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AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

INTERNATIONAL DONORS' CONFERENCE

ARUSHA, TANZANIA: 6-8 FEBRUARY 1991.

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1.PROGRAMME.

Welcome by the chairperson

Address by Ndugu Rashidi M. Kawawa, Vice-

Chairman of Chama-Cha Mapinduzi

Address by Comrade Walter Sisulu, Chairperson

of the Internal Leadership Core (I.L.C.)

Messages (Sweden, India, Australia, Nigeria,
Norway)

Address by Comrade T.T. Nkobi, Treasurer-
General of the A.N.C.

Lunch

Development Imperatives facing South Africa

Clarification by Panel

Tea-break and bilateral discussions

Reception

Bilateral discussions

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Projects: Overview and Outlook

Visual and technical presentation, Dakawa/
SOMAFCO

Panel discussion

Tea-break

Commissions

1. Education and Training

2. Rural and Urban development

3. Negotiation and National Reconstruction

Lunch

15.00

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Commissions Report and Discussions

Tea-break

Commissions:

4. Health, Social Welfare and Children

5. Women and Youth

6. Sport, Culture and Media

7. Repatriation, Relocation and Resettlement

Bilateral Discussions

Commissions Report and Discussions

Lunch

Donors Presentation

Tea-break and Free-Period

Conference Communique

Closure

OBJECTIVES OF THE CONFERENCE

a. To present our strategic approach to development.

b. To present programmes/project priorities:

- for development in South Africa according to regional/sectoral needs.

- for A.N.C.

internal/external needs.

c. To suggest mechanisms for co-ordination for effective project development and donor relations:

- within the A.N.C.

- within sectors/regions.

3.DEVELOPMENT IMPERATIVES FACING S.A.

(some extracts from the document)

The central issue in the struggle of South Africa remains the contest for political power. The current reforms under way have not removed the essence of apartheid, the control of political and economic power by the white minority. The potential of any development strategy or plan is a direct function of the extent to which real political power is

exercised by those who conceive it. Any meaningful development process that will benefit the oppressed majority in South Africa will have to be accompanied by the transfer of state power to the majority.

The current period in South Africa has focused attention on the question of an appropriate policy framework, and detailed policy options that can guide the building of a democratic future. To this end we have produced discussion papers that set out the existing consensus and questions of economic policy and approaches to development.

Any discussion about socio-economic development for South Africa today must be located within an appreciation of both the international economic and development environment and the inherited realities of the domestic context.

There is widespread poverty, inequality and economic stagnation in the country. The vast bulk of productive resources are concentrated in the hands of a small minority. Four large conglomerates between them control 81% of the share capital in the country, while the Land Act has reserved ownership of 87% of the land for whites. The richest 5% of the population owns 88% of all personally owned wealth. Blacks, who are 86% of the population earn only 40% of the available income. Over 50% of the population earn income below the household subsistence level. Over 30% of the working population is currently unemployed.

The unfavourable international economic environment, the massive inequalities and poverty and the stagnating economy will all act as major constraints on our capacity to meet the socio-economic development challenges of the future.

It is clear that a fundamental restructuring of the economy and the creation of a new growth path is needed. The new growth path will have to be based on the production of basic goods and social services that are needed by the majority. The increase in demand for basic goods will thus act as a catalyst to other sectors of the economy. The A.N.C. thus calls for a programme of Growth Through Redistribution.

Development and Reconstruction involves three interrelated aspects, namely: (a) changing the social and power relations that exist, in a way that allow people to have greater democratic control over the social, political and economic aspects of their lives; (b) improvement in the material living conditions of the majority and (c) fundamental restructuring of the economy to allow for a sustainable process of change and growth. A

It is clear that a process of development and restructuring requires all three aspects to be equally emphasized.

This involves moving beyond struggles around single issues or reactive approaches to development into having a more holistic

approach that takes on board the challenge of transformation. This involves a conceptual shift from creating development to creating development programmes that involves a cross sectoral and integrated process that involves a multiplicity of actors in transforming a particular area or sector of society. A programme could therefore apply to the country as a whole, a specific sector or a locality.

Within any development programme there is a need to define priorities. This is done so that the allocation of scarce resources can be planned. Within the democratic movement, there is a need to network and maximise co-operation among the range of organisations and individuals that are involved in development work. We need to 'engage' state/parastatals and private sector on well defined terms to achieve our development goals. Also, we need to recognise the role of international agencies but at the same time maintain our independence and control of the development process. We need to become less dependent on foreign aid, consider mechanisms for cost recovery, and investigate areas of development work that are linked to production and economic growth. The Apartheid legacy in the of human resource development amongst black South Africans must be targeted as a matter of urgency. People throughout the country have responded with a measure of urgency to the challenges of reconstruction and the formulation of socio-economic development policies. Development forums that bring together sectors and regions are being set up throughout the country. These forums have began the process of identifying development priorities, building indigenous models for development and facilitating cohesion and co-ordination.

4. OPENING SPEECHES.

(some extracts)

HON. RASHID M. KAWAWA

CCM V-CHAIRMAN

It is with great pleasure and honour that I would like, on behalf of the Party, CCM, the Government and the People of the United Republic of Tanzania, and on my behalf to welcome you most cordially to Arusha and to this conference.

This is an important conference. What brings together is a commitment to carry forward our support to the ANC so that it can bring nearer the day when we realise a united, democratic, non-racial South Africa. But our vision must go further than the abolition of apartheid and the establishment in its stead of democratic political structures. It is necessary to help the people of South Africa to equip themselves to benefit and participate fully in social and economic development of their country on the terms of equality.

This Conference comes at an opportune moment in the liberation

struggle in South Africa. The South African Government' unbanning of political organisations and other measures announced in 1990 and 1991 offer new opportunities for the ANC and other organisations and groups to organise legally inside the country. However, South Africa's political track record over the years, calls for great caution. Some of the good intentions by President De Klerk and his Government have been translated into action and must be acknowledged. But far too many of them remain simply declared intentions.

The picture that emerges from these developments is one of a government which is half-hearted in its readiness to initiate and participate in fundamental political, social and economic change. Support for the freedom movement must not, therefore, be reduced. Rather it must be increased in all its forms.

To donors present here today, I wish to use this occasion to thank them deeply for their assistance. It has helped to accelerate the pace of change in South Africa. It is still needed to strengthen the people for post-apartheid South Africa. I hope that all of you will be generous when the time for pledges comes.

:Eik'kik'k'kiski'k'kivk'k-kiii

COMRADE W. SISULU

CHAIRPERSON: ANC-ILC

At this unique gathering, present, are the Tanzanian people, our host, the people of South Africa and the International Community. We meet with specific objective to once more rally our efforts and resources to end the system of apartheid, and to bring about true democracy in South Africa.

Our people fully understand that the progress we have made in South African struggle is a direct result of the combination of their own sacrifices together with the consistence support of the International Community.

The National Party government has accepted that apartheid must go and that there can be no solution of the South African problem without the ANC. But the ANC does not seek to usurp the right of participation in shaping of the future of our country by all our people and their representatives. Indeed, our Deputy President Nelson Mandela, has sought and had audience with leaders of almost all political parties and homeland leaders. The ANC has however taken numerous initiatives aimed at a negotiated settlement of the South African conflict.

Our demands are for an Interim Government and a Constituent Assembly. By his refusal, De Klerk is insisting on the right of the minority to veto the views of the majority. The numerous repressive and security laws that clutter up the statute books, i

the population registration act, the land act, the group areas act, the release of political prisoners, ending of all political trials and return of exiles are amongst the most obstinate obstacles in the path of free political activity. Even as we are engaged in talks, apartheid remains in place in various forms. We are making an urgent appeal to you to continue to support our liberation movement, the ANC. The initiative of the ANC to spearhead the development of our people now, and in a post-apartheid South Africa, underlines the vital importance of our continued support. Clearly, without economic development, there can be no meaningful political freedom.

For us this is the most difficult period. We require vast resources in all spheres. In such a situation, we cannot but appeal to you, not only to continue the support, but to go even further, to assist us in our last spurt towards the long-cherished goal of true democracy, justice and peace.

I thank you.

shkiinb'ki'kinhkicihi'k'k'kik'k'ki'his

COMRADE T.T. NKOBI

TREASURER-GENERAL: ANC

In the past difficult times, you have shown in word and deed your support for the ANC and the people of South Africa. So it is today, as we gather here to determine how we can, together, walk that final mile to ensure the total liberation of our country.

While Tanzania has a special place in our hearts, we also wish to take this opportunity to thank all of you, representatives of countries, non-governmental organisations, and anti-apartheid organisations from across the globe, for your political moral and financial support for our struggle.

More than at any time in the past, your support is needed to enable our people to meet the challenges that face us with regard to the process of transformation, the challenges of democratic elections, the need for open, democratic debate, the creation of a climate of political tolerance and acceptance of different views and healthy opposition.

The Conference agenda includes a detailed debate on the ANC's development strategies. Addressing the education crisis is a key component of our development strategy. We firmly believe that development should directly empower the people. Such development programmes undertaken should ensure that people are liberated in the process, be it through literacy, skills acquisition, job creation or community self-help programmes.

We want to see our people grow and develop, becoming self-reliant and independent.

We want to ensure that whatever development takes place reaches the most oppressed and deprived sectors of our society. We want to ensure that there is an effective balance between urban and rural development projects and that the needs of women and children are adequately catered for.

The co-ordination of development and the implementation of effective development programmes requires personnel skilled in project appraisal, monitoring and evaluation. The ANC has in the past ensured effective accountability of its development programmes, and we will in the future demand the same level of responsibility and accountability. Our development programmes must be implemented in a professional manner, so that we build our development agencies and all-round skills while addressing the needs of the people.

Finally, we are urging you to assist the ANC to re-establish itself inside the country. We regard this as a priority, for without a strong ANC the transition process will be even more fraught with dangers than at present. The effects of more than 30 years of banning cannot be underestimated. We have made positive progress in establishing ourselves, but much more needs to be done, and the resources required are enormous.

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S.COMMISSION PAPERS

(summaries)

1. EDUCATION AND TRAINING.

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- the ANC will retain all of its educational institutions for its membership to continue acquiring civilian skills to enable them to be integrated into the economic life of South Africa.

- the existing institutions will be developed into effective professional training institutions to produce graduates with internationally recognised qualifications and certificates.

- there is an increasing demand for scholarships as more members

are demanding education and training in different countries where they live.

- education crisis is ever deepening in South Africa. Young people are fleeing from all corners of the country in search

of educational opportunities.

- we are in the process of airlifting 575 students to Nigeria; 500 to Kenya; 700 to Zimbabwe and negotiations for more space in other countries are going on.

- adult education programme is to be consolidated and strengthened.

- we need assistance in identifying professional experts to help us set up a proper and efficient management structures for our schools.

- we are in the process of addressing the issue of conditions of service of the staff at our institutions, for, we cannot succeed to attract properly qualified and experienced staff if we cannot pay them proper professional salaries.

- it appears to us that until a government of as independent and free South Africa is in place there will continue to be educational insecurity and deprivation.

2. RURAL AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

A. RURAL

One of the major issues in the economic development of South Africa is the way in which the land is unequally distributed among the population groups, with the Whites (16% of the population) occupying 87% of the land and the Africans (72% of the total population) occupying 13% of the land.

The 13% of land given to Africans is not a single entity but it has further been divided into scattered pockets according to the African tribal formations in pursuance of the separate development policy.

There is overpopulation, landlessness, low productivity, erratic rain-fall resulting in poverty, lack of health, diseases, and lack of income generating services.

Debates over the resolution of the land question led to the formation of the ANC Land Commission to develop policy recommendations and give political support to ongoing struggles.

The ANC Land Commission together with other similar structures have been involved in initiatives to formulate a development approach during this interim period towards a democratic and non-racial South Africa.

There is a dire need for research towards the empowerment of the rural communities to ensure long-term developments efforts as part of the Regional Development Forums.

URBAN

The legacy of urban apartheid:

- urban settlement for permitted Africans is far from the city core and from white residential areas.
- group areas act.
- over-crowding and creation of informal settlement.
- violence resulting in displacement

Re-organisation of local government:

- a considerable amount of work has been done, concentrating on strategies for new forms of local, metropolitan and regional government.
- civic associations need training in organisation and management, including financial management.
- need resources to conduct campaigns.
- participate in needs identification and policy formulation.
- projects and strengthening capacity to enhance their homes and neighbourhoods.
- democratic NGO's involved in urban development process need to

built and strengthened, to do policy oriented research.

- Successful urban development will have to be based on a spatial re-organisation of our towns and cities.

3. NEGOTIATIONS AND NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

All major actors in South Africa today agree that a new constitution must be negotiated. There is, however, no agreement as yet on the mechanism for drafting such a constitution. Furthermore it is difficult to talk of reconstruction while apartheid is still in place.

The state bears the responsibility for addressing the socio-economic problems facing the black population. The process of development and reconstruction is therefore tied up with that of democratisation. We recognise that even if a democratic government were to take over the legacy of apartheid would be with us for a long time. Therefore the talk of reconstruction would not be an easy one.

It is therefore the task of the ANC to educate and clarify our people about the stage of the struggle we are in, that we have not reached the ultimate aim of our struggle. The ANC believes that the negotiations process is very important because it holds out the possibility of a peaceful transition to democracy. As such there is a need to strengthen the ANC at all levels especially at grassroots.

The ANC has committed itself to the process of removing all obstacles to negotiations, with the objective to ensure that the present talks would soon advance to substantive negotiations about the democratisation of South Africa and a new constitution. It is for this purpose that the ANC is perfecting its negotiating skills, ability, organisation and upgrading its personnel.

4.HEALTH, SOCIAL WELFARE AND CHILDREN

HEALTH

When prioritising 'health.development programmes, it is imperative to remember that HEALTH IS A BASIC HUMAN RIGHT and that this right to free health care should be guided by the primary health care approach. Programmes must focus on eradicating or controlling the major diseases that threaten the health of our people.

Health policy must be located within the broader development initiatives. An intersectoral action can ensure a comprehensive approach to health care. It is therefore important to run workshops and seminars backed by research in order to formulate a future democratic health policy.

A democratic health policy should be able to focus on the following: basic health needs, health and work, gender, political violence, internal refugees, rehabilitation of exiles and political prisoners and HIV/Aids pandemic.

SOCIAL WELFARE

There are five basic areas with which the department of Social Welfare will concern itself: returning political exiles, ex-political prisoners/prisoners/their families, victims of political violence, internal refugees and establishment of a Social Welfare Research Unit.

This will include assistance for : physically disabled, psychiatric, chronically ill, children some of them orphans, housing, education, counselling services, pensioners and employment.

The matters addressed above need enormous resources. There are not enough trained people to handle the problems and administer whatever programmes are agreed to. Training therefore forms a very important aspect of overcoming the social ills created by apartheid.

CHILDREN

The Gaborone Children's Consultative Conference held in April 1990 took a decision to embark on a national campaign focusing on the plight of South African children. Subsequently a National Committee for Children's Rights was established.

Families have become less and less able to cope with the caring of their children as they wish. due to poverty, oppression, repression and state sponsored violence. Children suffer from

hunger, homelessness, malnutrition, physical and emotional abuse and child labour. Most of them are not at school.

The N.C.C.R. works with individuals, groups, community organisations, development agencies, and institutions. The main objective is promotion and protection of children rights, for improvement of the quality of life of all children of South Africa.

The priorities are: to make all the people of South Africa aware and concerned about the plight of children and about their rights as determined by the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, to assist in improving the capacity of all those concerned with the protection of children and providing social services to children, and to develop a more comprehensive information base on children and women.

5. WOMEN AND YOUTH

Women of the ANC would like to make the following observations:-

1. That projects survive better if initiated at grassroots level and the initial objectives are maintained.
2. Transfer of project administration from one structure to another tend to have a retrogressive effect.
3. Control of all the projects activities including policy, management of funds, reporting to donors, and training for the project, is better in the hands of the initiators, in this case the women.
4. Training of personnel prior to the actual start of the project is very essential.

The new political climate demands that women re-assess their participation in the struggle, re-organise themselves and assert their position and the role in the process of transforming South Africa into a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist society. This 'trans formation is seen as affecting all spheres of women's lives - constitutional rights, economic empowerment and social equity.

Our strategy therefore of to educate society to accept that women can ensure that they do play an equal role in every aspect of development.

The re-building of the ANC Women's League has begun and its first phase will culminate in the holding of a National Conference in April this year. The second phase, the establishment, includes transfer of leadership responsibility to democratically elected structures, recruitment of personnel and cadre upgrading. The third phase, development and growth, will lay emphasis on research, education skills training and self-reliance. Thus empowering women to enter into the formal or informal sectors of the economy. Networking with other progressive women's

organisations in the countries as initiated at the January 1990 Malibongwe Conference will be part of the programme.

YOUTH

The ANC Youth League holds the view that young people do not passively assimilate the approach or ideals of a particular social force. They assimilate knowledge of all kind. Avidly searching for a rationale understanding of their environment (in our case a hostile apartheid environment), they therefore display curiosity, rebelliousness, uncontrollable enthusiasm, etc.

The youth therefore is a centre force in any development process. The Youth League needs resources to empower the South African youth of all social strata, irrespective of colour or political persuasion to overcome the legacy of apartheid. The Youth league has a task therefore to instill the confidence and work discipline among the youth to develop their skills. Where communities identify projects the resources should be provided for. This applies to all fields such as literacy, health, co-operatives, food production, etc.

The priorities are : multi-purpose centres, literacy campaigns, fund-raising projects and programme administration.

6. SPORT, CULTURE AND MEDIA

SPORT

Sport cannot be merely seen as a weekend pastime for the rich, it is a means of development of the people by instilling discipline, sound body and mind and certainly by building co-operation, team spirit and national pride.

As an immediate legacy of apartheid, we are faced with enormous numbers of frustrated youth, many of them out in the streets. Sport can and should channel their energies in a positive direction.

The National Sport Congress, now called the National Olympic Sport Congress (NOSC) was formed to fight apartheid in sport and made a call " one sporting code, one controlling body" Most South Africans agree that the emergence of a single, unified, non-racial sport federation is an essential prerequisite before any consideration is given to the lifting of the sports boycott. Within the framework of building a non-racial and democratic sports culture, the development priorities are:

1 opening up the existing sport facilities and resources to all and building infrastructures and facilities in deprived communities, especially the rural areas.

development and training in sporting, technical and administrative skills.

1Ireestablishm'ent of a national newsletter.

CULTURE

In these changing times the cultural movement has recognised that it is not enough to challenge apartheid through poetry and songs, but the need now is to develop concrete approaches and strategies for the realisation of the aims of the national liberation movement and "to open the doors of learning and culture for all" The non-partisan representation of the Federation of South African Cultural Organisations (FOSACO) recognises the need for distinction between political formations and the democratic cultural movement.

The cultural development priorities are as follows:

- tInfrastructure and Co-ordination for Development,
- , 'Cultural and Materials Development
- lCultural Education and Research Projects
- lkCommunity Arts and Cultural Projects and Centres
- lI'rPolicy Formulation

MEDIA

The Department of Information and Publicity has now been operating within South Africa for approximately seven months. During this period the Department has established a Headquarters unit, it is divided into the following sub-units:

- lkProduction of ANC Publicity Material
 - sInformation Processing
 - tMedia Liaison
 - tElectronic Communication
 - tPhoto Unit
 - tVideo Unit
 - itRadio Unit
 - lkRadio Freedom
- Problems experienced:
- tPhysical Location
 - tTransport
 - a'rTraining

7. REPATRIATION, RELOCATION AND RESETTLEMENT

There are today substantial indications the apartheid conflict is moving' towards resolution, and thus the repatriation of refugees and the return of political exiles, needs to be addressed with urgency.

South African exiles are returning not to an established peaceful

conditions. They are returning in order to continue the struggle to attain peace in our country. They shall be received into unchanged apartheid conditions and to be handled by a largely hostile bureaucracy.

In the current situation the participation of the UNHCR with its protection and logistic experience remains an uncertainty. There are strong indications that the South African government will not invite the UNHCR to participate.

Already well over a thousand exiles have returned spontaneously and under the auspices of the ANC but have received no assistance to settle in the country. This means hardship in finding money to purchase basic household goods, finding school for the children etc.

Categories of exiles:-

1lThe aged, the sick and the disabled.

3kThe school going children and orphans

icThe illiterate and unemployable

1kSkilled and employable

Long after our exiles have returned home there will be a continuing need to address and redress their social, economic and political needs.

S.COMMUNIQUE

Delegates to the African National Congress' Donors' Conference completed three days of deliberations on 8 February 1991. The conference had been called by the ANC to obtain clarity, and to inform existing and potential donors, about the ANC's approach to political organisation and community development. To achieve these aims, key priorities within a wide range of sectors were mapped out. In some cases project proposals were considered, while in most instances the expectations of the donors community were noted for follow up and action later.

The conference was attended by more than 150 delegates with approximately one-third coming from the ranks of the African National Congress. its allies and other sections of the liberation movement in South Africa. The remaining delegates assembled from all over the world, and represented governments, multi-national agencies and non-governmental organisations.

The keynote speech was delivered by Cde. Walter Sisulu, Chairperson of the ANC's Interim Leadership Core (ILC). In his opening address he noted the difficult times faced by the people of South Africa. Apartheid had not disappeared, but the masses recognised that the building blocks of a future peaceful, democratic and just South Africa lay in obtaining political

freedom and in an economic development process which redresses the wrongs of the past and empowers the people of South Africa. The delegates were welcomed and a message of support was provided by the Vice-Chairman of Chama Cha Mapinduzi, the honourable Rashid Mfaume Kawawa. Messages of support were also provided by some countries who have consistently supported the ANC over the years. In addition, the Treasurer-General of the ANC Cde. T. Nkobi noted some of the urgent needs faced by the liberation movement at present in order to put in place the foundation for a free, democratic, non-racial, united and non-sexist South Africa.

In many ways the conference was both a continuation of past consultations and a break with the past. Just over three years ago, for example, a similar solidarity conference was held at Arusha. At the same time, the conference provided an opportunity for the ANC to indicate its understanding of the present context in South Africa, its hopes for the immediate future and its thoughts on the developmental needs for a future South Africa. A wide variety of programme areas were delineated where there are many needs for resources within the democratic formations in South Africa. These included:

- Reconstruction and building the ANC legal
- Negotiations and constitution-building
- Repatriation, Resettlement and relocation
- Education and Training

- Health

- Social Welfare

- Children

- Women

- Youth

- Culture

- Sport

- Media

- Rural development

- Urban development

- Civic and Local Government

- Addressing the effects of violence

- Economy

Delegates considered a wide variety of papers dealing with these programme areas and obtained clarification on the major projects, programmes, and institutional needs facing the liberation movement. It was agreed that the conference paved the way for a fruitful and mutual beneficial partnership between the ANC and other democratic formations in South Africa on the one hand, and donor governments and organisations on the other hand. Donors pledged themselves to continue support for the ANC and community development projects with a range of democratic organisations in South Africa.

Finally, delegates expressed their appreciation to the people of

Arusha and for the hospitality accorded delegates by the government of the United Republic of Tanzania.