charge of coordinating the work. At the moment, not much can be said about its progress since it only began in November, 1985. However they started taking orders this January.

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We have also been advised that there are funds available to us from donor agencies, but we are unable to do anything about it without authorisation from headquarters.

London

This/Jie Of our active units in fund raising. It has organised immeasurable support e.g. bazaars, street collections of materials donated and distributed circulars to supporters appealing to them to contribute during commemoration and solidarity meetings. Our Child Care Centre and the School benefit from material aid generated by this unit.

Botswana

This is a Very small unit and works under difficult conditions. In spite of this a lot of material for internal mobilisation has been produced. e.g. printed cloth, 1984 skippers and , posters, working in coordination with support groups in Gabarone; Underwear has occasionally been purchased from the donations generated by this unit and sent to our women in Angola.i , Material produced by this unit also sold well at the Nairobi World Women's Conference, the Non-governmental Organisation 1985 also in Nairobi and at the August Moscow Youth Festival.

Maputo

Before the signing of the Nkomati Accord, the Women's Section started to use rolls of material from our stores to provide much needed underwear for our women and children, but history had to take its course. Until now it is very difficult to convince our Treasury Department to buy or organise securing such basic requirements of our members.

7

Canada

Our unit here is at present inactive; However in the past we have received valuable material to make Women's uniforms without having to draw on Treasury for funds. The Chief Representative in this region has assisted us in getting the green blouse material again. We have also received some underwear.

Canada has also produced badges and stickers for internal political mobilisation.

The production of VOW was sponsored by CUO in 1977 and 1978. The United Church of Canada has recently released funds for

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purchase of the latest technology for our publication. This money has not as yet been used. As in the USA the Canadian Chief Representative has requested a female comrade be assigned to him as administrative secretary and to organise political and material support for the.mOVement, particularly women and children.

It is worth noting at this stage, that many organisations in Europe and America derive their support from Women. The peace movement is spearheaded by women. Women are the majority in the Anti-Apartheid movement and have special programmes to assist women and children. Therefore, the task of the 5 Women's Section is a very demanding one s keeping in close contact with these organisation.

Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic

-In these areas we have women studying who have continually contributed to the Fighting Fund. A percentage of the money has occasionally been deducted to purchase requirements for our women and children as requested by our Womens' Secretariat. Women in our camps have received cosmetics from the USSR. The Role of our Representation abroad.

This report would not be complete if special credit was not given to our representatives in many parts of the world such as Sweden, ERG, Britain, SA, Canada, Senegal and Australasia. From Sweden we have received regular material support for women and children. \_ ' '

In 1980 the Swedish Democratic Womens' Federation donated two buses for the women and children in East Africa and Lusaka.

They have also donated a lot of baby cloths. ,

The Swedish Save the Children Fund is sponsoring at least eight Child Care trainer teachers every two years to study in Mindola Ecumenical Foundation in Zambia. They have also provided funds towards the building of the Childrens' Residential Centre and Pre-school Institution in Mazimbu.

The Sweden Labour Movement financed the publication of VOW for the two years 1980, 1981.

The Soviet Women has always come to our aid in providing for our women and children; Because they are unable to give IVOQVIO'OOOS/

55-1 5

us money due to foreign exchange restriction<sup>5</sup>, in 1984 they gave us beautiful souvenirs in bulk. They were valued at more than K1, 500 and sold like hot cakes.

The GDR Women under the leadership of the DFD are considering a project to provide shoes and juice extractors for the children institutions of our movement. The same source has also sent us material in bulk for women and children.. New as our mission is in Australia, enthusiasm for our struggle has been shown in physical terms. The Dora Tamana creche accommodation was in part met by the Australian Freedom from Hunger campaign, v .

India, in 1978 sent a quantity of towelling / napkins for the 1 Charlotte Maxeke Childrens' Centre. Unfortunately scholarships for technical and vocational training were never met.

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Scandinavia in general has offered consistent financial and material support; 'Time and again we have received air tickets' for international engagements from AntinApartheid groups. The list of countries supporting: us is endless. We have ;, always avoided asking for tickets to international engagements from the Treasurer General's Office. Instead we seek sponsorship and obtain it. Tickets for the Women's Conference in 1981 was sponsored by several organisations and even brought more money into the movement. The same applied to the Council meeting in 1983.

We sent a delegation of 30 to the United Nations Decade of Women Conference and the Non-Governmental Forum held in Nairobi, July 1985. Not a single ticket was requested from the A.N.C. All tickets were sponsored by friends of the A.N.C and the Women's Section, including United Nations specialised bodies.

In Nairobi we sold publicity material, produced more and sold it- An account of funds raised from this and other sales is being prepared for the National Executive Committee. This is an example large delegations to conferences should copy. 7

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### 3. Funds and material organised at National Womens' Secretariat level

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Demarcation of fund raising Within the Women's Section is very difficult. What has been mentioned above has involved units, ANC Missions, various organisations and countries coordinating With or at the initiative of the Secretariat.

We have maintained the tradition of preparing reports on financial and material assistance for the Office of the Treasurer General, the Secretary General and the President. We did this for the 1981 Womens Conference and the 1983 Council meeting. we shall keep this tradition for all conferences and report accordingly to the three senior offices of the movement.:

'Here again; we need not discuss the specific details of material received or money donated, as those are normally passed to the Treasury Office. As said, the Women's Section enjoys wide support from progressive organisations, United Nations agencies, the Women Section of political parties, solidarity and anti apartheid groups all over the world. hnl, '

To meet this demand the Women's Secretariat created the desk of Secretary for Finance and Material Aid in addition to the desk of Secretary General Though we certainly have problems of coordination and proper demarcation of tasks for some aspects of our Work

We have encouraged the Womens' Section to contribute to the Fighting Fund. On several occasions such contributions have been made to the Office of the Treasurer General at August 9 commemorative meetings. e. g. Lusaka and Lohdhn.

We have regular contributions from the Africa Fund in the USA the Norwegian Students and Teachers Association, the Swedish Social Democratic Womens' Federation. MRAP in France, Holland Committee for Southern Africa and the Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement, the Soviet Women's Committee, Congress of Canadian Women and the United Church of Canada. This support has been coming in cash or kind for various projects of the Womens Section, including scholarships. Most funds are deposited in our bank account on our advice-

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For all the financial requirements of the Women's Section, be it for publication of a book, financing delegates to conferences, building structures, internal needs for our women's political work and projects, the Secretariat has on almost all occasions, organised these funds and material as an obligation. We have always borne in mind that the task of organising funds is not only the task of the Treasurer General's Office but of us all. Women and children are a formidable part of our movement. The mobilization of women at home demands substantial resources, hence the obligation to generate resources.

Coordination

Our work has suffered because of the lack of proper coordination with the Office of the Treasurer General. Material addressed to us or the ANC on many occasions is not acknowledged. This discourages some donors from further contributing. ,

- Material addressed to us is seldom forwarded to us.
- Projects in the past were sent to the Office of the Treasurer General for approval which took a long time. As a result we encountered difficulties with some comrades cooperating. As a result, over a period of time, we have gained experience in writing our own project proposals and go ahead, by-passing the Office of the Treasurer General, especially when this does not involve policy.
- The Secretariat sends material to our units for distribution and sale. Unfortunately, in some units accounting for the funds raised is not done.

1- Of late, little priority, if any, is being given to the basic needs of women and children. This pathetic situation also exists for our male comrades too.

- For years now, underwear and toiletries have not been issued. We made a suggestion to purchase toiletries in particular, but implementation has been very erratic. We are not aware of the problems encountered;

Finally we need to:

- Create a Project Committee composed of representatives of departments: DMD, Education, Health, Culture, Women and Youth for purposes of 'proper' coordination. We must clearly

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define th9 tasks 9f the Proaeots Committee.  
- Link and define tllle relationship of all departments  
dealing with projects. Projects must be linked to the  
needs of the movement and be coordinated with DMD,  
Education, .Women,:Culture, Youth etc.  
It is very clear : h N  
that each d epartment in our lmqvvgpent deals with projec.ts. thzs  
These must be coordinated thus avo\_iding averlapping \_' ' 5  
and duplication.

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DRAFT DECLARATION FROM THE NATIONAL FUND RAISING WORKSHOP

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The first, historic National Fund Raising WorkshOp of the African National Congress, pursuant to a mandate given by the Second Nati-ona l Consultative Conference, vnu5held from March 14 - 20, 1986 at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzaniaw#tThe workshOp was called to deviSe means of obtaining the financial resources essential to prosecute our struggle. It was attended by sixty delegates, consisting of 14 chief representatives from our missions abroad, representatives of all departments and jcvjl o- JhJonuag ext

sections of the ANC, elected delegates representing 311 regions where we have missions, asawell aEma representative fESE\_EKUTUTd Wave???

L2, In his Opening remarks, the Treasurer General of the ANC, Comrade T.T. Nkobi set the tone of the workshOp when he declared, ihter w talia, that "Our people are ready to do everything within their power to bring the hated racist regime to its knees. They have readily. and unwaveringly answered our call to make South Africa ungovernable and apartheid unworkable. By their concerted, resolute and fearless action, our people have shown that they are ready to confront the enemy at all levels. It is our task, at this historic workshOp, to draw u 7a Pro amme of Action that will ensure we have the material means to meet the demahds bein made ugon us."e

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(g? Reportszf from 3i! regions sections, departments and Sactu were consiaered in an atmoSphere charged with enthusiasm, inspired by \_V the militant Spirit of resistance of our peOple. The delegates, b) ' fplly conscious of the enormous resources at the command of the Pretoria regime, drew up a com rehensive PrOgramme of Action. Guided by the ANC view of fund raising as a political act, the Programme reiterates that the purpose of such funds is to advance the struggle for liberation on all fronts.

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.1 Step up the campaign fetxhgydatory eenemic sanctionstl  
 /Z; We have tgaenaage the enemy polltlally, mllltarily, dlpomatlcally,  
 culturallX and eccnomlcally.1 To.1ntensify the struggle we must  
 mobilise our people the length and breadth of our country. To &0  
 this we need 45-09 "192\$ aha, #79;  
 Increase the number of our fulltime organisers.-h7"t  
 l'1 KEXpand our information network inside and outside the country  
 f 1 Provide the means by which our MK cadres can be sustained  
 21;,  
 eAenfwc ..V  
 GalVanise the International community to move from mere verbal  
 condemnation of the Pretoria regime to deciSiVe action against  
 it and active support for the ANC.  
 l/gf The workehOp placed the emPHESIS on centralised planning,  
 coordination, control and lmnlcmentatlon. Our common approach to  
 Work, the uhity of purpose with which all departments, 06mmittes  
 and cadres discussed and resolved issues and problems, the full  
 and frank discussiehs over the seven day\$"0f?deliberatidnngk 1 I  
 resulted in the fqiiibwine findingsat this, historic wofksh'ole':  
 02,0 Fih'd'in s and Reco  
 13\$; Considerlng the Immenglul of twe task and workload falling on the  
 Office of the Treasurer General. .this worksh0p recommends thatEkCvalign%u  
 W27; deQS/oh, JE% 71C NCC, . \_ . .; ,  
 21/196  
 mmehdations  
 A Department 0: eonomios and Planning be created within the  
 structure of the Office 01 the Treasurer General with the task  
 of formulatlng a National Budget and an overall Economic Plan.  
 The streng\$henlng of the Office of the Treasurer General  
 along the lines prOposed by the National Consultativeh  
 Conferehee and the NEC, including the appointmenggof a  
 Deputy Treasurer Geleral and 311 other essential personnel19rlaa fZH'hhua  
 Ewanr.  
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#The tasks of the Deputy Treasurer General be defined including the management of finances, overseeing the efficient management of the different organs of the Treasury, and representing the 'I W Treasurer General in his absence.

1 That all the departments within the office of the Treasurer; General be strengthened by the correct deployment and ..

allocation of essential personnel, for whom the necessary facilities for training be provided. In particular, steps should be urgently taken to train accountants.

%Regional Treasury - . . I . II 1 '

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33' 9(- Regional Treasurers should be appointed in areas ' ia-eleemed-neee-asarj in accordance with the structure of the Office .01" the Regional Treasury as approved by the NEC.

1?. a. 94 9% That the regional treasurer, chief representative and chairman of the RPC maintain harmonious relations, collective decision making and a monthly review of all matters pertaining to the Treasury.

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.%3 9e The regional treasurer is required to submit monthly reports to the Treasurer General v ' ' 1

Wcrmt

3 q 99 That the regional treasurer be an ex-officio member of the HRPC in all regions. ' '

General should take steps

3.9 96 That the Office of the Treasurer

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to ensure the .;5:4;" ;\_-;. 0 1-"

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guidelines for operation in all areas, including the maintenance of adequate records.

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(LIDPlanningz Coordinationz Control and Communication

Z#-/ i t Having regarh to the overlap of requests to donors and the

' need for a systematic presentation of requisitions, this

workshOp recommends that all projects be submitted through

the Projects Department of the Office of the TreaSurer

,General. '

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41:21 t gThat full use be made efxfunds available by presenting

projects that are professionally prepared and speedily dealt

with by the Projects Department.GW-the-effice:s#:the\_1

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5f C9 Budgeting

if. I t The compilation of an annual bgdget is absolutely necessary

for the-efficient working of our whole organisation. Careful

husbandry, elimination of waste and preper allocation of our

resources cannot be ensured in the absence of regular budgets.

The budget must be tailored to the Special conditions

obtaining in each region. A A

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9 3.99 96w d partment and. egional treasurer must submitx

approval to the Office of the Treasurer General,.&\$a-ewn-

:...\_us.\_---:..-----:-:- - . . . ' . - - - ,1, . 'em, For

this purpose it is essential that the Office of the Treasurer

General should, without delay, draw up guidelines to enable

regional treasurers to become ah integrated part of the

process involved in drawing up a natienal buaget for the

ANC as a whole;

5-1 9e At the present moment the organisation is woefully ignorant

' of budgeting procedures and skills. This is a serious

defect which must be remedied, if necessary by selecting

cadres for specialisei planning and budgetary training.

For this purpose the Office of the Treasurer General must

draw up a set of rules to guide the regionz1 treasurers,

departments, sections and offices of the movement.

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That ultimately all budget allocation is decided upon by the Supreme Finance Committee.

6:57 Fund Raising Structureg

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61.52%

It is necessary to systematise and strengthen fund raising activities. This workshop recommends that a National Fund Raising Committee be created within the Office of the Treasurer General.

The work of this Committee be to establish regional fund raising committees to stimulate, guide and monitor fund raising throughout the movement and in all countries.

That a fulltime, senior ANC member to head this National Fund Raising Committee be appointed, and be based at Headquarters. Hielggr main taske4 re Sec coordinate fund raising committees, monitor the work of regional fund raising committees, and present six-monthly reports on all fund raising activities to the Office of the Treasurer General.

That Regional Fund Raising Committees be established in all areas in such a manner as to strengthen the local anti-apartheid work. Such committees undertake all steps and procedures designed to attract gifts, subscriptions and contributions of other kinds to the work of the ANC in accordance with the directives of the National Fund Raising Committee.

That such committees ensure proper planning, coordination and accountability to the relevant ANC structures. The work of the regional fund raising committees be carried out in co-operation with the existing anti-apartheid movements? support groups, sympathisers and other members of the local community.

That regional fund raising committees be accountable to the Regional Treasury Secretariat for all their activities; will ensure that proper records

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and the regional treasurer a. member of the regional fundraising ,  
committee. 3 . bi a? v': 3tl'%"' ' Q'LC "2 , 11\$

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r7/ % This workshop emphasises that 3alslhg funds for thQ prosecu-  
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tion of our strugng is amg loitical aet. At this cruci

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stage it is \_the rQsponsibility of every member tQLaeilec:

fundeYmScnj 4(1)th .

??gZhecommendations for Raising Funds Immediatel% ' l ahwayan

qk QMU (91, Los ?MA '(C. 51

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7&hagymptahisers and supporters must be sa-iiueiy encouraged to make

sank financial contributions. .u' d: g'vv& . , v

'7Q&lh The broadest possible spectrum of South Africans; Whefever

they may be, should be mobilised to contribute directly to the

movement in cash or kind;

:229;% That ANC publicity material must be produced and made QVailable

to all missions for.the widest possible distribution and sale.

Regional Fund Raising Committees should utilise the facilities;

of the DIP for productibn of all material relevant to their

fund raising activities, including preparation of information

packs.

7.2796 To bridge the gap between bur immediate pressing needs and.

the results of long term fund rai\_Sihg ventures, we recommend

that an appeal be made to heads of statQ and government, and

governments themselves, along the lines of- the appeal by Presi-;

dent Tambo, and that arrangeants be made to establish and

maintain contacts of this nature.

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easy means of fund raising

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oHTmugqba4 a a St alakaUe %i ?%k ww4\$f3'

:22,Q.% This workshop recommends the setting up of a fund to be called the "ANC FREE SOUTH AFRICA FUND". The purpose and nature of this fund is explained in detail in the report of Commission B, paragraph 2.1.3. We further recommend that the Fund be launched on a suitable occasion by our President. A draft appeal in the form of a letter which will go out to individuals and organisations is included in our report, titled "Presidential Appeal on Behalf of the ANC Free South Africa Fund".

(g,?) Recommendations for intermediate Fund Raising  
(Y5 .x % That Regional Fund Raising Committees be urged to canvass friendly governments, organisations, airlines, travel agents, etc. for money contributions: and items such as TVs, hi-fi sets, and motor bikes; These articles can be raffled or offered as prizes in competitions or quizzes on apartheid.

7 5 1.? Canvass organisations, airlines, governments, etc. for package holidays which can be offered as prizes for raffles and quizzes. Each region is urged to organise such raffles.

(1%f5' TI Leading members of the Movement be assisted to identify and ' make direct appeals to persons of substance for contributions to our cause. '

1.1%. 75th Anniversary of the ANC, January 8, 1987

4-H1 t This can and should be made an occasion for widespread publicity and fund raising campaigns, involving public meetings, . sporting and cultural events (e.g. Africa Cup, One-Day Cricket Matches, and Live Aid Concerts), appeals for cash donations, the sale of ANC literature, flags, pennants, badges, posters and so on.

A7J15L% That posters and leaflets advertising the event be circulated to all regions by no later than April 30, 1986. i i

,VAfot- Commemorative items be produced, such as medals, coins, diaries, calendars, to be available for distribution and sale in all regions by no later than September, 1986.

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g;Considering the wide scope and great potential of such a campaign, the workshop recommends that a 75th Anniversary Campaign Committee be formed to plan and execute the campaign. One of the functions of the committee Will be to extract from workshop papers and other sources ideas and proposals to enrich this campaign. In the meantime fund raising activities connected with the 75th anniversary should begin at once, pending the creation of such a Campaign Committee.

'ltHC t The 10th anniversary of the Soweto Uprising should be widely publicised. It has great political significance, being one of the major turning points in the development of our revolution, and has important fund raising potential., Prepare an exhibition of photos, books, articles, leaflets, posters and other items recording and analysing the Soweto Uprising.

'29.8t- Other anniversaries that could be given similar prominence and used for fund raising are the 100th anniversary of May Day, the 30th anniversary of South African Women's Day, August 9, and the 40th anniversary of the 1946 Mineworkers Strike. Other anniversaries could likewise be used as focal points for fund raising campaigns.

7.97%6 Target groups for fund raising consists of people who would respond positively to appeals such as South Africans, anti-apartheid groups, professional bodies, students and pupils, as well as all the clergy and laity, and non-governmental organisations.

7-Ckg t This being the International Year of Peace, Special attention should be given to organising and mobilising all peace-lovers to defend peace by contributing generously to our ANC Free South Africa Fund.

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17.1. This workshop considers that the riches of our traditional art, culture and music should be given maximum exposure and be harnessed to our fund raising efforts, while at the same time conveying the message of our struggle. This can be realised through the sale of artefacts, paintings, sculpture, by organising concerts, festivals, plays and cultural dances, sports events, films and videos; all under the slogan "ART TO DEFEAT APARTHEID". A . . . v . - 1,.

7. q. Ht This workshop recommends that Organised and Systematic methods of procurement, production and sale be investigated, and those suitable implemented. Specific proposals are detailed in the Report of Commission A, together with proposals on concerts, theatre, and sports. In addition, attention is drawn to the suggestion contained in the report that an ANC publishing house be set up and organised as a commercial venture.

7.1.16 Workshop recommends that Cultural centres for production of items for sale such as carvings, sculpture, leather work, etc. be established forthwith in Mazimbu, Dakawa and Angola, to fully realise the existing potential of our own artists and craftsmen and women. This work could be widely exhibited, accompanied by the display of material explaining our cause. la qumwm '

7.1.3 t That the DIPK establish a Commercial graphic enterprise to launch, maintain and expand a co-ordinated international fund-raising campaign using Qul materials to fight a propaganda war and raise funds. Every effort should be made to ensure close inter-departmental co-operation thereby effectively utilising all our resources.

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?,HJ431 This workshhp, having given careful consideration to our  
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all-round achievements, urges all fund raising units and activists  
to include in their operations methods of informing the public 7  
of our significant adVances in the field of childcare, educatlon,  
arts and culture. The printed material produced on SOMAFCO and M  
Dakawa is especially suitable. for this purpose. Let us acquaint  
South Africans with our work in these fields, and ask them to  
support South African children who are being cared for and\_  
educated aWay from home, but under conditibns that safeguard  
their-health and development, " :

Long term Fund Raising

1 That long term projects, including establishment of small  
industries, be undertaken to generate funds. 1 k

% That all projects be defined ln terms of ability to meet  
ifour criteria: &self-sufficiency,C%reation of fundsQQcadre  
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.That adequate monitoring and control structures, with suitably  
qualified personnel, be established at Headquarters within the  
Office of the Treasurer General, with the mandate to thoroughly  
investigate existing projects, with a view to making them viable  
and to establish managerial control structures on project sites.

'1 That the function of management Control structures be clearly  
defihed, using the recommendations of Commission D as guidelines.

% That eyaluation of-eXisjing and proposed projeets'be guided  
by principles that include the capital required,\_bl6duct demand  
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by both the organisation and general public, thorough cost analysis to determine production, distribution costs; optimal location and market trends; the continuous availability of all materials and our manufacturing and administrative skills. 'Ziti t That existing projects be examined to determine ways of placing them on a sound financial footing; and that all projects suggested by this workshop be assessed by the appropriate body of the Office of the Treasurer General, using the above guidelines; and that those found suitable be undertaken without delay.

is .0. CONCLUSIONS

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53.) t That this historic workshop; after seven days of deliberation, has outlined a Programme of Action which will provide the Movement with the material means to ensure self-sufficiency and the continued escalation of our struggle, and; That the relevant structures of the Movement be instructed to immediately implement this Programme of Action-as it applies to their department, region and sections, under the guidance of the Office of the Treasurer General.

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8V3/1t That the address of the Treasurer General to the workshop; the five Commission Reports and this Final Workshop document be made available to all regions, departments and sections, within one month from the end of workshop; and that all these hold immediate reportback meetings in their respective areas.

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jQ. xghitufhe Oficiisil8\$tgf giggihrer General immediately creates a Programme of Action Committee to be instituted forthwith

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and be charged with the task of implementing the recommendations of this historic workshop.

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?\_Ehwrkshop was Iglosed with ah address by t-het l  
u-.- .. ",4-&i:g!, who thanked the participants for their  
contributions, and exhorted them to spare no effort in trans-  
lating this Programme of Action into reality without delay.  
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Addendum:

NOTE FROM THE WORKSHOP TO THE NEG

As far as the promotion of artists and artistic products from  
home is concerned, there\_should be a moratorium until a ruling -  
is received from the National Executive Committee. This work-  
shop asks the Office of the Treasurer General to discuss with  
the NEC the question of obtaining goods from inside the country  
and its ,implications for the boycott campaign,.so that very  
clear explanations and guidelines are given to all missions  
and solidarity groups on this issue.