

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

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

and sections and offices of the movement.

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

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

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## 6. Fundraising Structures

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

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

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

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

6.5 That such committees ensure proper planning, coordination and accountability to the relevant ANC structures. The work of the regional fundraising committees be carried anti-apartheid sympathisers and other

movements, support

members of the local community.

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

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## 7. Programme of Action for Five Years

7.1 This workshop emphasises that raising funds for the pro-

secution of our struggle is an important political act. At this crucial stage it is the responsibility of every member to be involved in fundraising activities.

## 7.2 Recommendations for Raising Funds Immediately

### 7.2.1 Every member is obliged to pay an annual subscrip-

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

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

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

7.2.4 That ANC publicity material must be produced and made available to all missions for the widest possible distribution and sale. Regional Fundraising Committees should utilise the facilities of the DIP for production of all material relevant to their fundraising activities, including preparation of information packs.

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

7.2.6 This workshop recommends the setting up of a Fund to be called the ANC FREE SOUTH AFRICA FUND. The purpose and nature of this fund is explained in detail in the report of Commission B, paragraph 2.1.3. We further recommend that the Fund be launched on a suitable occasion by our President. A draft appeal in the form of a letter which will go out to individuals and organisations is in preparation.

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

## 7.3 Recommendations for Intermediate Fundraising

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

the campaign. One of the functions of the committee will

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

3. Significant sums of the movement's funds are administered through London.

b. The RFC and Chief Representative have no control over these funds and that these are the prerogative of HQ Treasury.

The commission recommends:

i. the separation of administration of HQ funds from the administration of local funds.

ii. the strengthening of HQ's treasury section in London.

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

The commission recommended:

a. an investigation into the utilisation of Luthuli Welfare Services for the purpose of purchasing goods.

b. Danchurch Aid and other similar bodies should be approached to train one or two of our people in the field of purchases.

3. Planning, Coordination, Control and Communication

The commission noted that:

3. There is an overlap of requisitions to donor organisations.

b. There is a lack in the communication of requisitions. The treasury is not informed of requisitions submitted by departments, regions and individual heads of departments.

c. Goods received are not duly acknowledged.

(1. There is a lack of systematic presentation and planning in the submission of requisitions to donor agencies.

Commission recommends:

3. Projects should be prepared professionally. Those dealing with projects should be adequately trained. All projects should be submitted through the OTG for purposes of control and coordination. The control and coordination of existing projects will remain the responsibility of the Office of the Treasurer-General.

b. As a temporary measure Chief Representatives in Europe and when necessary from other areas will meet at intervals to exchange views and discuss planned requirements in the absence of a strong centralised Projects department at HQ. The meeting will be held between the Chief Representatives and a representative/s of HQ Treasury.

c. That since the Health Department forms an integral part of welfare, the Health Department should fall under the OTG. It should initiate discussions with the Office of the Secretary-General in order to resolve the matter accordingly.

4. Projects

The commission was referred, by Comrade TG, to a draft document on management of projects drawn up in 1982.

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

The commission noted that all projects of the movement

be identified and examined in accordance with our basic objectives:

1. Self-sufficiency
2. Training
3. Fundraising

The commission recommends that:

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a. Chief Representatives should follow the lead given by Headquarters Treasury, in spite of its problems. All projects, regardless of their nature, can only be submitted by HQ Treasury for funding.

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

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

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

0 Production of pickles and jam at Mazimbu and Chongela.

0 Production of fruit juices.

0 Production of meat and dairy products.

0 Manufacture of soap.

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

#### Budgeting

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

The commission therefore recommends:

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

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

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#### 6. Programme of Action

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

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

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

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

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



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at rallies, or speaking engagements, etc.

### 2.1.3 ANC Free South Africa Fund

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

- a. That an appeal letter be signed by the President/SG/TG.
- b. That a pledge form and a folded leaflet on the ANC accompany the appeal letter.
- c. That the fund be launched on a particular date with a press conference conducted by the President/TG/SG.
  - (1. That all missions and units of the ANC be informed at least one month earlier, and the material enumerated above be produced centrally in various languages and dispatched to reach them not later than two weeks before the launching.
- e. That the regions organise the mass media to publicise the appeal.
- f. That in each region the Fundraising Committee follow up the progress and an individual be appointed to have special responsibility for the fund within the committee and report

, - regularly to HQ on progress.

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

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

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

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

#### 3.2 Raffles and holiday and travel gifts

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.4 That specific individuals be identified for contact by senior members and where necessary, by NEC members or the TG for direct large donations.

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4. Single issue campaigns;

appeals to well-defined target groups

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

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

a. 75th anniversary of the ANC

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

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

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

e. International Year of Peace, World Conference for Peace, October 1986-- for peace movements.

f. Fêtes, exhibitions, bazaars 1986 such as Saba Saba, Trade Fairs in Zambia, National Fêtes, etc.

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

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

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

4.2.2 A poster for the anniversary should be made before

May so as to allow groups in Europe and North America

and other countries to discuss action before they go on holiday in June and take decisions for the autumn season. This will be necessary for southern African countries as well.

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

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

4.2.5 The suggestion for a calendar be adopted.

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

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

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

4.2.9 That one-day cricket matches be arranged as Cricket





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

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

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

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

#### The Forces of Change

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

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

Despite the state of siege, the revolt continues to mature into a revolutionary situation.

3. a. The determination and resolution of the people has never been more solid. Openly and in large numbers, they defy death, display mass heroism on a scale unheard of in many, many years. United Action is the order of the day.  
b. The people are not only refusing to be ruled in the old way; they are refusing to be governed by anybody but themselves. The legitimacy of the regime has collapsed.  
c. In addressing the fundamental question of the transfer of power, they have gone ahead to smash the regime's institutions and created in many areas rudimentary organs of power: democratic organs which represent their aspirations and effect popular legality.

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

revolutionary violence and popular justice.

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

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

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

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

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

5. The ANC holds the View that the working class, in particular black workers, are the vanguard of the national democratic revolution. In this regard, the following questions emerge: Are black workers sufficiently engaged in mass action around their day-to-day demands? Do they link these struggles to the broad political issues? Are they sufficiently organised and united in their trade unions? Are they, as individuals and in their organised contingents participating in community struggles? Are they to be found in the forefront of these struggles? To most of these questions we can confidently reply in the affirmative. Yet we constantly have to find ways of ensuring that this role manifests itself in word and in fact. For only in this way can Victory of a genuine people's democracy be assured. It is for this reason that the ANC Views the formation of Cosatu as one of the most significant developments in the history of our struggle. Cosatu, which represents about 500 000 workers, promises to become an important weapon in the hands of all the democratic forces to achieve maximum organisation, unity and mass action by workers as part of, and hand-in-hand with, the oppressed people as a whole.

6. a. The extent of the education crisis is well known to all of us. Credit for such stoicism goes to the students who, despite all odds, have sustained the offensive against gutter education; it goes to the teachers, parents and the rest of the community. In this respect note must be made of the growing spirit of defiance among the teachers reflected in recent actions, the formation of progressive teachers' unions and the 54th Annual Conference of Atasa.

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

0 Other countries, eg Nigeria, Ghana, India, etc

Commission recommends that the ANC request governâ\200\224ments, parties or other organisations to donate locally made crafts of quality for sale by the Procurement Agency, especially in the case of countries which are unable to make cash donations.

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Commission also recommends that roving art collections, already ANC property, be expanded in their South African component and catalogued for distribution through our misâ\200\224sions. That these works, either as single collections or comâ\200\224bined to include the UN exhibition be used for fundraising.

#### ANC Cultural Centres

Emphasis must be laid on selfâ\200\224production ie production within the ANC particularly through the setting up of professional scale art, learning and production centres at places like Mazimbu, the ANC Development Centre (Dakawa) and Angola.

#### Dakawa

- 0 Building infraâ\200\224structural facilities.
- 0 Identification of staff/workforce.
- 0 Establishment of skills base.
- 0 Procurement of materials, eg tools, instruments.

1" r- 'Mazimbu

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

#### Angola

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

#### 1.2 Sales

##### Administration

- a. Commission recommends that sales/distribution of such handicraft and art items should be administered by a company or trust.
- b. The function of such a registered trust or company should be to service and supply projected permanently based trading centres possibly run and staffed by salaried members of the Antiâ\200\224Apartheid Movement or other solidarity organisations, where possible, such trading centres could be run along the lines of a charity organisation as is the case in the FRG.
- c. The company should also supply such products for sale at ANC bazaars or stalls or at any other appropriate manifestation.

#### 2. Concerts

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

##### - 2.1. Concrete Proposals Abroad

- a. In each country where we have missions we should establish contact and build excellent rapport with talented and popular artists.
- b. These artists should be deployed to donate their services

for benefit concert performances.

2.2. Internally

c. Artists of international stature should be asked to term "benefit concerts in more than one country.

(1. At such concerts, additional funds should be obtained from Video and film royalties, sales of the disc as well as ANC publicity material.

e. ANC members, sympathisers and other South African artists should be encouraged to participate in such concerts.

f. Fundraising concerts should be organised extensively in African countries as well.

g. TV, Radio, Music and Art personalities should be asked to endorse ANC fundraising concerts and campaigns. Also leading political figures as was the case with the late Swedish Prime Minister, Olof Palme.

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## 2.2. Internally

a. To promote self-sufficiency amongst democratic organisations at home by way of encouraging musicians inside South Africa to intensify benefit concerts for these organisations.

The PMC should ensure that progressive positions taken by musicians at home are fully exploited.

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

## 2.3 Theatre

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

## 2.4 Fine Arts

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

## 2.5 Others

3. Organise poetry reading sessions with collections.

b. Publication of literature/anthologies, which in turn should be translated into various languages, for sale.

c. An ANC publishing house run along commercial lines should be set up.

## 3. Fundraising Videos

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

3.2 The movement should consider the organising of film and Video festivals in all our missions. The value of such festivals is again twofold, publicity and fundraising.

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

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



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

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

4.3 100th Anniversary of May Day May 1st

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.5.5 Target groups for fundraising could be:

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

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

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

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

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

f. On August 9th or any other special occasion wives of diplomats can be asked to engage in fundraising. Diplomats



could also donate Craft from their countries which can be sold or raffied.

g. School children have already been involved in enormous fundraising projects in Europe especially Scandinavia. The example should be extended to other areas.

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

#### 4.6 Other proposals

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

missions in the areas.

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

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

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

#### Report of Commission C

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

levies on gainfully employed ANC members; Regional Fundraising Committees;

the role of the church in fundraising

#### Preamble

Raising money to sustain the liberation movement and to successfully prosecute the armed struggle is political action. At this crucial stage, every ANC member should consider it a duty and an obligation to collect funds in one form or another for the above objectives.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The commission further noted:

- i. With the growth of our movement, the TG's workload has increased enormously, and that there has been no corresponding increase in personnel to assist him.
- ii. The absence of a deputy Treasurer-General.
- iii. The personnel needs of the OTG and these were identified.
- iv. That the convening of the National Fundraising Workshop is a result of the TG's report to the NCC.

The commission recommended that the Office of the

Treasurer-General be strengthened as follows:

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

### Deputy Treasurer-General

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

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

### Treasurer-General's Office Departments

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

#### Head

#### Assistant Head

Administrative (Departmental) Secretary

Recording Secretary (Typing, filing, etc)

Additional member of staff

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

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

Analysis of Manpower Requirements of OTG

## Finance and Accounts Departments

1. Financial Accountants
2. Cost and Management Accountant
3. Statisticians
4. Accounts clerks
5. Insurance (managers)
6. Bookkeepers

(National Bookkeeping Certificate)

IFM

IDM

NABOCE

NABOCE

NABOCE

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IFM

## Logistics

1. Shipping, forwarding and clearing
2. Warehousing
3. Materials Management
4. (Stock Controller)

Dar es Salaam

College of  
Business  
Education

## Transport

Institute of Transport Management. Full professional course.  
(Dar es Salaam).

## Administration

Chartered Secretaries

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

## Structure of the Regional Treasury

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

- a. An ex-officio member of the RFC
- b. Expected to give periodic reports to the RFC and HQ Treasury.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Declaration of the National Fundraising Workshop

### 1. Introduction

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

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

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

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

1.4.1 Increase the number of our fulltime organisers.

1.4.2 Expand our information network inside and outside the country.

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

1.4.4 Intensify our offensive internationally.

1.4.5 Step up the campaign for comprehensive mandatory sanctions.

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

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

### 2. Findings and Recommendations

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

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

2.1.2 The strengthening of the Office of the Treasurer along the lines proposed by the National Consultative Conference and the NEC, including the appointment of a Deputy

Treasurer and all other essential personnel.

2.1.3 The tasks of the Deputy Treasurer General be defined to include the management of finances, overseeing the efficient management of the different organs of the Treasury, and representing the Treasurer-General in his absence.

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

### 3. Regional Treasury

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

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

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

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

3.5 That the Office of the Treasurer-General should take steps to ensure the introduction of uniform and satisfactory all guidelines

the maintenance of adequate records.

for operation in

areas,

including

### 4. Planning, Control and Communication

4.1 Having regard to the overlap of requests to donors and the need for a systematic presentation of requisitions, this workshop recommends that all projects be submitted through the

of the Treasurer General.

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

Projects Department of the

Office

### 5. Budgeting

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

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

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

#### - 4. Sports

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4.1 Commission proposed that small scale fund raising be undertaken through Mandela Marathons or tournaments of various kinds, eg Mandela Chess Tournaments.

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### 5. ANC 75th Anniversary Festival of Art to Defeat Apartheid

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

3. Art and craft sales and exhibitions

b. Video and film exhibition and sale

c. Concerts by international artists, South African artists abroad and artists within the country

(1. Book, literature and photographic exhibitions and sales

e. Theatre and dance

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

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

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

#### 6. General

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

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

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

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

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

## Report of Commission B

### 1.1 Tasks

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

1.1.1 Pledges/stop orders as a fundraising technique.

1.1.2 Large gifts from organisations, commercial undertakings and individuals.

1.1.3 Single issue campaigns. Appeals to well defined groups.

## 2. Findings and Recommendations

### 2.1 Pledges and stop orders as a means of fundraising

This method of fundraising is already being used in some of our missions eg Canada, Australia and the Giro system in the FRG and Sweden. There are two major categories. In one case some prominent people could be found to act as trustees, as in the case of Australia. In another the pledges could be made directly by the offices without trustees. The latter is used more widely.

#### 2.1.1 The pledge form could take two forms:

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

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

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

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



## Conclusion

1. These are some of the major landmarks of political developments within South Africa. We could go on and on describing the epic battles fought by various sections of our people, singly and collectively, and the heroic actions of the soldiers of the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. We believe these facts are known to you. But let us hasten to add that these remarkable achievements would not have come without thorough and systematic organisation. Similarly, it is not possible to advance any step further without such organisation.

2. As President R Tambo stated on January 8, our strategic goal must be to shift the balance of strength decisively in favour of our struggle, through the further ripening of the revolutionary situation beyond the point where the regime is not able to rule in the old way to a stage where it is in fact unable to govern.

We must build our forces into an ever more formidable united mass army of liberation, an army that must grow in strength continuously, able to deliver and actually delivering bigger blows at every stage and fighting as a conscious force with its eyes firmly fixed on the goal of the destruction of the apartheid regime and the transfer of power to the people.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Every patriot, a combatant and fundraiser!

Victory is within our grasp!

## Report of Commission A

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

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

### Preamble

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

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

Commission identified five thematic areas on which to

deliberate Viz:

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

#### 1. Sale of Arts and Crafts

##### 1.1 Procurement

Procurement must be a mosaic representation of all our people's

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

##### a. Home

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

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##### b. Outside

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

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

0 Part-time ANC members, sympathisers and other South

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Africans.

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

and the most reliably, we receive material aid from the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union. Secondly, we receive funding from NGOS and support groups in the West â\200\224 Sida, Norad, Danida, Novib, Finida, the Holland Committee, some UN agencies, etc â\200\224 which provide the vast bulk of our i-\20lnancial requirements. This aid is either provided in cash that is speciï-\20lcally earmarked, or in the funding of speciï-\20lc projects. Thus the movement is obliged to spend the money on speciï-\20lc, quantii-\20lable projects or items. \_ Thirdly, we receive money from our own fundraising efforts. This source of funds is meagre, to say the least. Yet it is only from this source that the armed struggle and our efforts on the home front can be i-\20lnanced â\200\224â\200\224 it is the only fundâ\200\224 ing which we can use at our discretion. Therefore, for us to escalate the struggle we need to pay great attention to ways and means of vastly increasing our own fundraising efforts. We need to look at some of the consequences of the above, bearing in mind the maxim â\200\230He who pays the piper calls the tuneâ\200\231. The aid received from the socialist countries is of inâ\200\224 estimable value, and there are no strings attached. But it is material aid, not hard currency, and it is incumbent upon us to obtain the cash we need.

Mindful of the above, we need to assess the way in which we utilise the aid received from the various donors in the West. Firstly, we must have sufï-\20lcient organisational discipline 'to ensure the following:

- 0 That projects are embarked upon only after we as a movement have determined that we need such a project.
- 0 That such a project can be made viable in terms of its objectives, be they selfâ\200\224sufï-\20lcieny in speciï-\20lc areas, training of cadres, or raising of funds.
- 0 That we have the capacity to see the project through â\200\224 in other words, we know that we have the means, both human and material, to run the project successfully once it is established.
- 0 That there is no unnecessary duplication of projects. We need to bear in mind that our trained personnel are limited. To set up a number of similar projects, thereby necessitating that we duplicate our personnel requirements and capital outlay, can lead to our projects requiring excessive allocaâ\200\224 tion of human and material resources, etc, yet at the same time each project is using up our resources. If such resources were correctly utilised â\200\224â\200\224 for example, one successful project rather than a number of the same type of project that are 'unsuccessful â\200\224 the needs of the movement as a whole could be better met.
- 0 That the projects we embark upon fit in with our overall strategy regarding the home front. We must ensure that we are not diverted into paying undue attention to external affairs at the expense of internal work.

Secondly, we need to bear in mind that this source of i-\20lnance is unstable. The amount of money received, funding for projects etc can be and is iniï-\202uenced by changes of government, changes in personnel, pressure exerted by the United States and other reactionary forces, and the selfâ\200\224interest of the various countries and organisations. This makes it imâ\200\224 perative for us to be self-sufï-\20lcient, for unless we are, we are susceptible to external pressure, which can and will be exerted at the decisive moment of struggle.

This brings me to our third source of i-\20lnance â\200\224 our, membersâ\200\231 own efforts. Our people have taken to the streets, laying down their lives for freedom. Our MK cadres are facing the enemy, gun in hand. Yet there are many in our ranks

who contribute neither politically nor financially. There are others who, for a variety of circumstances, are not able to be MK cadres. Yet they can fulfil as important a role by proâ\200\224

viding the financial and logistical material required to escalate our all-round offensive. We should aim to create, within the ranks of our movement, an awareness of the Vital importance of funds, an awareness of the need to raise funds by all means possible, an awareness of the need to eliminate waste and incorrect use of funds and resources. Within the Office of the Treasurer-General, we should create funds for raising cadres, just as we have MK cadres. Such cadres are not less important, indeed without them the work of MK cadres and all other sectors of our movement can be seriously affected.

During our seven days of deliberations, we need to pay

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

Comrade Chair and Comrades,

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

I would like to raise a number of suggestions for your

consideration.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Over the years the ANC has initiated many and varied fundraising schemes. Yet we must ask ourselves why these schemes have not been fully implemented. I would furtherâ\200\224 more, like to make some concrete suggestions for your consideration:

0 That we emerge from this workshop with a programme of action that will guide our fundraising efforts over the next ĩ-\201ve years.

0 That we create the means by which such a programme of action can be implemented, and the basis on which the Ofĭ-\201ce of the Treasurer General can ensure effective and efĭ-\201cient working with all other departments.

â\200\2310 That Fundraising Committees be established, in such a manner that they strengthen the local antiâ\200\224apartheid work, with a speciĭ-\201c convenor or coâ\200\224ordinator.

0 That such Fundraising Committees draw up proper and co-ordinated annual plans as well as speciĭ-\201c projects; see to the implementation of such plans, and ensure co-ordination and accountability to the relevant ANC structures.

0 That the priority be to obtain cash contributions.

0 That material aid projects embarked upon have the least

possible strings attached.

0 That we ensure all our ofĭ-\201cers and members working in solidarity organisations coâ\200\224operate fully with the Fund-raising Committees to ensure maximum results.

0 That such Fundraising Committees should be comprised of our people, supporters of our liberation struggle, as well as nationals of the host country. Full assessment must be made of speciĭ-\201c local conditions so that our efforts harness the machineries of the existing anti-apartheid movements and serve to strengthen them in their work.

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

0 That the widest possible range of cultural activities be organised, involving both local and South African artists, to serve to mobilise politically, ĩ-\201nancially and as propaganda for our strUggle.

At present we spend a great deal of our resources on proâ\200\224paganda and publicity. What efforts are made to ensure that what we produce serves the dual function of proâ\200\224paganda and fundraising? Surely the distribution interâ\200\224nationally of our publicity material, which serves as an effective means of publicising our struggle, can also be a major source of income. This needs very considered - thought by the Department of Information, organised distribution on a systematic, planned basis, and close co-operation between the two departments. In my opinion it is an area of fundraising we need to explore.

0 That inĭ-\202tential individuals and enterprises be contacted on specific ideas to see in what way their contacts and business skills can be utilised in the service of our struggle.

Comrade Chair and Comrades,

Following a full and frank discussion of our present method of work, a critical assessment of how to improve both in style and content, and the drawing up of a programme of action to meet the demands outlined above, I have every conĭ-\201dence that our organisation, the African National Congress, will

be greatly strengthened. I wish to re-emphasise that while we have been stressing the need to generate income, the other side of the coin is the avoidance of unnecessary expenditure and waste. We must also give this question our serious consideration.

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A great number of papers have been commissioned, and I trust that you all have complete sets and have had the opportunity to read them. I am confident that we will emerge from here galvanised for action as disciplined, dedicated cadres of our movement, ready to meet the challenge that faces us. At this crucial moment in our struggle, we cannot fail our heroic people.

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

0 That we pay far greater attention to publicity material.

Amandla! Matla!

## Political Military Council Report

### The Current Political Situation

#### Introduction

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

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

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

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

### The General Crisis of Apartheid Colonialism

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

### Establishment of a Workshop

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

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

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

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

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

### 1.3 Conclusion

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Appendix II

#### An External Project

##### Cobbler

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

#### The Manufacturing Process

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

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

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

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

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

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

This project must be favourably considered for the following reasons:

1. Low capital input

2. Ease of manufacture and implementation

3. Consumer demand

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

#### Note:

A bag manufacturing enterprise could be considered in connection with this project.

junction with the above project but figures are not at hand.

### Appendix III

See Document RP 15:

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

### Report of Commission E

Commission E considered the opening address of the Treasurer-General, with a view to making

recommendations for strengthening the Office of the Treasurer-General,

and the introduction of an overall proper budgeting system.

The chair pointed out that Commission B would be guided by guidelines enumerated in the Treasurer-General's address to the workshop. The commission agreed on the suggestion to approach our deliberations with a view towards studying the keynote address by the Treasurer-General and extracting therefrom those elements which were not covered by other commissions.

Discussion was structured along the following lines to meet

the requirements of the plenary session:

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

#### 1. Discussion of Five Year Plan

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

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

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



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

#### 1. Regional Fundraising Committees

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

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

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

0 That the priority be to obtain cash contributions.

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

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

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

The following should be the duties of the RFRC:

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- a. To provide ideas for fundraising.
  - b. To advise on the means of implementing ideas.
  - c. To make feasibility studies on long term fundraising proposals, such as business enterprises.
  - d. To endeavour to set up registered Charitable trusts.
  - e. To enlist the support of sympathetic experts as advisors and consultants.
  - f. To launch regular fundraising campaigns.
  - g. To utilise our publications to mobilise funds.
  - h. To keep a list of all donors.
  - i. To concentrate initially on the priority tasks such as levies, subscriptions, donations and short-term campaigns.
- 0 They should have a full time executive secretary.  
0 They must submit six-monthly reports to the National Fundraising Committee on their proposals and results.  
0 They must issue receipts for all cash received.

#### 2. National Fundraising Co-ordinator

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

The task of the National Fundraising Co-ordinator should

be as follows:

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

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

It is important for the membership to have a sense of belonging

ing to our organisation, and as in all other organisations, Clubs, etc where it is obligatory to pay a membership fee, levy or contribution so it should be in our organisation. When people outside of the ANC, whether they can afford it or not, make voluntary contributions to our cause, we even more so, should be making sacrifices. Giving money is a small sacrifice when others are giving their lives.

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

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

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

The commission therefore recommends:

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

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

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

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

In addition to hard cash there are many other areas of aid education and refugee

such as development, health, assistance.

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

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

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

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



bettdextract from workshop papers and othe'r'â\200\234,so~urees ideas \* and proposals to enrich this campaign. In the mean time fund-raising activities connected with the 75th anniversary should begin at once, pending the creation of such a Campaign Committee.

7.4.5 The 10th Anniversary of the Soweto Uprising should be widely publicised. It has great political signiï-\201cance, being one of the major turning points in the development of our revolution, and has important fundraising potential. Prepare an exhibition of photos, books, articles, leaï-\202ets, posters and other items recording and analysing the Soweto Uprising.

7.4.6 Other anniversaries that could be given similar proâ\200\224 minence and used for fundraising are the 100th Anniversary of May Day, the 30th Anniversary of South African Womenâ\200\231s Day, August 9, and the 40th Anniversary of the 1946 Mineworkersâ\200\231 Strike. Other anniversaries could likewise be used as focal points for fundraising campaigns.

7.4.7 Target groups for fundraising consist of people who would respond positively to appeals such as South Africans, antiâ\200\224apartheid groups, professional bodies, students and pupils, as well as all the . Clergy and laity, and non-governmental organisations.

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

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

7.4.10 This can be realised through the sale of artefacts, paintings, sculpture; by organising concerts, festivals, plays and cultural dances; sports events, i-\201lms and Videos; all under the slogan â\200\230ART TO DEFEAT APARTHEIDâ\200\231.

7.4.11 This workshop recommends that organised and systematic methods of procurement, production and sale be investigated, and those suitable implemented. Speciï-\201c proâ\200\224 posals are detailed in the Report of Commission A, together with proposals on concerts, theatre, and sports. In addition, attention is drawn to the suggestion contained in the report that an ANC publishing house be set up and organised as a commercial venture.

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

7.4.13 DIP and Department of Arts and Culture establish a commercial graphic enterprise to launch, maintain and expand a co-ordinated international fundraising campaign using our materials to i-\201ght a propaganda war and raise funds. Every effort should be made to ensure close inter-departmental coâ\200\224operation thereby effectively utilising all our resources.

7.4.14 This workshop, having given careful consideration to our allâ\200\224round achievements, urges all fundraising units and activists to include in their operations methods of informing the public of our signiï-\201cant advances in the i-\201eld of childcare, education, arts and culture. The printed material produced on Somafo and the ANC Development Centre â\200\224 Dakawa -â\200\224â\200\224 is especially suitable for this purpose. Let us acquaint South Africans with our work in these i-\201elds and ask them to supâ\200\224

portâ\200\230South African'wchildren who are being cared for and educated away from home, but under conditions that, safeguard their health and development.

## 7.5 Long-term Fundraising

7.5.1 That long-term projects, including the establishment of small industries, be undertaken to generate funds.

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

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

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

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

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

## 8. Conclusions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

been unleashed.

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

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

#### The Economic Crisis and its Significance

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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#### The Ruling Class

1. Botha and his clique are experiencing a very serious crisis of policy. Total Strategy has, in the broad sense, collapsed. -

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

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

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

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

and how fast!

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

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

4. Unlike Botha who believes repression, like in the early sixties, will quell the revolt, big business fears the outbreak of revolution. They are demanding far-reaching decisions including negotiations with the ANC in order to avert revolutionary change, and protect the system of monopoly capitalism. Also, they seek to maintain their position as representatives of whites who are becoming disillusioned with the vicious system, to ease international pressure, to diffuse the revolt and achieve political and economic stability. These aims are inter-related; some are short-term and some are long-term; and they will entail many gambles on their part. For them, a peaceful solution - a couched in such terms as confederalism and consociationalism - means that the regime should negotiate from a position of strength so that it can determine the final outcome, that the system of

monopoly capitalism should not be tampered with, and that  
the privileges of the white minority and the ethnic divisions



Address by Comrade T T Nkobi

Treasurer-General of the African National Congress

Dear Delegates,

At the historic Consultative Conference held last year in Zambia, the highest organ of our movement â\200\224 Congress â\200\224 resolved to intensify our political and armed struggle for freedom, peace and social justice.

To this end, Congress charged the Ofi-\201ce of the Treasurerâ\200\224 General with the task of preparing an allâ\200\224round, co-ordinated and comprehensive five-year fundraising plan to enable the movement as a whole to plan its activities in a more effective way.

In my address to you today, it is my task to set out the broad guidelines within which the Office of the Treasurer-General operates. It is also my task to ensure that we fully, and frankly discuss our method of work, our shortcomings, how to strengthen our organisation, etc, for to meet the demands of the time we must be effectively and efi-\201ciently organised.

Our Conference took place against the background of risâ\200\224 ing militancy in our country. Events before and after Conâ\200\224 ference clearly show that our people are ready to do everything within their power to bring the hated racist regime to its knees.

They have readily and unwaveringly answered our call to make South Africa ungovernable and apartheid unworkable. By their concerted, resolute and fearless actions, our people have shown that they are ready to confront the enemy at all levels. It is our task, at this workshop, to draw up a proâ\200\224 gramme of action that will ensure we have the material means to meet the demands being made upon us.

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Ours is a struggle waged on many and varied fronts. We have to engage the enemy militarily, politically, diplomatically, culturally and, not least, on the economic front. We must give the enemy no quarter. Intensifying the struggle requires that we mobilise all our people in all their various formaâ\200\224 tions the length and breadth of our country.

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

To maintain one organiser and give him or her the necessary mobility to escape enemy dragnets while ensurâ\200\224 , ing effective work, costs us not less than R4 000 per annum , â\200\224â\200\224 and this is a very conservative estimate. How many fulltime organisers do we need to organise our people in both urban and rural areas -- and at what cost?

Mobilising the people also implies that we expand our inâ\200\224 formation network inside the country, so as to. counteract the disinformation campaign of the enemy, to educate our people as to the true aims of our revolution, to mobilise our people for decisive action, and to expose all enemy manoeuvres and machinations.

Translated into practical terms, this implies that we set up our own publicity and distribution units inside our country,

fully equipped with machinery, printing equipment and personnel. Our cadres can no longer solely rely on publicity

material produced across the borders â\200\224 the situation is too  
i-\202uid, rapid response and initiative too important, and deâ\200\224  
mand too great.

On the diplomatic and cultural i-\201elds, intensiï-\201cation of our  
struggle must entail stepping up the drive for comprehenâ\200\224  
sive and mandatory economic sanctions. We must work  
towards galvanising the international community to move  
from mere verbal condemnation of the Pretoria regime to  
decisive action against it. Our people have repeatedly asserted  
that they are prepared to suffer the effects of economic sancâ\200\224  
tions knowing that such measures will weaken the regime  
and hasten its downfall.  
Comrade Chairperson,

The following is important for us to take note of:

1. The Treasurer Generalâ\200\231s Office at Headquarters must be  
organised in such a way as to ensure that there are proper  
channels of communication with all functional committees  
and regions. Our starting point must be that we, as the  
Treasurer Generalâ\200\231s Ofi-\201ce, are organised to ensure that the  
needs of the movement as a whole are met. It is our task  
to see that the best method of obtaining the necessary funds,  
equipment, skills and technical advice etc is used. It is the  
Office of the Treasurer General at HQ that must have an  
overall View of what is being obtained, from where and for  
who. This centralised planning, execution, control and co-  
ordination is essential for us to work effectively, to avoid  
duplication of tasks and eradicate waste and incorrect use  
of resources. But this can only be effective if the Treasury  
Ofi-\201ce at HQ has a full complement of personnel, an effecâ\200\224  
tive channel of communication with each region, and that  
treasury committees, wherever they are located, work efâ\200\224  
fectively and in harmony with the local region, RFC and  
Chief Representative. I wish to stress the need for a com-  
mon approach to our work, a unity of purpose wherever we  
may be located and whatever speciï-\201c task we are fulï-\201lling.  
This overview is imperative to ensure we do not duplicate  
our work, and waste valuable human and material resources.
2. We need to assess what our financial responsibilities en-  
tail. Firstly, we are responsible for the maintenance and wellâ\200\224  
being of thousands of people, based in many countries. Housâ\200\224  
ing, food, transport, clothing, education etc must be provid-  
ed. We need to provide the necessary finance for those comâ\200\224  
rades going home. We need to provide the i-\201nancial and  
material needs that sustain our operatives at home â\200\224â\200\224 full time  
organisers and organisations functioning legally. We are  
responsible for the establishing and upkeep of the many misâ\200\224  
sions of the ANC based worldwide. We also need to be aware  
that many more countries are requesting that ANC missions  
be established. This means premises, personnel, operating  
expenses, travel and greatly increased expenditure by the  
movement overall.

3. We need to discuss the source of our funds. Primarily,

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

ingly involved in funding as well as political action.  
j. Consider a high level delegation of the ANC to Saudi Arabia and other parts of the Arab world.

The question of the Church Front is referred to the NEC

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Such a conference or workshop should look into the many  
to resolve.

possibilities in this area. For example:

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

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

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

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

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

#### 7. Single Issue Fundraising

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

#### Report of Commission D

##### Introduction

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

The commission's task was to study:

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

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

#### Part A

##### 1. Primary Objectives

The commission concluded that the objectives of any project should be clearly defined as follows:

##### . Self-sufficiency

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##### b. Creation of funds

##### c. Cadre training

##### (1. Productive engagement of our personnel

1.1 Some of the problems undermining the efficiency of existing projects were identified as follows:

##### 3. Lack of managerial skills or experience;

##### a. Lack of skilled and unskilled personnel;

##### c. Unco-ordinated deployment or movement of personnel;

##### (1. Lack of work discipline.

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

##### a. To thoroughly investigate existing projects;

##### b. To establish managerial control structures on the site of the projects.

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

##### a. The examination of all existing projects with a View to establishing their financial position as at a given date.

##### b. The establishment of a uniform method of financial recording which is applicable to all projects.

##### c. The analysis of such financial returns in respect of each project so as to enable the Treasury to assess the progress and general state of affairs of each project at all times.

##### (1. To exercise financial control over all projects in all their aspects.

##### e. To exercise full managerial control of all staff appointments, promotions, transfers and dismissals.

##### f. To develop cadre training including in the managerial fields.

##### g. All new projects to be the responsibility department:

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

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

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the optimum benefit to the movement.

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

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

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

### 2.1 Capital Requirements

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

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

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

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

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

### 2.4 Continuous Availability of Materials

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

### 2.5 Manufacturing and Administrative Skills

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

### 2.6 Manpower Deployment

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

## Summary

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

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

We recommend that the Projects Department:

## Part B

### Introduction

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

1. a. The establishment of workshops;
- b. Purchase of second hand material abroad for sale.
2. The establishment of a cobblery (see Appendix II)
3. The establishment of a commercial graphic enterprise within the DIP to launch, maintain and expand a co-ordinated international fundraising campaign using our materials to fight a propaganda war and raise funds. (see Appendix III)
4. The establishment of cottage industries as well as arts and crafts production units wherever possible in our communities; these should be placed on an organised basis and on a Viable scale.
5. The establishment, in co-operation with the PMC, of cover industries, eg dress making, food markets, canning, taxi services and other small service industries.

### Concluding note

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

### Appendix I

#### 1. Proposals for the Establishment of Workshops, etc

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

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

The proposed project would thus be favourable in the

Climate that prevails at present.

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#### 1.1 The Project

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

The structure would be as follows:

Establishing an enterprise with a low initial capital. The enterprise to be an import and export agency with a telephone, telex and postal address in London. This enterprise would have a twoâ\200\224fold purpose:

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

The price to be paid is crucial and must ensure a favourable

return on the investment.

These goods would remain the property of the ANC until

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sold.

â\200\231 The proceeds of these transactions to be paid into a special account in Tanzania and the corresponding amount paid into the funds of the London office.

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

