

ZIM/029/0004/115



## AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (S.A.)

4 October 1991

The Treasurer General  
African National Congress  
Head Office  
Johannesburg

OFFICE OF THE CHIEF REPRESENTATIVE  
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Dear Comrade

Allow me first to refer to the memorandum dated 12.12.90, a photocopy of which please find enclosed. During the month of December 1990 I had left three copies of the same with Comrade Thoko Mavuso who assured me that a copy of each had been forwarded to the then Deputy President, the Secretary - General and the Treasurer - General of the ANC. The contents of the memorandum are fairly straight forward.

I had written the memorandum after discussions with Comrade Alfred Nzo on the Subject matter that is expressed in the first paragraph of the same memorandum. He had then suggested that if I so did, the problem would be discussed by the "Super - Finance Committee" at ANC Head Office. Needless to say, Comrade Alfred Nzo had also suggested that I add my recommendation in the memorandum accordingly. I have never received any response to the memorandum.

Subsequently I had raised the issue of this memorandum with the Deputy Director of the D. I. A., Comrade Stan Mabizela with a view to solicit the help of the D. I. A. in obtaining a response to the memorandum. He had then suggested that I write a letter to the Director of the D. I. A., together with a copy of the memorandum, which I did, still to no avail.

Your good office will recall that the problem outlined in the memorandum in question is of long standing. Actually, just after I arrived in the Zimbabwe region on 25 October 1989, a Commission of enquiry arrived from ANC Headquarters, Lusaka, to hear evidence from both the ANC Mission and the membership in the region. The Commission was chaired by Comrade John Nkadmeng with Comrade Reg September as Vice-Chairman. The other members of the Commission were Makho Njobe, Jackie Selebi and Robert Manci. I was present when the then ANC Head of Mission in Zimbabwe outlined to the Commission as central to the problem that the incumbent Regional Treasurer in Zimbabwe is "totally apolitical."



FORWARD TO PEOPLE'S POWER!



The Treasurer-General of the ANC will recall that during the month of December 1990 I was at his office in the company of Comrade Mthuthuzeli Mpehle, the present ANC Chief Representative in India. I had sought to draw the attention of the Treasurer-General yet again to the issue raised in paragraph one of the enclosed memorandum. Unfortunately the Treasurer General dismissed out of hand the whole problem not without a degree of impatience.

I now wish to detail some pertinent developments which have a bearing on this letter. Not long after my arrival in Zimbabwe we met as the Finance Committee of the region. The Regional Treasurer had indicated that his finances were limited and could therefore not cover all the requirements of the region. I had then suggested as a course of action that the departments of the movement in Zimbabwe should present Their budget estimates to the office, so that I could mobilise the required funds.

The office of the Chief Representative, through the then Administrative Secretary, Comrade Zolani Mtshotshisa, presented its budget. Included in this budget outline were items like representational attire for member of the office staff with particular reference to the fact that the ANC Mission in Zimbabwe has a high level of interection with the Diplomatic Community here.

I succeeded in mobilising the sum of Zimbabwe Dollar 50,000.00 after the donor had asked me how much I required to run the office. This money I gave over to the Regional Treasurer early in 1990. To our complete surprise, the Regional Treasurer was unwilling to allocate money for clothing for staff members as had been budgeted for. This was not possible, as he said because of instructions form Comrade Manci. What was not explained is why there had been no objection raised against "clothing" when this particular budget estimate was prepared.

Similarly, I had raised the question of petty cash for our office with the Regional Treasurer. This was in view of the observation that the office of the Regional Treasurer seems unable to respond promptly to any requisition for funds. This presents a problem especially when one considers that there is not a single political decision that can be implemented without its corresponding financial expenses. To date the problem exists and it affects the efficiency of the office, for example, the length of time it takes for the office secretaries to get their requisitions for stationary fulfilled. This is not without undue frustration on their part.

The Regional Treasurer refused to let the office of the undersigned have petty cash and he justified that by saying "it never happened in ANC offices yet in Lusaka I was accountable to the Regional Treasurer there for 5,000.00 Zambian Kwacha per month, as office petty cash. This he ignored.

Added to the above, is the fact that the Regional Treasurer has told me that his budget does not make allowances for political activities as would be organised through the R.P.C. As a result R.P.C. structures tend now to avoid the acrimonious exchanges between themselves and the Regional Treasurer by making direct appeals to me for financial assistance. In the same vein I will mention that not infrequently, I have to deal in particular with female comrades who after moments of frustration at the office of the Regional Treasurer, also come to me in desperation for help.



The above facts taken into consideration, in conjunction with the content of the enclosed memorandum, I wish to point out that I have myself been a victim of verbal abuse by the Regional Treasurer here. There is an occasion when he did so in the presence of Comrade Mthuthuzeli Mpehle, when the latter was in transit from India through our office.

Also, I should point out that examples exist here of the Regional Treasurer unilaterally taking decisions on the disbursements of funds without recourse to the Finance Committee. I will only mention one instance when he granted a contract to a local building firm to renovate three ANC residences here, and only reported to the Finance Committee after the fact. Among others, the firm in question is now in the process of suing the ANC.

This troubling state of affairs, as outlined herein, I pointed out to the meeting of the Chief Representatives of the ANC in Durban in July, when the Administrative Secretary of the D.I.A. had presented his report. The report had indicated that aspects of the problems of D.I.A. were not unsimilar to those faced by the office of the undersigned in respect to receiving prompt and adequate financial help from the Treasury structures of the ANC.

Because of the intractable problem as I have attempted to present here, and its effects on the morale of a good number of office staff and members of the region, I sought and managed to secure a donation to run the office of the undersigned at the rate of five thousand Zimbabwe dollars per month for a year. As a result of past experiences with the Regional Treasurer here, I did not this time give the relevant cheques to him. However, instead of opening a separate account, I have converted the monthly cheques into cash by having them deposited into an account of an ANC department that already exists here.

What has this money been used for? Example are:-

1. Furniture and household goods that were purchased for Comrade Ellen Hasie (now with the land Commission of the ANC) and the present secretary in our office, Comrade Elizabeth Mlati. Upon her departure, Comrade Ellen did, I believe, hand over to the Regional Treasurer the relevant items.
2. Providing transport money and other sundries to the above two, including myself, whenever necessary.
3. Representational clothing for the undersigned.
4. Repair work (plumbing, etc.) to the residence of the Chief Representative of the ANC in Zimbabwe.
5. Payment of medical expenses for the family of the housekeeper to the undersigned.
6. (i) Paying for expenses an example of which appears in the document signed at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs here, dated 14 May 1991, a copy of which is enclosed. The Regional Treasurer had not agreed to pay but I thought I should with a view to our maintaining good relations with the local community.

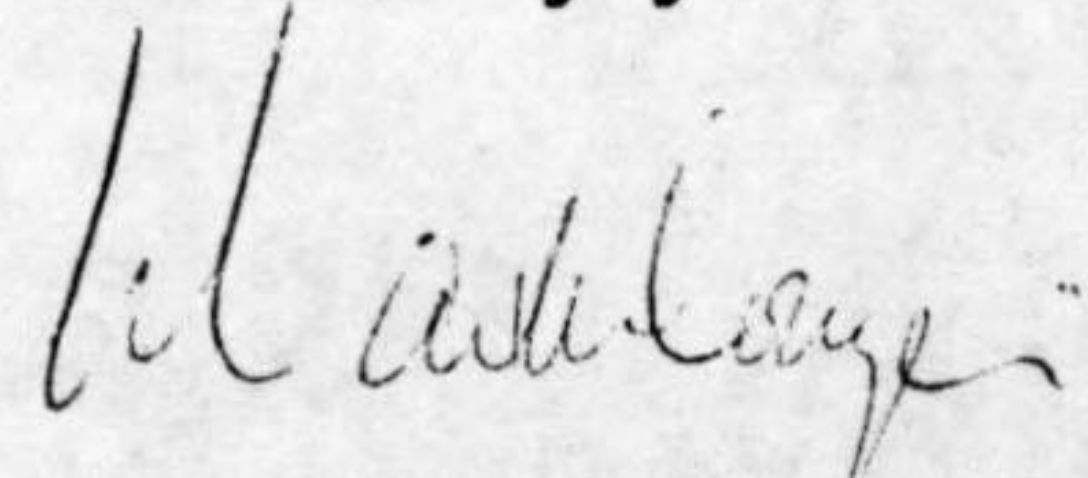


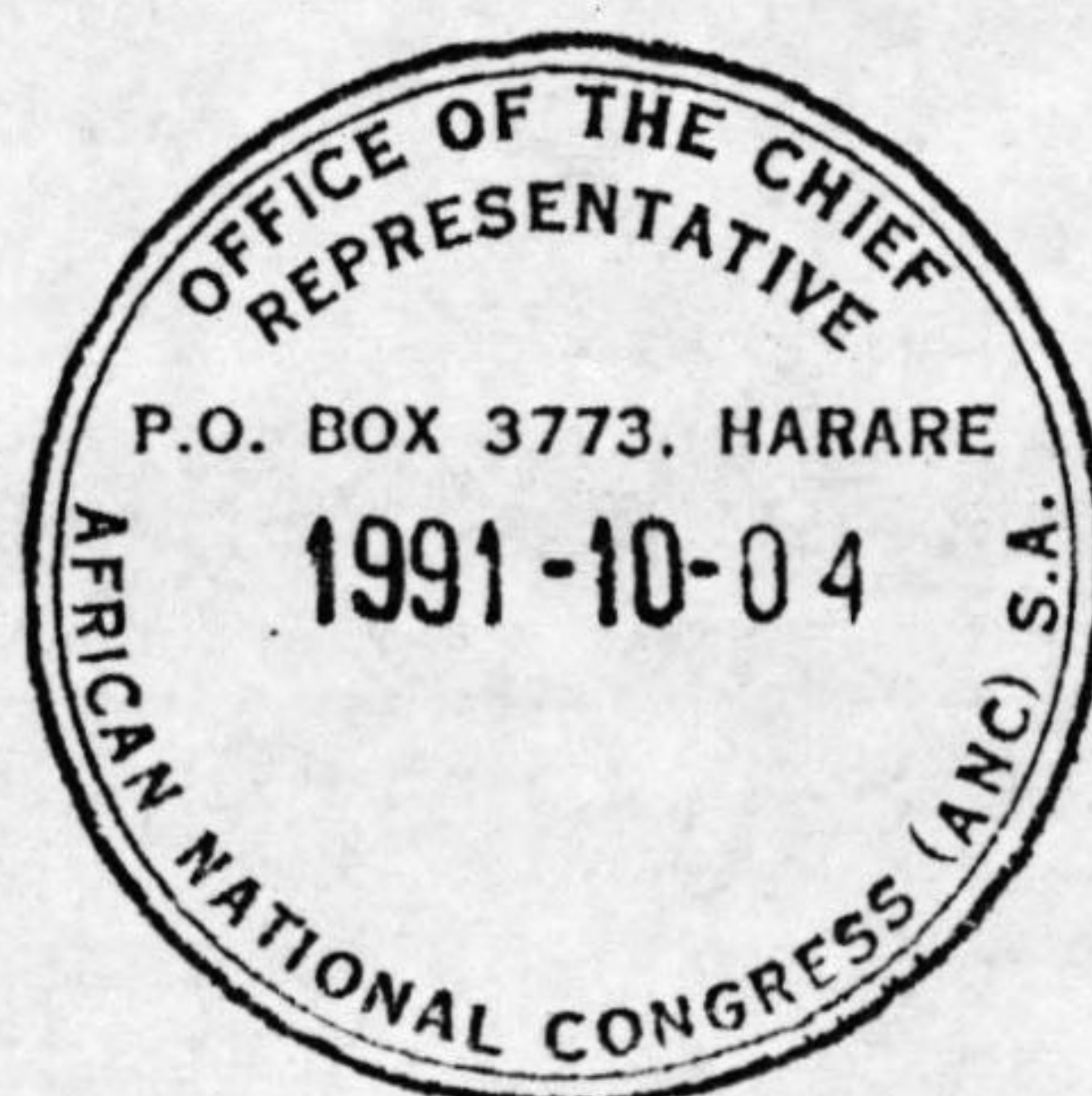
- (ii) Supporting the political programmes of the R.P.C. an example being the budget proposal signed by PREMI APPALRAJU, dated 24th July 1991, a copy of which please find enclosed.
  - (iii) Right now I am considering a budget proposal from our Regional Youth Committee who wish to conduct a political programme for their members. They estimate an expenditure of five thousand Zimbabwe dollars.
  - (iv) Financial help to the Organiser of the R.P.C. in Bulawayo, Comrade Sekano.
7. Paying for the social welfare needs of female comrade like Zodwa Nxumalo, the widow of the late Comrade Namalo who was attached to the President's office in Lusaka.
8. Stationery and other requirements of our office as and when the office of the Regional Treasurer fails to help.
9. There is a payment for outstanding rent in respect of a house occupied by the family of Comrade Rogers Moyo in Bulawayo to be made. The amount demanded by the owners of the house stands at more than 4, 000.00 Zimbabwe dollars. I will have to pay this because the Regional Treasurer here will not. The case of Rodgers Moyo and his accommodation is also a long standing one and is well - known to the Department of Comrade Joe Nhlanhla, in this region.

On 26 September 1991 Comrade N. Marcus and R. Mancini approached me and asked me to explain myself in respect of the monthly donations of 5, 000.00 Zimbabwe dollars I have mentioned here. I decided not to go into detail but offered to present a written statement to your good office. I was afraid that justice could not be done to the topic because of both objective and subjective factors.

In fact, I am copying the same letter to the President and Secretary - General of the ANC, including the Deputy Director of the ANC. Through the Secretary - General I hope the problem which is referred to in paragraph one of the enclosed memorandum can be revisited by the NEC of the ANC with a view to arriving at a just and political solution of the problem, so that in this aspect we can function normally in the region.

Comradely yours

  
**MAX MLONYENI**  
CHIEF REPRESENTATIVE



- C.C. (i) PRESIDENT,  
ANC HEAD OFFICE,  
JOHANNESBURG
- (ii) SECRETARY - GENERAL,  
ANC HEAD OFFICE,  
JOHANNESBURG
- (iii) DEPUTY - DIRECTOR,  
D. I. A.,  
ANC HEAD OFFICE,  
JOHANNESBURG