

E 7? WWQQQQ w w N01:);o/tY/M;/7

Budget Proposal to the Norwegian Government 1
African National Congress

Budget Proposal to the Norwegian Government

Budget Period: January - December 1992

1. Overview:

1. 1 For the financial year January-December 1992, the African National Congress is asking the Government of Norway for 70 million Norwegian Kroner (30 million Rand). The ANC proposes using these funds towards:

- (i) completing and winding down the Dakawa/Mazimbu projects;
- (ii) information and publicity;
- (iii) cultural activities;
- (iv) activities of the Women's League;
- (v) activities of the Youth League;
- (vi) repatriation;
- (vii) education;
- (viii) developing information systems skills and training;
- (ix) supporting the negotiations process within South Africa, and;
- (x) building the capacity of the organisation to sustain its role in leading our nation towards a democratic, non-racial and just South Africa.

2. Background:

2.1. As South Africa stands on the threshold of a new era, no one can question the leading role that the African National Congress has played in the course of the struggle for national liberation and democracy in South Africa. The ANC has led the South African people through the many long decades of sacrifice, dedication, and struggle, until today the beginning of the end of that despicable system known as apartheid is in sight.

2.2. One pillar of the struggle against apartheid has been the assistance given to the ANC and the people of South Africa from international supporters and sympathizers. In particular, co-operation with the people and Government of Norway dates back to the time when Chief Albert Luthuli travelled to Norway to receive the Nobel Peace Prize. Even in those early days this link was regarded as an affirmation of common values and shared ideals.

2.3. Later, these ties blossomed into practical joint projects, notably in the Dakawa and Mazimbu settlements. Without Norwegian support, Dakawa could not have developed to be the model community that it became.

2.4. Norwegian support also furnished many training and scholarship schemes, for South African students. These skills will undoubtedly contribute immensely to the reconstruction

2 Budget Proposal to the Norwegian Government
of South African society in the post-apartheid era.

2.5. In providing this assistance, the following objectives were defined:

- (i) the provision of shelter and food for refugees;
- (ii) building the capacity of the liberation movement to take over the government in their own country;
- (iii) helping the liberation movements to operate settlements on foreign soil, in a sustainable and self-reliant manner.

2.6. Objectives (i) and (iii) have been met. The fact that so many South Africans received shelter, food and training at Dakawa and Mazimbu became a key factor in their ability to survive the harsh conditions of exile, whilst at the same time keeping the flame of liberation and the hope of a new society burning.

2.7. As these exiles return home, the Dakawa and Mazimbu settlements are being phased out; by June this process should be complete. Norwegian assistance is requested during this period, to manage the winding-down process, and facilitate handing over the settlements to those people who will live there after the refugees have returned home. (The

Dakawa component of this proposal will spell out the exact nature of this assistance.)

2.8. However, while great progress has been made, objective (ii) remains: the need to "build the capacity of the liberation movement to take over the government of the country".

This request for assistance falls primarily under that heading: to enable the African National Congress to carry the current advances to their necessary conclusion.

3. The current political stage:

3.1 With the unbanning of the ANC, the South African political terrain changed dramatically.

The crisis in apartheid left the minority government with no choice but to deal with our people's leaders and organisations. The African National Congress then seized the initiative to break the cycle of repression and suppression, and create a framework where in

the whole population could participate in the search for a way forward. With CODESA, meaningful negotiations for a democratic and just future have commenced.

4. The ANC's leadership role:

4.0. It is common cause that the initiatives started by the ANC to explore the peaceful resolution of the South Africa problem, such as the Harare Declaration, laid the groundwork

for progress to the present political stage. Since the unbanning of the African National Congress, the organisation has acted not merely to further its narrow political interests, but

as a liberation movement, to further the national interests of the whole of the country.

4.1. There is widespread acceptance that the ANC has played, and must continue to play, a unique role in the political process currently underway in South Africa. The leadership of

the ANC is both apparent and irreplaceable in a number of arenas, from the elimination of violence and the creation of a climate for peaceful political activity, to the mobilisation of

public support for democratic structures, to the creation and implementation of those

Budget Proposal to the Nomesian Government 3
structures.

4.2. Indeed, the ANC has gone as far as lending support to the ruling National Party, to enable it to act with sufficient confidence to carry out its role in the current changes.

4.3. The ANC has taken a key role in mobilising all the other political forces in the country

to come together on common ground. It took the initiative to convince representatives of the ruling white minority about the correctness of the current course, through a number of

meetings in exile. ANC leaders talked to the National Party government from within prison walls inside South Africa, and in neighbouring countries; later, they met together at Groote

Schuur and Pretoria.

4.4. When the black communities faced vicious onslaught, generally considered at that time to be the product of Inkatha and "ethnic divisions", the ANC promoted discussion between Inkatha leaders, community structures, and the ruling government, culminating in the Peace Accord structures. It must be noted that as these new structures probe the roots

of the violence, observers talk more of the sinister hand of a "Third Force", and less about

meaningless "black-on-black violence" that might be expected to leave a future South Africa

a nightmare.

4.5. The ANC's decisive leadership of the nation has further been seen in the Patriotic Front initiative, which united those forces in the society demanding a democratic alternative,

and paved the way for the multi-party consultations currently in progress.

4.6. Following this, the organisation carried through discussions with the government, and all the major actors on the political scene, to culminate in the CODESA talks. and Declaration of Intent. Today, these actors are entering into working groups under CODESA, to build the framework for a truly democratic solution for South Africa.

4.7. In all of these steps, the ANC has endeavored to bring into the process all political

actors, large and small; to ensure that all reasonable positions are taken into account.

It has

tried to build a consensus that will bring all the people of the country into a democratic and

just society.

5. The Transitional Phase

5.1. Today, the African National Congress demands that the existing minority government concede that they have no right to rule, and that they give way to a democratically elected Constituent Assembly; which will in turn create a legitimate constitution and government. Further, the ANC demands that the existing minority government concede that it cannot fairly supervise this process, and that it hand control of democratization process to an Interim Government. This interim Government should begin work within months; and the Constituent Assembly should be elected within the year. The procedures for this phase should be negotiated through CODESA.

5.2. In the view of the ANC, it is absolutely essential that the interim Government period be

temporary and short-term. The Interim Government will not have the mandate or the capacity to restructure the country. Because of these limitations, the Interim Government)-

4 Budget Proposal to the Norwegian Government

may be severely restricted in scope. Possibly shared power will only cover the sectors dealing with the electoral process and security issues (i.e.. those directly related to installing

a democratic mechanism to create the future government),

5.3. In contrast, the current minority government hopes to extend the transition period - before the installation of a democratic constitution and government - for as much as ten years.

5.4. Given these constraints, the African National Congress will need continued financial support throughout this period, even if its schedule is implemented successfully.

5.5. Even under the most favourable scenario, the ANC is unlikely to receive support from national government sources during the period of Interim Government. At the same time, the organisation will be stretched further in providing staff for consultations and the democratizing process, as well as the immense back-up resources demanded by this process. Such demands are already made upon the ANC by CODESA structures. (This section of the proposed budget is covered under the section entitled Democratization and the Negotiations Process)

5.6. It must be pointed out that the ANC's view of the transition period is bound to meet with opposition from the ruling minority government. One can already see some evidence of the government's bad faith, in the Inkatha funding scandal, and the recent revelations of

Military Intelligence instigation of anti-ANC violence. ANC resources and staff are continually diverted from the negotiations process to deal with these.

5.7. Throughout all of these developments, the ANC is expected to continue in the national leadership role that it has already assumed. This puts new and urgent demands upon ANC infrastructure. (This section of the proposed budget is covered under the section

on Capacity Building in our Organisation.)

5.8. The ANC suffers an additional disadvantage from government and conglomerate control of the mass media. Television is completely under state domination; their bias, both

in the presentation of information and opinion, is blatant. Radio broadcasting remains subject to state approval. The major newspapers are controlled by two companies, Argus and Nationale Pers, not known as sympathetic to the ANC. Yet democratic practice rests above all upon an informed public, who can make rational choices based upon weighing facts and positions. This issue must be addressed urgently, if the country is to engage in

free and fair elections. (The proposed budget deals with this under the section on Information and Publicity.)

5.9. Finally, the ANC must develop and support the interests of two particular segments of the nation: women and the youth. Apartheid has left members of these groups seriously disadvantaged for participation in a future democratic society. The ANC has recognised this

in the formation of the ANC Women's League and the Youth League, whose task is the mobilisation and empowerment of these members within the progressive movement and the community. (The budget outlined below covers proposed funds to be allocated to the Women's League and the Youth League.)

Budget Proposal to the Norwegian Government 5

Proposed Budget: Summary

Allocation I Norwegian Norwegian

Kroner ('000) Kroner ('000)

Mazimbu/Dakawa

construction 1 000

sewerage 400

water 2 000

technical advisor 950

consultancy services 500

maintenance and

security (initial estimate) 11 000

_ 15 850

Activities in South Africa

Information and Publicity , 1 700

Cultural Activities 1 600

Women's League 2 500

Youth League 2 500

Repatriation 1 500

Education 3 500

Information Systems (skills and

training) 1 000

capacity building/organisation 24 845

negotiations process 8 280

47 425

Total 63 275

n 0% contingency:

Grand Total NK 69 602 000

6 Budget Proposal to the Norwegian Government

Capacity Building in our Organisation: Infrastructural needs

1. For the ANC to continue to provide national leadership, it needs to to improve its organisational capacity. This section of the proposal requests assistance to acquire the necessary resources for building and maintaining the inner capacity of the organisation, to enable it to sustain the position it has assumed over the past two years.

2. In the financial year January to December, 1991, the ANC needed about R24 million to service its infrastructure. This excludes expenditure on capital items, and the funding of specific development programmes. These funds came primarily from a number of once-off grants received from sympathetic countries, especially through the personal intervention of Mr. Nelson Mandela. They are not expected to be forthcoming this year.

3. If the ANC is to be democratic in its operations, it needs viable national, regional and local structures; these are the main channels for mass participation. The organisation cannot continue to play a national leadership role without the capacity to inform and consult its own members, and to mobilise them.

4. Ideally, these structures should depend upon self-generated funds, such as membership subscription fees, or donations from sources inside the country. However, the ANC and the liberation movement is rooted in communities devastated by apartheid; its members often struggle to pay the modest fees already asked of them. The organisation can point with pride to the national, regional and local structures built from scratch in the two years since its unbanning; however, of these only the local structures support themselves fully.

5. The African National Congress therefore requests from the Norwegian government funds to assist in the maintenance of its organisational infrastructure inside the country, to the amount of NK 24,8 million. This sum will constitute approximately one third of the amount needed to run the ANC's infrastructure during the financial year January - December, 1992. The expenditure of the sum requested will be in accordance with the budget as reflected below. The proposal includes expenditure by the national office of the ANC, and that of the regional offices.

Budget Proposal to the Norwegian Government 7
 Budget for building the capacity of the organisation:
 South African South African
 Hands ('000) Bands ('000)
 Staff Expenses
 (number of people : 100)
 salaries 3 360
 medical aid 120
 provident fund 200
 3 680
 Travel
 air travel 840
 other 120
 960
 Motor Vehicles
 (number : 50)
 repairs and maintenance 540
 licence insurance 160
 fuel and oil 240
 940
 Accounting fees and Project Administration 100
 Hire of facilities 120
 Capital expenditure
 printing press 5 000
 Grand total: 10 800
 Grand total in Norwegian Kroner NK 24 844 600.

Notes:

The total administrative budget for the current year for the ANC is approximately R24 000 000. We

are asking that the Norwegian Government contribute R10 800 000 towards this sum. The remainder

will be met from own funds and other donors.

a. Staff expenses: The ANC has about 430 people on its payroll, based in the national office and in the regions. The Norwegian Government is requested to fund 100 people from this overall component.

b. Motorvehicles: the ANC has a fleet of 136 vehicles. It is proposed that the Norwegian Government takes responsibility for the maintenance of fifty of these vehicles; it is not proposed that any vehicle will be purchased from the budget so provided. (Calculations are on the basis of: repairs and

8 Budget Proposal to the Norwegian Government

maintenance at R900/month/vehicles; licence insurance at 10% of value of vehicles; fuel and oil at

H400/month per vehicle.)

c. Accountancy fees and Project Administration relates not only to the accountancy and administration of the Norwegian project, but to the development of the accounting capacity of the ANC as a

whole, including the handling of the Norwegian project.

d. Hire of facilities refers to the hire of facilities such as meeting rooms and stadiums

, at both national and regional level.

e. Printing press: The ANC has identified a high-quality, working printing plant which it hopes to

purchase; and is currently looking at other sources of funds (over the R5 million allocated here) to

cover the additional capital required for the purchase. This project will be run autonomously from the

ANC; it will be established on the basis that it will be self-financing within one year. The press would

be expected to serve all community structures, including NGO's, churches, and the alternative press.

Presently the ANC has printers under training in Norway; it is expected that these personnel will upon

return provide skilled manpower for the press.

Negotiations

In the area of negotiations and the democratization process within South Africa, the ANC seeks assistance in two areas: (1) consultation with its membership to define its positions in the negotiations process; and (2) back-up, resources and support for its negotiations teams.

1. Consultation: the Policy Conference

1.1. In July 1991, the ANC held its first National Conference inside the country in thirty

years (an event made possible by generous assistance from the Norwegian Government).

This conference played a critical role in providing the movement with a firm structural base

upon which to enter negotiations with the government.

1.2. However, the National Conference was forced to 'devote its full time to the political

process, to map out strategies and tactics for this period. Participants were unable to debate

broad policy issues in various sectors. It was agreed at this point that a separate conference

must be convened to look at policy positions of the ANC.

1.3. That these positions must be defined urgently cannot be doubted. Although the apartheid government talks of consultation, it has repeatedly tried to institute major structural changes into the society, such that any future government would have to adopt them. Examples range from the VAT issue, to privatisation, to new educational policies. The ANC must be in a position to offer viable and realistic alternatives, with the full support

and understanding of our communities.

1.4. It is planned that the Policy Conference shall take place in mid-1992, and will be conducted on a smaller scale than the previous National Conference. This proposal asks for a budget for the conference of approximately one million rand (NK2,3 million).

2. Back-up facilities for the Negotiations process

2.1. This year has begun with the emergence of CODESA as a forum for serious negotiations to create a framework for a democratic future.

2.2. Yet it is clear, even as the ANC negotiators sit down to the negotiations process, that

the organisation is at a major disadvantage in terms of resources and back-up facilities. Amongst the participants, only the parties linked to the Tripartite Alliance and the Demo-

- cratic Party, are unable to draw upon central government or homeland government resources.

2.3. All the other participants invariably take personnel who are already paid from the government payroll - indeed, Parliament has had to restrict itself to three days a week to

enable the many Cabinet Ministers assigned to CODESA to play both roles. The ANC must to take much-needed personnel from its already over-stretched staff to go to these meetings. The other participants can draw at will upon government research facilities; and

they have already, in the first few days of the working groups, offered the input from such

government research as "neutral" and "objective". The ANC needs to find or develop

10 Budget Proposal to the Norwegian Government

alternative sources of information that it can trust, using its own scarce resources. Even on

such issues as photocopying briefing material, ANC resources are used by the ANC itself, but also by the NIC and TIC and even the Transkei government team.

2.4. The ANC must not only fund its negotiators; it must also organise teams of experts on a full-time basis, as technical and research support.

2.5. Further, the Negotiations Task Force of the ANC must continually formulate and adjust policy positions, in the changing climate of the talks. Yet the movement's approach

to policy formulation is not product-oriented; rather, it is process-oriented. This process-

oriented approach requires that the base membership and the broad community to give input into the framework of policy, if not the detail. The ANC does not accept that its leaders,

negotiators, or experts can make major decisions that will affect lives throughout the nation

without on-going consultation.

2.6. This process of consultation calls for a network that effectively links the negotiations

task force to grassroots community organisations, and other bodies in civil society (organised labour, organised business, civics, etc). This includes the convening of numerous workshops at the local, regional and national level. And the many consultation and briefing sessions that the task force must hold in different parts of the country results

in a relatively high travel component in the budget.

2.7. However, this is the only sure way to guarantee democratic participation by the majority of people in the consultative process. Without this process, the negotiations process will be merely a meeting place for leaders of the respective political parties.

Budget Proposal to the Norwegian Government 11

Budget for the Negotiations Process:

South African South African

Rands ('000) Bands '000

Policy Conference 1 000

Staff (for 20 persons)

salaries 672

provident fund and

medical aid 42

71 4

Rent for offices I 15

office furniture 40

769

Conferences, workshops and seminars

(consultation process):

Travel 280

Accommodation 560

Hire of Conference Facilities 112

Printing/promotional expenses 56

1 008

Research

Commissioned research and consultancies;

Special publications (policy documents etc) 823

Grand Total: R3 600

Grand Total in Norwegian Kroner: NK 8 280 000

Notes to Negotiations and Democratization budget:

a. Staff (salaries and staff-related expenses): figures here are based upon funding 20 persons as support staff for the Negotiations Task Force, on an average of R2 800 per month per person.

b. Conferences, workshops and seminars: This component of the budget is based upon holding one

event per region per quarter, or four per region per year; as a major aspect of the process of

consultation, information, and ratification with the organisation's grassroots structures, fraternal

organisations and civic bodies (56 workshops per year).

c. Commissioned research and consultancies, and special publications, will cover specialist and

expert research where required by the negotiations process (eg. research into incidents of violence;

economic statistics on homelands).