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NOTES ON MEETING OF COMRADE T.G.

COMRADE S.G. WITH SOME CHIEF REPRESENTATIVES
STATIONED IN EUROPE AND LONDON BASED MEMBERS
OF THE OFFICE OF THE TREASURER GENERAL.

JANUARY 18 1989

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ONE DAY MEETING OF ANC CHIEF REPRESENTATIVES IN EUROPE
WITH COMRADES TREASURER GENERAL AND SECRETARY GENERAL
TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON TREASURERY MATTERS, HELD JAN 18,
1989, HOSTED BY INTERNATIONAL DEFENCE AND AID, FUND.

Missions invited : Denmark In attendance from O.T.G. :
F.R. Germany Cdes T.L.
Finland I.C.
France W.K.
Norway T.E.
Sweden G.S.
United Kingdom.

absent : Finland
France.

Chairman : Cde Mendi Msimang C.R. United Kingdom.

Cde Mendi kept his introduction very short so as to give maximum time for Comrades T.G and S.G. to give motivation background for the meeting. But before calling on Cde T.G. to introduce the topic he reminded us all of the all too many comrades who had died during 1988 and asked us to honour their lives by being upstanding for two minutes.

Comrade Thomas Nkobi, Treasurer General of the ANC

It was good to see that five of the invited representatives responded in spite of the very short notice of this meeting. It is an encouraging reflection of your awareness of the changed situation in relation to our struggle both internally and internationally, as is set out in the January 8th statement.

As you know from that statement the Treasury Department is now called upon to provide funds and to provide them quickly of such gigantic proportions as to make this meeting necessary. Our army has to be air lifted out of Angola to new areas. I will not deal with the political correctness of this decision, we have with us today our Comrade Secretary General who will deal with that aspect.

Comrades this fresh call upon the Treasury Department comes at a time when our bank balance is very low indeed, hence the necessity for this meeting and for the further one we shall hold in March to which more of you will be invited. These meetings have been made necessary because the old idea that HQ will solve all problems has got to be swept away. The responsibility to raise money now falls on your shoulders particularly those of you here today in this room who operate in Europe. It is you that are going to have to apply your minds and come up with the ways and means to produce the goods. The freedom of our people cannot be held back because of lack of funds - the ANC must provide.

During 1988 because of the MK cadres at home and the political correctness of the leadership of the ANC people came to Lusaka and elsewhere seeking meetings with us as never before. Business men, religious leaders, Women, Youth, Sports workers, Cultural workers, Community Workers, leaders from the Indian community of Natal, organisers from the mass Democratic and non-governmental organisations and many more. All of them requiring accommodation which cost millions of kwacha, many of them requiring their air fares paid too, because with the destabilisation of their organisations created by the 3 years of the State of Emergency their financial resources are limited too.

Also, as Comrade Chairman has already mentioned - during 1988 many of our comrades both inside the country and in exile died. As you know the ANC has always shouldered the cost of such funerals including, when the comrade died in exile bringing two next of kin from home for the ceremony.

Thirdly a number of our MK comrades were released from jail during 1988 after serving 20-15-12 or so years incarcerated in apartheid jails. Many of them have completely lost touch with their families, they are without homes or any means of

survival. The ANC has to provide.

And these will not be one-off costs. More people will come to see us. More comrades and families will require help from us, such as I have already mentioned and those who suffer at the hands of the Natal and Cape Province War Lords. So comrades you have a mammoth task before you, I look forward to what you have to say.

Comrade Alfred Nzo, Secretary General of the ANC

It is not necessary for us to have a lengthy discussion on why funds are required or the politics involved in that decision. All is very clearly set out in the January 8th statement. My contribution here today is to stress that we shall be successful in our fund raising only to the extent we are able to motivate people, to the extent we are alert to the propaganda that is going to be unleashed against us and our ability to defuse such propaganda and win greater support for our struggle.

1. The fight against colonialism is won. This is a line which the Social Democratic forces will pursue as will the racist regime in our country, conveniently forgetting our special case that apartheid is colonialism of a special kind.

2. Peaceful solution S. Africa will make much of their meetings with their Black neighbouring states. The withdrawal of troops from Angola, their agreement to Resolution 435 and their implementation of its clauses thus allowing Namibia to be free. And their so-called multi racial structures - all proving their commitment to bring about a peaceful solution to the racial unrest in our country. So now there is no need for the ANC to continue its 'reign of terror'.

3. The Western world's fear of revolution

The ANC is going to be subjected to much sharper attacks for the purpose of destroying our revolutionary perspectives. Terrorist organisation. Hand maiden of the Communist Party -

and many other equally discrediting descriptions of our organisation will be used which we must totally refute.

Inter - relationship

We must prepare ourselves to face all the above challenges and more. No one must be left in any doubt of the catalytic role of the ANC in the liberation of Namibia. That without the agreement of the ANC to remove its army from Angola S. Africa would not be implementing Resolution 435.

We shall only raise funds to the measure of the realisation by the Mass Democratic Movement of the World and their Governments of the political maturity of the ANC in immediately recognising its responsibility to withdraw its army from Angola what ever the cost to the ANC. A cost that the ANC must now ask the Freedom Loving Governments and Democratic Movements of the World to share. Special task force Such a force has been set up to see to the redeployment of our army. Already in Northern Angola the Regional Command has dismantled our camps. A very difficult undertaking - proving the high calibre of our leadership there able to organise in the face of continual threat of attack.

By the end of this month we should be in a position to move many of our people to their new areas.

Our Frontline friends

Where we have discussed with our friends the question of securing new areas for our people we have been received very sympathetically quite unlike the reactions at the time of Nkomati. They recognise the key role played by the ANC in the freedom of Namibia. However while they appreciate the size of our task they may not be in a position to solve all our problems - it is our responsibility to see that when our MK cadres arrive in their new areas their material needs will be met.

THE STRUGGLE IS NOT TO BE INTERRUPTED.

Mission Reports.

Fed. Rep. Germany, Cde Tony Seedat.

This is a very hostile area of work for the ANC. SWAPO is trying to push us into a corner saying that now their country is to be freed the UN and friendly Governments will be cutting off their funds at a time when she will require all the financial aid she can get to rebuild her nation.

The slogan 'Apartheid is War' is being most sympathetically taken up by various organisations including the churches.

A regular information bulletin is distributed including a tear-off bankers order form.

Money for projects can be raised in the FRG but properly prepared project documents are required. For example the Womens section in Lusaka are asking for a bus, but we have been waiting six months for the project document relating to the request.

DM300,000 was raised for Radio Freedom, but to date no report on the progress of this project has been received. Neither has there been a report from Dakowa for several years.

Medicines for the Medical Department could be guaranteed on an ongoing basis if that committee would only supply the proper document.

As a movement we underestimate peoples conception of our struggle. At a short impromptu meeting with the Foreign Minister of Switzerland (a country deeply financially involved in S. Africa) the question of funds for the ANC was raised and the Minister was most sympathetic. This must be followed up.

Our Amandla Ensemble has been to Brazil - has that country been asked for financial support. Venezuela too. These countries recognise that the ANC is the future government of South Africa and can therefore be approached for assistance now.

Also India, they should be asked for no less than 10 million on an annual basis.

But none of this can be realised until we get ourselves properly organised, producing well documented feasibility

project documents in good time - by now we should be preparing our 1990 programme.

The Socialist countries must be included too. We know that London approaches them for small gifts for their annual bazaar, but really we should be presenting them with comprehensive lists of our requirements. As I see it at no time have approaches been made to either the Youth or Trade Union movements of GDR or Bulgaria.

Finally there is a lot of sympathy in Germany for the victims of the Natal War Lords and vast sums of money are going into the country - the ANC should know where this is going.

Norway. Cde Thandie Rankoe.

Although I have only been in Norway a short while I am aware that there is a lot of support for the ANC which has to be followed up. We need to be sent projects which we can campaign for. Fund raising has been started, since Jan 8th Kr63,000 has been raised. We have very little material for our 'Schools Campaign Against Apartheid' we hope London can provide us with some.

Sweden. Cde Billy Modise

There a lot of support activities in Sweden.

The mission holds two bank accounts, one for office administration and the other is only drawn on when instructed by the O.T.G.

The Social Democratic Party of Sweden has a number of ANC projects related to bringing students to Sweden to study their civic or legal system(s)

Fortunately all the political parties seem to recognise the justness of the ANC which is very healthy for there is no antagonism, we have relationships with them all. One of the smaller Communist Parties annually holds a Peace Race which is well supported. This is in addition to their regular contributions.

Trade Unions - quite separate from the work being done by SACTU

I am to be invited to meetings they hold with workers they bring from S. Africa.

But we cannot take Swedish support for granted we have got to drop our lackadaisical attitude. For example - the Swedish National Students Organisation invited a group of children to Sweden - but due to inefficiency ^{then} the children missed their flight. The Swedes/bought them further tickets for another flight at a cost of Kr50,000. To this day the unused tickets have not been returned...Our Youth and Student section send requests for material aid for SOMAFCO but (a) they do not clearly set out their ^{and} requirements, and, (b) do not acknowledge receipt of the goods /fail to submit reports or accounts. Another problem for us is lack of HQ central coordination of requests...the Swedish Radio has been approached by Radio Freedom for material for a project consisting of powerful transmitters, cassettes and other radio equipment worth US\$5 million. Has this request been cleared by the O.T.G? we do not know. We feel it is essential that all such requests should come through the O.T.G. to the Chief Rep not direct from a department to a doner organisation.

Emmaus and Bread and Fishes. Both these organisations are continuing supporters of the ANC. Our students must be stopped from exploiting them for personal gain.

On the cultural front we have not been so active as when Cde Lindiwe was here, but a start has been made.

Please take note of the fact that the President of PAC has been on a visit. SWAPO receives verymuch more support than does the ANC - unless we get ourselves organised we could find ourselves in a very awkward position.

Denmark Cde Aaron Mnisi

Three main areas of operation.

1. Government/DANIDA
2. Political parties and Trade Unions.
3. The public through the Anti-Apartheid movement, artistes etc.

1. Through the Government 70 million kroner is annually earmarked for the victims of apartheid. The ANC receives between 7-8 million. What happens to the rest is not discussed with the ANC.
 2. Money is raised from political parties and trade unions to cover office administration and other costs, thus releasing some money for the Fighting Fund.
 3. Public campaigns have been organised jointly (cultural campaigns) with Sweden and have been very successful particularly the campaign for medical kits.
- EEC/SANAM - needs consideration together with other Representatives.

Some suggestions on addition / improved methods of raising funds.

- Appoint a central coordinator.
- Ensure that project documents are timely and properly prepared.
- Extend the sale of arts and crafts from home as was started by comrade Lindiwe, This will require the involvement of our Cultural Dept - refer to F/R Workshop proposals.
- Establish our own travel agents operation.
- Examine the possibility of finding suitable comrades to open restaurants for us (the P.L.O has some).
- OAU/PAC Revitalise the campaign started by Cde Johnnie for the OAU to recognise the ANC as the sole representative of the South African liberation struggle.

UNITED Kingdom. Cde Ismail Coovadia on behalf of
Cde Mendi Msimang

The U.K is the oldest mission in Europe. For many years this mission was heavily subsidised by HQ. As a result of the fund raising now been carried out in line with the proposals set out in the Fund Raising Workshop document, dependance on HQ is substantially reduced.

Newspaper appeals : in 1988 between £80-90,000 was raised.

Information packs and direct mailings list of 20,25,000 names.

In 1988 between £40-50,000 was raised by bankers orders.

Annual bazaar : £12,000 in 1988.
Dances : Two dances were held in 1988, between them they raised £4,000.
Joint events with local Governments : £7,000
Annual marathon : £3-4,000
Exhibition : £10,000
Through R.P.C. Units : £8-10,000
Fighting Fund : Regret response has been poor.
Agencies : In addition to the ongoing humanitarian assistance Oxfam are considering taking on a Dakowa village, to the tune of about £1 million, spread over two years.
Political Parties and Trade Unions : Insufficient attention.
Solidarity containers : A suggestion from the Arusha Conference. This was put to a UK Conference of supporters called by the ANC but it did not take off. We shall have to begin again.
Merchandising : This began in a modest way with one person, now it has become a company with premises of its own and a staff of 4. It was slow to take off but now it should grow.
General : This mission could take on a lot more work but it is limited because of shortage of staff. For example the mission has to rely on HQ treasury staff based here to be involved with receipting, banking, logistics, travel arrangements and the raffle. It is therefore suggested that if the Dept of Manpower are not in a position to identify a suitable comrade to strengthen the mission staff, authority should be given for someone from the mission to visit Dakowa to look for that person.

Comrade Chairman

Before opening the meeting for general discussion Cde Mendi asked Comrade Thomas to comment on the proceedings so far.

Comrade Thomas Nkobi, Treasurer General

When I addressed you at the beginning of this meeting I tried to show you the size of the problem now facing us, that we can no longer be satisfied with raising a few thousands

we now must think in MILLIONS and we need them now, so please co rades readjust your thinking and let us have your ideas.

SUMMARY OF IDEAS

- The first task is to determine long and short term projects.
- Can the ANC meet the challenge - yes but not alone. HQ must provide properly documented motivation material which can be presented to Goverment and non-governmental organisations for them to sponser campaigns for us.
- The hitherto lackadaisical attitude of projects and other departments must be replaced with a tightly organised well coordinated O.T.G Fund Raising Commission.
- As a matter of extreme urgency our problem of representation in Washington must be resolved. Because of the present unsatisfactory position, work in the UK is seriously hampered. No doubt other areas are similarly affected.
- OAU - ANC sole representatives this also needs immediate attention.
- Representatives meeting Ambassadors of countries where we do not have missions must use such occasions to discuss finance which that can then be followed up by HQ.
- Captilise on the fact that many countries not yet giving us assistance recognise that the ANC is the future government of South Africa - for example Brazil, Venezuela and the Oil Kingdoms.
- In addition to bringing Chief Reps together to discuss Fund Raising they should also be given some guidelines on how a chief rep should operate.
- Follow up on the list of possible doners which Cde Temba will let us have.
- O.T.G and the O.S.G must define the relationship of Chief Rep in a region to the regional treasurer and lines of communication with HQ. At present it is far from clear.
- Mission personnel must be brought up to full strength.

DECISIONS TAKEN

- * An extended meeting of Chief Representatives and Regional Treasurers to be held in March.
 - * Venue Oslo.
 - * Dates March 15 - 17th.
 - * Comrade Thandie to make initial enquiries in Oslo to immediately be followed up by Comrade Thomas.
 - * O.T.G to set up a working party operating from Lusaka to prepare documents for this meeting.
 - * London to set up a small working party to back up Lusaka when called upon to do so.
 - * London to work on notes from this meeting to be part of the motivation material Lusaka will be supplying to Chief Representatives. This to be in the hands of the O.T.G. Lusaka by the end of the month.
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