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PROPOSAL FOR CAPACITY AND INSTITUTION BUILDING AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

proposal for the 'Stichting voor het nieuwe Zuid-Afrika'
The Netherlands

The People Shall Govern!

INTRODUCTION

This proposal outlines key areas in the implementation of the ANC's election campaign, and in building the capacity of the ANC which still require financial report.

SUMMARY

Elections Campaign

There are seven areas within our campaign that are critical to our success. These areas are:

- a. External Advisors on Campaign Management
- b. Sub-regional Election Infra-structure
- c. Training of Candidates
- d. Opinion Research
- e. Training and deployment of Monitors
- f. Security for the campaign

The ANC has already embarked on work around each of these areas, however substantial funds are still needed in order to ensure proper implementation.

BACKGROUND

Past minority governments and the current apartheid government have pursued political, economic and social policies which, amongst other things, have led to:

- * extreme levels of poverty and disease in the rural areas;
- * the creation of urban ghettos where people have been denied even the most basic means of survival as a result of severely limited access to decent homes, electricity, water-borne sewerage, tarred roads, and recreational facilities;
- * an education system preparing the majority of South Africans for lives of subordination and low wage jobs;
- * a social security system geared almost entirely to fulfil the needs of the white minority;
- * a health system that has seriously neglected the well-being of most South Africans;
- * the social and political marginalisation of public life and decision making as well as the denial of their culture;
- * gender discrimination has either excluded or subordinated women's participation in all socio-economic and political institutions. Combined with apartheid, this has resulted in African women being the most exploited and poverty stricken section of the South African population.

Both the political system of apartheid and the pattern of economic development in our country, have been responsible for these developments. The white minority have used their exclusive access to political and economic power to promote their sectional interests at the expense of black people and the country's natural resources. Black people have been systematically excluded and disadvantaged economically with the result that South Africa has one of the most unequal patterns of income and wealth distribution in the world.

In this context it is vital that the ANC develops a clear response. This response must be aimed both at establishing a new and democratic political dispensation that replaces the racist and undemocratic apartheid constitution and addresses the legacy of apartheid in the broader socio-economic sphere.

THE ANC TOWARDS ELECTIONS

The first democratic elections to ever take place in South Africa are a mere three months away. Unless the ANC is able to compete in the forthcoming elections on an equal basis the elections will not be fair and free and consequently there will be no legitimate democracy in South Africa.

If we are to talk of free and fair elections and a legitimate election result laying the foundation for lasting democracy, it is essential that all South Africans, black and white, are encouraged to vote, understand how to vote and are able to do so freely without any form of intimidation. The responsibility of providing non-partisan voter education for all South Africans falls mainly on the democratic movement. Clearly, it is not in the government's interest to promote an understanding of the voting process, since it is this very process that will reduce its privileged position.

When one considers that of the 20 million eligible voters, 18 million will be voting for the first time, 5 million still need to obtain identity documents, 9 million are illiterate and millions more displacees, the size of the task facing the ANC is daunting.

The ANC has had to create an entire electoral infrastructure from scratch. So far our infrastructure has been kept to the minimum due to lack of sufficient funds. For example, a critical area such as security has been neglected and already we have suffered dire consequences with five of our offices having been bombed.

Conditions under which our campaign structures are working are very unfavourable to free political activity. The violence which continues to plague our country has made access to voters near impossible. A number of our election workers have already lost their lives.

Broad overview of our campaign

The primary emphasis of our campaign so far has been voter education. We have printed large numbers of voter education pamphlets as well as training manuals for voter education trainers. Plays which show people how to vote have been performed, and a number of mobile video units are working in the rural and other areas where voter educational video material is shown and on-site workshops held.

A key component of our voter education campaign is assisting voters in obtaining their identity documents. This is a lengthy and time consuming process as individual requirements vary from person to person. For example some voters have no form of identification (e.g. birth certificate), whilst others may have documents which can be used to prove their citizenship.

Whilst we continue to provide voter education nation wide, we are now entering the canvassing phase of our campaign where the emphasis is on popularising our policies. Our election manifesto which has just been launched, is our key policy document and we aim to distribute this document throughout the country and as broadly as possible. Peoples Forums where ordinary people can put forward their concerns, ask questions about the ANC and our policies, as well as receive clarification on the ANC's position on a range of matters, have been run nation wide. We believe that it is essential for voters to know what they are voting for when they vote for a particular party. The process of making our policies known, and ensuring direct interaction between the ANC

and our constituency is key to the steps we need to take in preparing for government.

A. EXTERNAL ADVISORS ON CAMPAIGN MANAGEMENT

As the ANC has never organized an electoral campaign it was felt necessary to make use of external expertise in the field. Part of Bill Clinton's campaign team offered to play that role free of charge. Stan Greenberg is an expert on polling strategy, and Frank Greer is a highly experienced media consultant. Both these experts have offered to make 4 trips of one week to South Africa in the last months of ANC's electoral campaign. The ANC must cover their travel expenses and their daily expenses while in South Africa.

B. SUB-REGIONAL ELECTION OFFICES

Prior to the election campaign, the ANC had one regional office in each of the 14 regions. In order to develop an effective national electoral infrastructure we have had to establish sub-regional offices throughout the country. These offices are temporary project offices, set up specifically for the election campaign. Sixty-seven sub-regional election offices have already been established. A further thirteen offices are in the process of being established, making a total of eighty sub-regional election offices nation wide. These offices are primarily responsible for voter education:

- * ensuring that voters have the necessary identification in order to vote,
- * ensuring that voters know how to vote
- * ensuring that voters are aware that the vote is secret
- * ensuring that voters know their rights as voters

This work is being done through workshops, mock elections, provision of ID application forms, co-ordination of voter cards, use of field workers who are visiting squatter settlements, villages and rural areas, mobile voter education video units and face to face advice. Already these offices are being used by a range of non-party political groupings and organisations as centres to co-ordinate and deliver voter education.

In the last months of our campaign the offices will also be responsible for co-ordinating canvassing in the sub-regions. Each office works closely with the ANC branch structures in their area and ensures that the campaign is implemented and streamlined.

Another critical area of work for the sub-regional election offices is monitoring of the election itself. Twenty seven thousand monitors will be working during the election and the work of these monitors will be managed through the sub-regional offices. This is dealt with in more detail under the section E of this proposal, entitled "Monitors".

D. MEDIA

The use of media is of course crucial in the election campaign. A lot of emphasis is being given to the production of media to ensure that the ANC's message will come through to the masses. Media that is being used is radio (23 stations over 80 days), billboards and pamphlets. The total budget for media is R 32.000.000. In this proposal we would like to include two media projects that are aimed at explaining and communicating ANC policy.

First of all we will have to produce 5 million copies of the Elections Manifesto, which is a 16-page document in each of the eleven official languages. The manifesto will be launched at 8 different places simultaneously around the country on 29 January. February and March will be focussed on distributing this document. Apart from distribution through our regular door-to-door work, we will distribute the pamphlet through public meetings as well as during the programme of the President of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, whilst he tours the country. It is estimated that President Mandela will reach approximately 500 000 people during his programme. The manifesto will also be inserted in the two largest newspapers with a readership of four million.

Secondly, the ANC will be producing five pamphlets on specific policy issues. These issues are:

- Education
- Women
- Employment
- Peace
- Housing

There will be a one week focus on each of these issues. 3 million copies of each pamphlet will be produced, also in each of the 11 official languages.

Preparation for the weekly focuses includes research that will identify the key issues for our constituency. For example research on women's issues has highlighted the following key issues as areas of concern: representation, discrimination at the workplace, and abuse.

The ANC regards both media as crucial to communicate its policy to all voters in the country.

BUDGET

MEDIA FOR ELECTIONS CAMPAIGN

Production of elections manifesto	
R 0.60 per copy. 5 million copies	R3 000 000
Production of 5 pamphlets on policy issues (3 million copies each) 5 x R 400.000	R2 000 000
Total	<u>R5 000 000</u>

Three surveys are still required in the last months before elections.

Firstly, a national survey is necessary for the ANC to be able to adapt the focus of the campaign. This survey which is to be held in February will review the success of the ANC's campaign among problematic constituencies by drawing comparisons to earlier regional surveys. It will test the efficiency of the ANC's image and identify campaign issues for the final phase. In addition it will identify and characterise newly arising potential losses or gains. 4 000 individuals will be interviewed face-to-face, being a representative sample of the South African population. The latter means that a lot of the people to be interviewed will be those living in remote rural areas. These interviews will be conducted in the various languages. The sample will include all race groups and regions, including the TBVC states. The coverage will be stratified by race, region and dwelling. Travel costs for interviewers will therefore be the bulk of the costs of this survey.

Secondly, in March there will be a tracking survey. This involves monitoring changes regarding party allegiance and responses to overall strategy themes, and also fluctuations and different reactions regarding political developments, crises that may have arisen, etc. This survey will also determine attitudes towards voting, which party the interviewees intend voting for, and how confident they are about the secrecy of the vote. For this survey 2 000 individuals will be interviewed.

Thirdly, focus group interviews will be held. These are lengthy, largely unstructured, in-depth discussion groups, led by an experienced facilitator and tape-recorded. They involve six to eight people of similar background, whose views and particular framework of reference one has reason to investigate in detail. For example older women in rural KwaZulu/Natal who may be reluctant to divulge their political affiliation, or young Coloured people in the Western Cape supporting the NP. The discussions are transcribed, translated, and summarised, and the content is thematically analyzed. By conducting a mix of some thirty groups, young and old, male and female, rural and urban, in different regions and of different race groups, the actual awareness and concerns of the spread of grassroots voters can be established. The focus groups are essential in determining causes of particular orientations in different sectors of the electorate, and for exploring possible strategic responses to crisis issues that crop up in the campaign.

E. MONITORS

The Independent Electoral Commission has the role of ensuring that the elections are free and fair. Part of this role includes monitoring. The Monitoring Secretariate of the IEC is responsible for monitoring the behaviour of the political parties and ensuring that everyone adheres to the Code of Conduct as outlined in the Electoral Act. However the various political parties will also need to appoint and train monitors that will work closely with the Monitoring Secretariate. In this regard

the ANC is training twenty seven thousand monitors nationally.

Fourteen monitoring co-ordinators at a regional level are to be employed during the last three months of the campaign. These co-ordinators are responsible for ensuring that monitors are trained in their regions as well as ensuring that the work of the monitors is properly managed and co-ordinated.

Two people per branch, being a total of two thousand four hundred, will receive intensive training as monitors. These trained monitors will then train others. A further twenty four thousand six hundred monitors will be trained nationally in 80 workshop sessions.

Training will cover the following areas:

- the role of ANC monitors
- different kinds of monitors
- how ANC monitoring structures will operate in terms of communication and reporting
- how to build a monitoring team
- skills and qualities of a good monitor
- how to investigate a complaint
- how to fill in an incident sheet
- how and where to get help in the event of a complaint
- tasks on election days
- laws and rules governing the elections, including voters rights, the voting process, code of conduct for parties

During the last month of the election campaign the ANC will open an election office for each of its branches, being a total of one thousand eight hundred offices. A primary function of these offices will be monitoring of 8 to 9 polling stations. Each of these offices will be equipped with a temporary telephone.

Over the last three days the twenty seven thousand monitors will work on a voluntary basis, receiving logistical support from the ANC, such as transport, food and monitoring packages, i.e. checklists, incident sheets, copies of the electoral laws, etc.

After the elections, monitors will need to be available to observe the counting of ballots. There will be four hundred electoral districts. The ANC will have two people observing counting at each counting district, any given point in time. Six people will rotate daily over the three counting days. Food and transport will be provided for these monitors.

F. NEEDS FOR SECURITY

Violence is a major problem in our country, much of which is political violence. Over the past years violence increased during important political events. It is therefore to be expected that violence will increase during the election period. This will obviously effect the elections as people will fear to vote.

The ANC is a target for violence. There are grounds for fear of assassination of its leaders. Moreover, already six subregional

The sub-regional infrastructure that has been created for the election campaign has greatly enhanced the organisational capacity of the ANC, particularly in terms of strengthening grass-roots networks and structures. These offices have become a dynamic link between our branches and regional offices and have played a critical role in ensuring that the campaign is implemented locally. The ANC has attempted to keep the costs of running these offices as low as possible, since they are temporary structures created specifically for the election campaign. Two full-time members of staff are employed in each office. The bulk of the voter education and canvassing work is being undertaken by volunteers from branch structures.

Two handbooks have been produced to assist voter educators and canvassers. The first is our voter education manual which outlines the entire voter education process, from the need to obtain the necessary identification documents through to the actual voting procedure. The second manual is our "Reach every Voter" handbook which covers the tasks that the local election co-ordinators and organisers need to cover, the details of building an election machinery, how to plan the campaign process as well as action to be taken on election day.

C. TRAINING OF CANDIDATES

1 000 national and regional candidates need to be trained. Training for the top 130 national and regional candidates has already begun. An ANC handbook for candidates, public relations and media liaison teams has been produced. Training includes:

- * image and message
- * public relations
- * dealing with the media
- * using candidates and organising events
- * structure and management for candidates

Training will take place on both a national and regional level. Candidates on the national list will be brought from the regions for national training workshops, whilst regional training workshops will be held in each region.

D. OPINION RESEARCH

An essential ingredient in any major political party's electoral campaign is to be able to commission, receive and interpret systematic and regular political polling information. The National Party is using the parastatal Human Sciences Research Council for this purpose, subsidized by taxpayers' money. The ANC should also receive ongoing polling information, tailored to their own strategies, and confidential for its own use. Polling information is being provided to the ANC by Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE), a long-established non profit making research agency.

offices have been blown up within a month. This shows that the current government is unable to secure protection of the ANC, thereby failing to ensure free political activity. The violence is therefore a major threat for Institution building and the electoral campaign of the ANC.

The ANC must intensify its security during the election period, especially in the regions. 280 people will be appointed as bodyguards for three months (20 per region). These people will protect ANC assets and candidates. They will furthermore train marshalls, who will voluntarily work to prevent violence during rallies and meetings.

To ensure communication between our security-people the ANC will lease two cars per region (28) and 4 two-way radio units per region (56) for three months.

Our main security objectives in terms of ensuring free and fair elections are as follows:

- * the protection of strategic ANC personnel during the campaign
- * transport of the ANC election security personnel and marshalls to and from polling stations
- * provision of logistic errands for the ANC elections security personnel and marshalls
- * monitoring of elections related regional hot-spots
- * regional communication between strategic points
- * protection of foreign and local election observers and peace monitors at polling stations
- * liaison with ANC headquarters, regional ANC offices, the South African Police, Peace Keeping Units, etc.

DGET

DETAILS	AMOUNTS
external advisors on campaign management	
airfare:- 2 people x 4 trips x R8000 per trip	64 000.00
living expenses @R300 a day x 4 weeks	16 800.00
sub-regional election offices for 4 months	
per office per month:	
salary organiser	2 000.00
salary administrator	1 500.00
rent	600.00
petrol	500.00
telephone	200.00
petty cash	<u>250.00</u>
Total	<u>5 050.00</u> x 4 ms x 80 offices
training of candidates	
1 workshop for 130 top national and regional candidates:	
travel from local regions	6 000.00
flights 40 people	20 000.00
1 night's accommodation x 100 people	12 000.00
food x 2 days x 130 people	18 200.00
materials	<u>3 800.00</u>
Total	<u>60 000.00</u>
14 regional workshops (R10 000 per workshop)	140 000.00
public opinion research	
national survey in February (4000 interviews countrywide, including rural areas @ R125 per interview)	500 000.00
tracking survey in March (2000 interviews @ R125 per interview)	250 000.00
survey into 30 focus groups x R300 per group	90 000.00

DETAILS	AMOUNTS
Monitors	
salaries: 14 co-ordinators x R2500 per month x 3months	105 000.00
lease 14 cars x R2300p/m x 3 ms	96 600.00
training of 2400 trainers @R175 per person (facilitation fees, materials, travel, food, accommodation)	420 000.00
80 workshops of 310 people each @ R50 per person (transport, 1 meal, materials) = R17 500 per workshop x 80 workshops	1, 240 000.00
monitoring logistics on election days 27 000 monitors x R20 food & travel allowance x 2 days	1, 080 000.00
1800 co-ordinating offices for 1 month x R400 per office (telephone & general administration costs)	720 000.00
counting monitors: 6 people x 3 days x 400 electoral districts x R20 per day (food & travel allowance)	<u>144 000.00</u>
Sub-total electoral campaign	6,542 400.00
Security for 3 months	
280 bodyguards (20 per region) x R1000 per month x 3 months	840 000.00
lease 28 cars (2 per region) x R2300 x 3 months	193 200.00
lease 2-way radios x 4 units per region @ R600 per unit x 14 regions x 3 months	<u>100 800.00</u>
Sub-total for security	1,134 400.00
GRAND TOTAL	7,676 400.00