

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS NATIONAL FUND RAISING

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SOLOMON MAHLANGU FREEDOM COLLEGE

FUND RAISING - A REVOLUTIONARY PERSPECTIVE

WORKING PAPER BY CDE GODFREY MOTSEPE

Cde Chairman, cdes. This historic seminar is taking place at a time when momentous events are happening in our land, South Africa. We are meeting at a time when throughout the length and breadth of our country, our people are taking giant strides towards our national emancipation and social liberation, so that a South Africa envisaged by the Freedom Charter, can come into being. Indeed, we have seen in the past year, a revolutionary situation rapidly developing and enveloping the whole country. In the words of the NEC statement on the occasion of 8 January 1986, delivered by Cde President Tambo: "Our uninterrupted forward march has thrown the apartheid system into an enormous general crisis. A central feature of this crisis is the rebellion of millions of our people against the criminal system. Even the most stubborn racist can now see that we are no longer prepared to live as slaves and are determined to liberate ourselves whatever the price we have to pay in human lives."

Cde Chairman, it is said that "no army can march on an empty stomach," nor can war be waged with empty coffers. It is abundantly clear, therefore, that in order to consolidate the impressive revolutionary gains made by our fighting people, to build impregnable revolutionary citadels in the Black ghettos and rural slums of our country from which to make the great leap forward to the seizure of power, we have to strive towards self-sufficiency in funds. It is not to imply that the provision of sufficient funds is the only prerequisite for a successful revolution, but that every economic activity of our liberation movement must aim at guaranteeing the supply of the front so that the armed struggle can be prosecuted more vigorously.

What is the nature and scope of fund raising?

In order to address ourselves adequately to this important issue, we have to seriously determine the nature and scope of fund raising. We have to analyse and examine thoroughly what we have in mind by fund raising. What our objectives are and how we hope to achieve them, what target groups we are aiming at, and which areas, taking into account the present crisis of capitalism, would be most lucrative.

Cde Chairman, although our liberation struggle enjoys very wide support both inside our country and internationally, raising funds is a painstaking, difficult and arduous task, which needs full-time cadres. To be able to raise a constant flow of funds into the coffers of our Treasury, in as considerable amounts as our revolution requires in the current phase, we are going to need a group of experienced, energetic, resourceful and honest cadres working flat out at this important task. No one, however dedicated, can fulfil this task satisfactorily alone. I will come back to this point later.

We must target institutions, groups, individuals and organisations who have vast amounts of financial resources at their disposal, especially the churches, philanthropic institutions, trade unions, prominent personalities, etc. Verbal condemnation of apartheid only must no longer be enough; material support for its annihilation must be demanded. The Kairos Document signed by 151 theologians in South Africa is the recent development whose impact is likely to be far-reaching for the church in the worsening crisis in our country. The document does not only denounce the injustice of the regime but goes further to endorse the just demands and the struggle of those who are committed to revolutionary violence against the regime. Why do we not enlist the support of some of those theologians in our concerted campaigns for fund raising internationally?

Surely we are fully aware that a Dr Beyers Naudé and/or Dr Boesak can solicit far more funds from their counterparts in the capitalist countries. This is where our department of religious affairs and Rev Michael Lapsley and others can be most helpful.

#### Conventional and unconventional fund raising

Cde Chairman, we should also address ourselves to what I would refer to as conventional and unconventional fund raising aspects. Conventional fund raising entails raising funds and materials for projects by dint of open, legal and above board activities, such as: bazaars, soliciting donations from well-disposed governments and public organisations, etc. In this aspect we should endeavour not only to intensify our efforts but also try to break into new ground, for instance:-

a) Small scale industries. Here I believe the field is wide open especially in Africa. We could publish ANC books, pamphlets, produce T-shirts, musical records, etc. Printing done professionally for schools

and other commercial and industrial enterprises would also be lucrative. The sale of agricultural produce such as canned fruits and vegetables to hotels would be a viable proposition. Dry cleaning plants are very much in need in many countries in Africa, for instance in Angola many people have to dry clean their clothes in Europe and elsewhere. Restaurants and dress making enterprises would also be lucrative as well as brick making enterprises. We should also look into the property markets in Western Europe and elsewhere because the leasing of business and residential properties is highly lucrative especially in countries where housing is at a premium. Under legally and properly constituted companies discreetly controlled by the ANC, these business ventures can provide us with a steady flow of funds.

b) Partnerships with various progressive companies. Here I have in mind commercial solidarity shops and companies providing low cost housing in Africa e.g. Comitato Harambee of Italy. A small group of key ANC comrades could concentrate full time organising benefit concerts for our liberation struggle. It is quite conceivable that many famous artists in the Pop, Jazz and classical music fields, including film actors and actresses, would be willing to give their services free. A case in point is that the world renowned Stevie Wonder has offered to perform in the Netherlands gratuitously for one of the solidarity organisations who support us. We should avail ourselves of this golden opportunity, especially the comrades who are working in the US and Canada, nearer to where many of these famous people live. The United Artists against Apartheid should also be fully utilised for our benefit.

c) Donations of local produce: Many non-aligned countries support our liberation struggle four-square and have done so for decades, but due to a dire lack of foreign exchange are in no position to donate funds. We should look into the possibilities of them contributing part of their own local produce e.g. Arts and Crafts from Mozambique, textiles from India, coffee beans from Uganda, etc. We in turn could either sell the produce ourselves or barter it for other requirements that we might need from time to time.

### Unconventional Fund Raising

This is an area which is not only controversial, but also tried and tested by various revolutionary organisations, over the years. It is a method utilised by groups or organisations starting off with relatively limited resources against powerful state authorities endowed with unlimited resources at their disposal. In essence, like guerilla warfare, it is the weapon of the weak against the strong. It entails expropriating the state authorities' vast resources that they have accumulated through their exploitation and abuse of the oppressed masses. Expropriation from the expropriators is a legitimate, valid and powerful weapon of any struggling people. But like all lethal powerful weapons it has to be under very strict control. It is a well known fact that the Bolsheviki utilised this method very successfully when making preparations for the revolution in 1917. Many revolutionary groups today expropriate from banks, wealthy and unscrupulous land lords and businessmen their ill-gotten wealth in order to finance revolutionary activities. The multi-millionaires like the Oppenheims and the Antons Ruperts grown fat by battenning on the "blood, sweat and toil" of our brutally oppressed and exploited people; not only are they using the vast wealth that they have amassed to prop up the fascist regime but they are salting away a considerable amount of their loot outside South Africa. The Anglo-American Corporation has emerged recently as the tenth largest investor in the United States of America, through their holding company in the Bahamas. Who can blame us if we apply revolutionary morality and justice not for self-aggrandisement, and not in a self-seeking way, but for the noble cause of bringing about social justice and freedom to millions who have suffered untold misery and wretchedness for over three centuries? We must not descend to the level of a veritable confraternity of bandits; we must also not crave desperately for credibility at the expense of our revolution. Our revolutionary youth at home cognisant of the poverty, misery and wretchedness visited upon our people by the evil system of apartheid slavery, are expropriating bakery vans of their loaves of bread and distributing them among the needy and starving masses. We need to explore this area thoroughly in order that we can be self reliant.

Cde Chairman, at this crucial phase in our liberation struggle bold initiatives are required. Errors and mistakes would be made, criticisms would be levelled against us especially the charge that we are deviating from the path of ideological puritanism, but if other ways and means of raising funds are available, we should welcome them readily. Thank you Cde Chairpan and comrades.