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INTRODUCIIQN

This document provides a summary of the wide variety of proposals received for discussion, and in some cases presentation, at the Donorls Conference. This document is divided into five sections. The first provides an overview of the objectives of the Conference.

The second section describes the variety of proposals received within each of the political priority areas. These areas are:

- 1 Building the ANC politically and organizationally.
2. Programmes for eXecombatants, internal refugees and political prisoners.
3. returning our exiles and phasing out external projects.
4. Community development.

The third section indicates for each of the Commissions the projects which will need to be considered and also indicates some of the strengths and weaknesses of the project proposals within each sector.

The Conference serves to obtain clarity for the ANC, and to inform existing and potential donors, about the ANC's approach to political organization and community development. To achieve these aims the key priorities, projects and programmes within the following sectors must be mapped out:

1. Building the ANC politically and organizationally.
2. Programmes for ex- combatants, internal refugees and political prisoners.
3. Returning our exiles and phasing out external projects.
4. Community development.

In order to acheive these objectives, the conference will provide us with:

1. An understanding of the state of the nation and the key political demands presently facing us. (Wednesday a.m.)
2. An understanding of the key organizational and developmental requirements of the ANC and community organizations. (Wednesday p.m.)
3. An understanding of the major projects, programmes and institutional needs facing the liberation movement. (Thursday a.m. and p.m.)

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In order to achieve our objectives, it is useful to 013551fy the demands presently facing us into four broad areas. As we approach each of these areas we must guard against allowing the erequirements of specific projects to cloud our understanding of the importance of the project to the strategic objectives of the ANC at present. The prioritisation of projects should be based on their ability to help us realise our short-term goals of transferring power to the people, and our medium-term goal of empowering people reconstructing society and developing an institutional base for a nonracial, nonsexist, democratic and unitary South Africa.

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In brief, the political and organizational needs of the movement at present are:

1. To build an organizational base to give effect to the political needs of the moment. This includes building the ANC legally, its Departments, and building the Woments League and Youth League.
2. To develop the administrative efficiency and capacity of the ANC and its formations.
3. To ensure that our people are prepared for a negotiated settlement.

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For organizational purposes, the ANC is presently divided into four broad areas. These are:

(1) Office of the President: Here, one finds the Departments of Information and Publicity, Public Relations, International Relations, National Executive, Department of Economic Policy, as well as the administrative requirements of the Presidentts office. The budgetary requirements for the Presidentfs Office are:

Organizational Costs 1991 R 1778722

Capital Costs 1991 R 2283697

Total Costs 1991 R 4062419

(ii) Office of the Secretary General: here, one finds the Department of Political Education, Education, Social welfare, Administration, Personnel and Training, National Conference, Organising, etc. The budgetary requirements for the Secretary GeneralTs Office are:

Organizational Costs 1991 R 1859991

Capital Costs 1991 R 1251406

Total Costs 1991 R 3111397

(iii) Office of the Treasurer General: Here, one finds the Departments of Projects, Finance, Logistics, Fundraising, Building and Maintenance. The budgetary requirements for the Treasurer General's Office are:

Organizational Costs 1991 R 1700470

Capital Costs 1991 R 1353886

Total Costs 1991 R 3054356

(iv) Regional Offices: Fifteen regional offices have been established and the requirements for these offices include rent, utilities, administration, reception, and the like. The budgetary requirements are:

Organizational Costs 1991 R 1700005

Capital Costs 1991 R 2656800

Total Costs 1991 R 4356805

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The Women's League have identified three phases to their legal re-establishment. These include (i) merging present structures and reestablishing the organization; (ii) developing the leadership and organizational capacity; and (iii) focussing on development and growth.

The budgetary requirements of the NL are as follows:

. 1991 1992 1993

Org. Costs 1369000 1534000 2095000

Activities 650000 1990000 2250000

Conference 899000

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The Youth League has provided a budget for the establishment of a National office and 14 regional offices. Their budgetary requirements are as follows:

National Office Costs ' 1991 R 648356

Regional Offices 1991 R 3227120

Events, seminars, workshops 1991 R 325000

Total costs 1991 R 4200456

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The Department of Legal and Constitutl0nal Affairs (OLGA) consists of a Legal Department and it also facilitates the wrow of the Constltutional Committee. With regard to the Legal Department, the office attends not only to the legal requirements of the ANC, but it provides a wide range of activities and services in the fields of human rights violations, assisting Victims of Apartheid, and the like. The Constitutional Committee, on the other hand, facilitates education about, and developing constitutional guidelines for, a future South Africa.

The budgetary requirements have been indicated to be:

Legal Department 1991 R 897325

1992 R 620620

1993 R 642070

Constitutional Committee 1991 R 1912863

1992 R 1912865

1993 R 1912863

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The Department of Arts and Culture is responsible for co-ordination, planning and financing of ANC regional, national and international projects and programmes in the areas of Sport, Arts and Culture. The budget proposal focusses on the departmental requirements of DAC as well as indicating ways to develop a Cultural Policy, training and development programmes in Arts and Culture, and the development of links with other programmes.

The budgetary requirements are as follows:

1991 1992 1993

Running expenses 560000

Capital expenditure 50000

Activities 310000

Contingency 80000

Total 1000000 1350000 1650000

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This project is being motivated to ensure we address the capacity of the ANC to administer its affairs properly. It provides for two components: the development of administrative systems and the setting up of a department of administration. The budgetary requirements for a twoyear period are as follows:

Salaries 1991/2 R 450000

Travel 1991/2 R 32550

Training costs 1991/2 R 210000

Manuals 1991/2 R 5000

National workshop 1991/2 R 50000

Total 1991/2 R 747550

2.1-2.2 ANC Comegtermieemio .E..c.g.j....s;t.

This project aims to computerise the records of the ANC and ensure there is effective networking capability between regions and the constituent parts of the ANC. The budgetary requirements are as follows:

Finance Department 1991 R 135912

DIP 1991 R 232309

Regional Offices 1991 R 1102092

HQ Departments 1991 R 446416

Total cost 1991 R 1916729

2.1.3 ANC Negotiationswlggk orce

This project aims to prepare both the ANC and the people of South Africa for the negotiations process. In addition, the negotiating team will need to have as a back-up access to research and technical material. It allows for the assembly of information, research, and the like. The budgetary requirements are:

Recurrent Costs 1991/2 R 1879800

Fixed Costs 1991/2 R 425950

Travel, workshops, etc. 1991/2 R 2196000

Contingency 1991/2 R 450175

Total costs 1991/2 R 4951925

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This programme attends to comrades with a set of special needs which must be addressed separately from comrades in the movement as a whole. Most obviously, these comrades are combatants and other parts of our fighting forces who often did not get the chance to further their education or skills levels through formal education, and who therefore will require a special set of programmes to reintegrate them back into civil society.

Three categories of comrades come to mind when we consider these programmes. These are firstly, our heroic forces within MK who do not wish to retool themselves to join the regular army. Instead, they require their own programmes of personal and political development. The second category are those prisoners who have served long prison terms and have not been able to find productive employment upon completion of their sentences. The final category are those young people, primarily from Natal, who have been unable to obtain schooling or other forms of personal and skills development, given their involvement in the frontline of the struggle against apartheid repression.

It should be recognised that the ownership of these programmes is crucial, for if they are to be successful they must not inculcate into comrades the idea that the schemes are simply forms of welfarism. Rather, the comrades involved in these programmes must own the projects and programmes and would need to create the mechanisms of accountability and control.

2.2.1 Development programme for ex-combatants

This project attempts to address that category of comrades with special needs which hinder their personal and skills development: such as their age, lack of formal education, those needing to build self-esteem and dignity, etc. The project aims to help ex-combatants to become active and productive members of society and therefore ease their reintegration into society.

The project is divided into three phases. The first is a preparatory feasibility study, the end result of which will be the launch of an association of ex-combatants. The second stage will involve the implementation of programmes and the final stage will involve co-operation and linking with community-based initiatives. The budgetary requirements for the first phase of the project (feasibility study) is as follows:

Travel 1991 R 17270
Research 1991 R 12200
Administration 1991 R 88440
Staffing 1991 R 25200
Total costs 1991 H 157421

2.2.2 Khuphuka Skills Training and Employment Project

This project endeavours to create an institution to address skills requirements of returnees and particularly ex-combatants. The project aims to ensure that comrades acquire skills in a productive environment and will focus on skills training, trainee support services, postcertification and the like.

The project requires a cash injection to create the institutional framework, and in theory the running costs will ultimately be paid by the profits generated from production. Ultimately, the intake of students will be some 270 students per annum.

The budgetary requirements are as follows:

Operational costs 1991/5 R 5000000
Capital expenditure 1991/5 R 15000000

2.3 RETURNING OUR EXILES AND PHASING OUT EXTERNAL PROJECTS

The third category of programme requirements revolves around the whole process of repatriation, resettlement and reintegration of comrades who are presently in exile, in prison, or who are internal refugees.

2.3.1 Repatriation Process.

The process of repatriation, resettlement and reintegration of our exiles, prisoners and internal refugees is one of the most important and urgent questions facing us. While the N00 is dealing with the issue, it is still important that we consider the need for projects around welfare, education, training, job placement, and the like.

2.3.1.1 Social Welfare (QNC H0) and repatriation

This project aims to provide, in the short-term, a needs assessment survey and in the longterm, the development of appropriate structures in the regions in order to be able to render social services. Immediate beneficiaries will be psychiatric patients, the physically handicapped, the aged,

invalids, and unaccompanied children.

The budgetary requirements are as follows:

Travel 1991 R 112809

Remuneration 1991 R 1638000

Office costs 1991 R 260000

Total costs 1991 R 2010809

2.3.2 Phasing out the external projects.

A second set of concerns for the movement have to do with making decisions about the future of projects which are presently located outside South Africa. Clearly, with the imminent return of most exiles, there will not be a need for such projects (as Dakawa/Mazimbu) to continue and we must consider how such projects will be phased out. Care must be exercised to ensure that students presently benefitting from such programmes are not disadvantaged unduly by these decisions.

2.3.3 Developing education and productive facilities internally.

Thirdly, it should also be recognised that a very great number of students within our movement are unable to obtain education inside and it might be necessary to urgently consider actions (including dealing with de Klerk) to provide for all of our comrades fairly and equally. Thus, we must consider whether or not similar projects need to be located inside South Africa.

2.4 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

2.4.1 Programmes on National Negotiations and Reconstruction

2.4.1.1 Community and citizen education project (Matla Trust)

This project aims to undertake educational and organizational work on the constitutional options, and will address issues such as democracy, the role of the state, the promotion of a rights culture, and the like. Budgetary requirements are:

Capital costs 1991/2 R 3497000

Running costs 1991/2 R 16631000

Total costs 1991/2 R 20128000

2.4.1.2 Towards a language policy for South Africa (008, 090)

The issue of our future language policy is coming increasingly to the fore. Through workshop/package material this projects aims

to broaden discussion around the key issues and to take forward the formulation of a democratic language policy for South Africa.

Budgetary considerations are:

Workshops 1991 R 272600

Administration 1991 R 20000

Salaries 1991 R 15400

Materials 1991 R 22000

Contingencies 1991 R 20000

Total costs 1991 R 350000

2.4.1.3 Economic Policy Research and Training (EPRIT)

The Economic Policy Research and Training Institute will provide the democratic movement with information, data, analysis and policy options pertaining to the economy. It will contribute to the movement's ability to formulate and articulate viable and coherent economic policies that will simultaneously address the issues of massive inequality, poverty, and deprivation of the majority of people on the one hand, and foster sustainable economic growth on the other hand. The Institute will both conduct research and train aspirant researchers.

Budgetary considerations are:

1991 1992 1993

Capital costs R 197100 R 26500

Operating costs R 1363700 R 1893920

Total costs R 1560800 R 1920420

2.4.1.4 Establishment of a Development Programmes Centre (DPC)

The Centre sees as some of its objectives the massification of a culture of development in order to redress the vast inequities which our country finds itself in. COOperation between agencies and communities is to be fostered. The DPC is to establish regional offices and networks in fourteen regions.

Budgetary estimates are as follows:

1991 R 4466800

1992 R 3647800

1993 R 3816800

2.4.4 Education and Training

2.4.4.1 Organization

2.4.4.1.1 Formation of a network of educational prOJects (ANC Educ.)

It is increasingly recognised that a plethora of organizations has emerged to address various facets of the educational crisis. This project attempts to bring together agencies involved in educational work and: (1) map out the various innovative educational initiatives being taken in the country, (ii) guide the priorities for educational development and needs, and (iii) help determine democratic principles by which educational reconstruction and development of non-formal educational initiatives might be guided. Budget for the conference is R16B000 and includes pre-conference meetings.

2.4.4.1.2 SANSCO/NUSAS joint application

The two major students organizations in South Africa are presently in the process of constructing one organization. They are seeking funds for the following projects:

(i) Intensive Learning Project: Through a tutorial programme

(including a Winter School), this project aims to assist metric students pass their exams. Budget here is R1211000.

(ii) Literacy Project: This project aims to impart reading and numeracy skills to those denied access to education. Budget here is R6953800

(iii) Education Charter Project: This campaign seeks to coordinate education struggles, collect student and community demands for education and to develop a charter. Budget is R135000.

(iv) Leadership development project: This project aims to develop a dynamic and sound student leadership. Budget is R817500.

(v) Organizational costs: Budget is R1878350.

(vi) Launching one organization: R688450

Total budget: R11684100

2.4.4.2 Institutional formation

2.4.4.2.1 Southern O.F.5.

The southern OFS region has indicated that it is to embark on a programme to provide six kindergartens, two vocational schools, six preparatory schools, 46 primary schools, 46 adult literacy schools, and two cultural centres. Budget has not been provided.

2.4.4.2.2 Education Policy Unit (WITS)

The Education Policy Unit at University of the Witwatersrand conducts research into education policy. Their research plan for 1991 includes completing the following projects:

- (1) register of education research conducted since 1985
- (ii) alternative education project
- (iii) curriculum project
- (iv) research training project.

In addition new projects will include the National Education Policy Investigation, an investigation into technical and vocational education provision, the monitoring of desegregation of white state schools, and the like. Budget is: R748377.

2.4.4.2.3 Kangwane Project

This project plans to establish a main workstudy centre and 8 sub-centres in KaNgwane to serve as an alternative secondary school structure. Budget is R3852800 (1991), R5466500 (1992), R16313180 (1993).

2.4.4.3 Training Programmes

2.4.4.3.1 Regional Education Officers Training programme (ERIP)

This project will train regional education officers in the effective use of resources in programmes and educational work, it will train REIs in leadership, educational and methodological skills. Budget is R113750.

2.4.4.3.2 Branch Education Officers Training programme (HAP)

This project is to train branch education officers in the skills required for designing and running training and education for their branches. Budget is R1160670. '

2.4.4.3.Z Entrepreneurship development resource centre (ANC Transkei)

This programme will aim to prepare potential entrepreneurs in acquiring the skills of preparing simple project feasibility studies based on market analysis, technical study, financial requirements and management input. Budget is R591700

2.4.4.3.4 Community Education Computer Society (Western Cape)

CECS exists to train community organizations and teachers in the use of computers to advance community development. The programme hopes to go national in 1991. Budget is R2658800 (1991), R5563060 (1992), R6782462 (1993)...

2.4.4.3.5 Masifunde Educational Project (Eastern cape)

This project was formed in 1983 to run educational and development programmes. The primary work done by the project is to provide bursaries and tutorials.

2.4.4.4 Curriculum development

2.4.4.4.1 Curriculum development (Sacred Heart College, JHB)

This project is presently involved with producing student workbooks and teachers handbooks. To produce the remaining three workbooks, R115000 is required.

2.4.4.4.2 Materials development, skills training and research in the performing arts

This project aims to be involved in materials development, skills training and research in the performing arts. No budget was supplied.

2.4.5 Culture and sports.

2.4.5.1 Organization

2.4.5.1.1 Film and Allied Workers Society

FAWO was launched in Johannesburg in 1988 and operates primarily in the Transvaal and the Western Cape. It has undertaken a number of campaigns and through the Community Video School trains aspirant young black filmmakers. FAWU requires R292100 for organizational costs .

2.4.5.1.2 COSAW

COSAW was launched in 1987 and is involved in workshops, publishing, resource centres, research, networking and the like. COSAW requires R3525248 for administration, resource centres, mobile libraries, outreach programmes, publications, conferences, and projects.

2.4.5.1.3 Federation of SA Cultural Organizations

In late 1990, FOSACO was formed at a meeting of organizations as widely diverse as COSAW and trade union based cultural groups. Funds are required to set up national and regional infrastructures, pursue campaigns, engage in education and training, create a national arts fund, and the like. The budget for 1991 is R1419338 (1991), R1058906 (1992), and R1217744 (1993) for administration, workshops, a cultural charter conference, the national arts fund, a national newsletter, an arts festival, and a scholarship programme.

2.4.5.2 Institutional formations

2.4.5.2.1 NOSC Developing Sports Centres in Underprivileged areas

The NOSC was set up to cater for national and regional sport disciplines and advance the goals of a mass-based, nonracial sports federation to cater for competition and recreational sport. The NOSC envisages creating sports centres in 14 regions which will become self-financing entities with the ability to sponsor local sports persons. For the 14 centres a budget of R8701000 has been requested.

2.4.5.2.2 Alexandra Arts-Centre

The Alex Arts centre was initiated towards the end of 1984. It provides: (i) training in arts education in various disciplines which will increase job opportunities; (ii) an outreach programme; (iii) a recreational facility. The A90 is requesting R540000 as running costs for the years 1991 and 1992.

2.4.5.2.3 School of Performing Arts (Durban)

The School of Performing Arts aims to provide children with a cross-cultural experience in drama, music and modern dance, arts and crafts, as well as exposure to literature and film. The budget being requested is R106400 (1991), R72100 (1992), and R82202 (1993).

2.4.5.2.4 Manenberg People,s Centres

The Mahenberg People,e Centre was conceived in 1988 and led to the conetruction of a Centre with a managing board and a number of sub-committees: Tenant: Committee, Working Committee, etc. The project for which funds are being requested is a cultural project involving drama, music, phtography, childrenTS programme, song groups, dance, library and resource workl The sum requested is R63280 with the remaining R138392 being collected by the community itself.

2.4.5.2.5 Film Education Resources Centres

The FANO proposes the establishement of Film Education Resource Centres in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban. The Centres would contain basic resources as well as simple video units. The budget requested is R368100.

2.4.5.3 Training Programmes

2.4.5.3.1 New African Theatre Trust

The NATT provides education and training in Cape Town in drama, play making, communications skills, voice and movement, organization and administrative skills. They are requesting R489337 (1991), R541685 (1992), R595854 (1993) for full-time and part-time courses.

2.4.5.4 Documentation

2.4.5.4.1 Film: Matchbox City (JHB)

Decsribed as a 15 episode social realist soap opera set in Soweto and Johannesburg, this proposal rqeuests R3600000 for a soap opera.

2.4.5.4.2 Documentary Photo Project (UCT)

The documentary photography project aims to establish a library/archive as well as allow the upgrading of photographic skills of photographers. Projects include education and training, exhibitions, publications, library/archive, conference and seminar programme, and a scholarship programme. The buudget which is requested is for R170100 (1991), R106750 (1991), R120000 (1992)..

2.4.6 Health, social welfare and children

2.4.6.1 National Committee for Children's Rights (NCCR)

The National Committee for Children's Rights (NCCR) was created to coordinate work concerning children and is presently registered as a trust. Their aim is: (i) to carry out a nationwide awareness campaign to highlight the present crisis of children, (ii) to establish a database on the situation of children, and (iii) to facilitate the work in progress by different organizations and provide training. The programme requires R1205000 for 1991.

2.4.7 Women and youth

2.4.7.1 women in development

This project has three main aims: to build institutions which support women in development, to embark on training programmes, and to undertake community-based development projects.

The budget includes the following components:

1991 1992 1993

WID Centre R 1529000 R 2000000 R 3000000

Regional net. R 3920000 R 4000000 R 5000000

Comm. pilots R 2249000 R 6000000 R10000000

Total cost R 7698000 R12000000 RIB000000

2.4.8 Housing and infrastructure

2.4.8.1 Community tourism project

The Community Tourism Project envisages the creation of a community tourism belt along the unspoilt coast of the Transkei. This project will generate income after an initial injection of capital. The capital costs are RBS0000 and operating costs for one year R522000 making a budget request of R1322500 for 1991.

2.4.8.2 Phoenix Settlement Trust

Phoenix Settlement was established by Mahatma Gandhi in 1904 as a nonracial community committed to experimenting with satyagraha in personal, social, economic and political spheres. Many of the buildings were unfortunately badly damaged during political uprisings in 1985. A project is being motivated to upgrade the

settlement and school and reconstruct the home of Gandhi. The budget request is for R2890300.

2.4.8.3 Isinamva Community Development centre

The Isinamva Centre lies in the heart of an underdeveloped part of rural Transkei. The aim of the project is to improve education about nutrition, to create unemployment, to teach by demonstartaion, to educate and train, and the like. The project requires R486475 (1991) and R531507 (1992).

2.4.9 Local government and civics

2.4.9.1 National civics

A proposal has been provided for building an administrative and organizational infrastructure for civics, for empowering as many people as possible to play a role in developmental processes, and to facilitate the rebuilding of infrastructure. The overall budget consists of R2538250 for office establishment and R635250 for workshops making a total of R3273500 for 1991.

2.4.9.2 Eastern Cape Civics

The Eeastern cape Civics are involved in establishing a regional coordinating body to initiate a comprehensive and united programme of action in the region. This will be followed by the efficient development of civic structures and finally a rural development programme will be implemented. A budget for R524000 has been submitted for 1991.

2.4.9.3 Natal Civics

The development of Civics in Natal have been hampered by the continual repression of community-based structures particularly in african areas under the control of the KwaZulu Government. In addition, there has traditionally been an imbalance in funding with small African townships and Indianebased civics receiving the vast majority of funds. In order to get a process underway which would lead to the establishment of a regional structure, a Civics task Force was elected at a meeting in August 1990. Their brief was to visit rural and urban interim and established structures, determining their needs and reporting back to a workshop at which a regional Civic might be launched. This work has been completed and the workshop will be held in February/March. Funds, however, are required for emerging and established civic structures.

2.4.9.4 Local Government Training project

2.4.9.5 Karoo Law Clinic Advice Office

The Karoo Law Clinic Advice Office has embarked on a support, education and empowerment project and requires R100400 to continue its work.

2.4.9.6 Masifunde

2.4.10.1 Media

2.4.10.1 Organizations

2.4.10.1.1 Department of Information and Publicity

The ANC DIP requires funds to continue its publicity work.

Included in the budget request is a proposal for R8220000 to produce publicity material, R44750 to produce organising booklets, R549000 to staff the office

2.4.10.2 Institutions

2.4.10.2.1 Culture and working life video unit

2.4.10.2.2 Cassette Educational Trust

2.4.10.2.3 Community Video Educational Trust

2.4.10.3 Training

2.4.10.3.1 Western Cape Media Trainers Forum

2.4-10.4 Documentation

2.4.10.4.1 DPE Audio-visual

2.4.10.4.2 New Era Magazine

2.4.10.4.3 ELP-ANC Books

3. STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF OUR PROJECT PRESENTATION

It is very clear from this listing that there are a number of weaknesses in the projects we have listed.

(i) The most obvious point to make is that it is difficult to work out exactly how the projects fit into the overall strategic objectives of the liberation movement. When discussing priorities, work out some principles that will guide your prioritisation.

(ii) Another point is that the projects overrepresent some areas and underrepresent other areas. Clearly Natal and the more rural areas are underrepresented. In addition, areas of greatest need such as informal settlements receive almost no mention.

(iii) Some project and programmes possibilities are not even included. For example, the whole question of reconstruction programmes dealing with the Natal violence is a crucial project and programme area.

(iv) A number of the projects presented here are already receiving funding from donors (including the Kagiso Trust). we must be careful that we don't encourage double-funding.

(v) Mechanisms of accountability are not very obvious from the project details.

What we need to do is to go through the projects and: (a) sort out the projects through giving them priorities; (b) add in those project areas which you feel should also have been included, and (c) expand the projects which you feel are a little limited.