

ADDRESS TO THE WORKSHOP ON FUNDRAISING - HARARE 26-27 MAY 1990

BY CDE T.T. NKOBI, TREASURER GENERAL

Dear friends, comrades and fellow South Africans,

The present situation imposes tremendous demands on our organisation. The ANC is at once faced with the imperatives of a national liberation movement and the challenges of opposition to an apartheid government that owns and controls South Africa's resources.

We are on the threshold of a new era, and this places even greater responsibilities on our shoulders. I cannot over-emphasise the importance of deliberations, for there can be no real political emancipation without economic emancipation. The need for funds, and policy decisions around the question of funding, touches every aspect of our struggle. I will briefly outline the main areas of concern to the ANC, and look forward to your active and constructive participation during our deliberations.

The urgent need for funds:

With the unbanning of the ANC and the release of our leaders from long years of imprisonment, the demand on our resources has escalated enormously. Let me outline the main areas:

- * Establishing a fully-equipped ANC National and Regional Headquarters - including allowances for functionaries as a new responsibility.
- * Providing the means for re-establishing a legal ANC, including such aspects as the production of ANC membership cards, publicity material, electronic communication and the full range of print media equipment.
- * The sustaining of our external mission, including 44 ANC offices worldwide and maintaining approximately 20,000 people in various parts of the world.
- * Providing extensive funds and a high degree of organisation, for, on the one hand, organised and systematic repatriation, and on the other a steadily increasing flow of young people, particularly from Natal, all requiring immediate shelter, clothing, health care and education.
- * Funding for projects and training effective management and development of projects established.

We need to discuss where funds come from:

Firstly, International Aid and Donations:

Everyone here is aware of the amount of aid given to various projects to assist the South African people. But what we need to address today is how this is going to be affected by the changing situation. De Klerk's reform initiatives have not removed the control and monitoring of funds to what are termed "affected organisations". It is still not possible for organisations to solicit or receive funds from abroad free from government interference. Furthermore, the question is regrettably being raised in some quarters of stopping funds reaching the ANC as their perception is that we are no longer fighting for national liberation but have become a legal political party.

We need to stress that, despite our efforts to find a peaceful political solution to the South African conflict, apartheid is still intact, our people are still in prison and do not have the vote or citizenship in the land of their birth. We remain steadfastly committed to the creation of a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa, and until such time as a new constitution reflecting the aspirations of the majority of our people is in place, we will need funds to prosecute our struggle for liberation.

Our task remains that of building a nation, uniting our people towards a common goal. Therefore, the ANC remains a national liberation movement.

What we need to ensure is that all aid and funding provided by the international community is solicited and channelled in an organised, systematic way that ensures proper accountability and the most effective use of such funding.

We should also recognise that we sometimes have a problem of effectively channelling the monies offered to the Movement. Can we build the capacity to efficiently administer such funds? The need is there, but can our organisational capacity be developed to meet this task? Do we need to establish specialised NGO's to complement the work of existing bodies? Then we have the question of bilateral assistance. What mechanisms should we devise to utilise this form of assistance?

Some offers of assistance from governments and NGO's arouse opposition from within our ranks because the same donors may support forces attempting to destabilise a legitimate government in our region or elsewhere. Should we accept such funds providing that we determine the terms of the offer?

Secondly, Funds from the South African Government South African Business and Industry:

This is a matter that requires serious attention. We need to develop guidelines for acceptance, or rejection, of such funding. In the new situation big business is seeking to establish relations with us by granting large donations. Do we accept this? What are the criteria used to determine whether we say yes to one company, but no to another? How does such funding relate to the work practices and ethics, particularly in relation to trade union activity and strikes, of the company? Does such funding undermine our call for sanctions? Are there other ways of channelling such funds, for instance into houses for workers of the company rather than into projects or ANC-MDM coffers?

What about government money; after all it is the government that has the resources and is now reportedly buying land for allocation? What of the R2-billion that has been made available to the Independent Development Trust, reportedly, with no strings attached? Do we ignore such funding opportunities, or do we create strict guidelines for the use of such funds? These are areas of tied funding that we need both a common understanding of and approach to, or else we can easily find our struggle derailed by compromised funding, and ourselves assimilated into apartheid structures. It is the task of this meeting to establish and agree such guidelines. You should all have a paper that contains some suggestions we can work from.

Finally, Funding from our own people:

This is, of course, the ideal. We must not forget for an instant that funding, and the lack of it, is a weapon that has been successfully used against many revolutions, including our own. There is only one source of funding that is unfettered and uncontaminated, and this is money raised by our people for their own liberation.

It is our duty during this workshop to find creative, responsible and considered means to enable all our people to contribute financially to their own freedom. To emphasise: the only source of funds available to us which will allow us to determine how we use the money to conduct our struggle, is money from our people.

Let us look at the policy of self-reliance:

Whatever projects or enterprises we embark upon should have broader dimensions than simply generation of funds. Other vital factors come into play: training and education, self-reliance, participation by people in the running of their own affairs, enterprises and lives, as well as the generation of income.

We have the responsibility to use aid given to us to build for the future, not to create a dependent mentality. Every dollar or pound or cent invested in projects should reap rewards by training our people in many disciplines, creating the opportunities by which

people take control of their lives, become self-reliant, skilled and participate in the decision-making and running of such projects, whatever the particular areas. But as far as possible, communities on the ground must identify their needs, and the projects developed around these needs must be worked and run by the people themselves, with skills and assistance provided where needed.

I would also like to say a word here regarding women's participation. Often projects centre around issues on which women can be mobilised - water, housing, growing of food, child care, etc. Funds for these projects can be the speciality of the future Women's League, as there is extensive international support from women's organisations internationally on these matters. Many projects have come into being during the years the ANC was banned. Such projects cover many fields - health care, education, the media, and so on. We also need to discuss the fate of these projects in many areas. We should avoid having projects whose functions and objectives overlap. It is of utmost importance that we should assess the geographic distribution of established and proposed projects, to see that they involve all our people. I therefore propose that a projects workshop be held as soon as possible to assess areas of weakness and strength, and ensure a common approach to future project development.

Finally, I want to discuss the issue of accountability:

Dear Comrades, accountability is in fact one of the most important aspects of what we are discussing. How we handle funds, how we account to our donors, how we account to our people is all-important.

I want to stress the following: the ANC will not tolerate any misuse of funds. Any such abuse puts at risk our whole revolution, and will nullify the heroic sacrifices made by our people over successive generations. In order to ensure no such abuse is possible, it is imperative for all monies, donations and projects to be properly managed, with proper books of account and records kept.

Misuse also occurs through inefficiency and mismanagement. We need to have sufficient skills and human resources to ensure productive and efficient use of our human and material resources. At all times we must remember that we are, in fact, at the service of the people. The funds and resources are our not personal property. Our work style must counter the development of a bureaucratic elite.

Those whose work is a service to the people and to the nation must uphold the integrity of the ANC. They must live exemplary lives. The majority of our people experience dire poverty. The fruits of our labour should be their upliftment. Those who aspire to the material life style of white South Africa should go out and earn

it.

Our liberation struggle has been and remains dedicated to the total eradication of apartheid, the redistribution of the vast wealth of our country, the redistribution of the lands, and peace and social justice for all. This is only possible if power rests in the hands of the people.

It is our task during our deliberations here today to come up with a programme of action which will enable us to address the lot of the oppressed people of South Africa. It is our task to provide the guidelines which will enable us to obtain the resources we need without using tainted money. It is our task to provide the resources for this final mile in our long journey to freedom, so that all may enjoy the prosperity that our rich country can provide.