



## THE PRIVATE FUNDING OF POLITICAL PARTIES: WHAT DO WE KNOW?

This report, compiled by My Vote Counts (MVC), is a compilation of information on the private funding of political parties through donations and/or other financial transfers. The negative impact of the unregulated private funding of political parties in South Africa, stretches back to the period prior to the inception of democracy in 1994. However, this document serves as an informative reminder of donations allocated to current political parties contesting the 2019 general elections, in the absence of an effective party funding transparency disclosure regime for voters to make an informed vote. In the lead up to any elections, political parties are surely receiving a spike in private donations to fund their

campaigns. Without this information being made public, political parties have been able to operate without proper scrutiny and conceal key information from the very people they depend on for votes.

The following information is already available in the public domain, but not all the sources referenced are available online or compiled collectively as they are here. The fact that this information is restricted to five political parties, and in light of the vulnerability our political system has faced in the absence of party private funding transparency regulations, there is surely a huge gap in publicly available information on the various private donations allocated to political parties. This report cannot claim to have all the publicly available information on political parties private funding, but has included the most accessible sources.

This report provides the following information:

- **Political parties:** The report mainly lists donations allocated to the African National Congress, the Democratic Alliance, the Economic Freedom Fighters, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the United Democratic Movement. In the last segment, companies who donated to all or various political parties represented in Parliament, at the time the donation was allocated, are listed.
- **Sources, amounts & the Years allocated:** The amounts donated, the type of donation (e.g. money, goods or services) are included. The sources/donor(s) include banks and other corporations, individuals, foreign entities, foreign governments, foreign political parties, foreign government officials and a state-owned entity.

*My Vote Counts (MVC) is a non-profit company, advocating for more transparency, accountability, inclusivity and fairness in South Africa's political and electoral system.*

	Donation amount/goods/services	Donor	Donor description	Year(s) of allocation(s)
Political Party	<b>African National Congress (ANC)</b>			
	Various allocations of money and gifts are referred to in the description.	African Global Operations/Bosasa	<p>African Global Operations (AGO), formerly known as Bosasa, based in Krugersdorp, describes itself as a facilities management company. Gavin Watson, the CEO of the AGO, has been referred to as the mastermind behind the corrupt relationship he wielded with African National Congress (ANC) officials to obtain lucrative state tenders, particularly from the Department of Correctional Services (DCS). According to the Mail &amp; Guardian, the company has received at least around R12 billion in government contracts between 2003 and 2019.<sup>1</sup></p> <p>At the Zondo Commission of Inquiry into State Capture, in 2019, Angelo Agrizzi, former chief operating officer at AGO, revealed allegations of cash transfers by AGO to various high-profile individuals, especially within the ANC. According to Agrizzi, AGO spent between <b>R4 million</b> and <b>R6 million monthly</b> for cash bribes to senior government officials on the company's payroll.<sup>2</sup> Agrizzi implicated the following ANC Members of Parliament (MP) and/or ANC officials:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Nomvula Mokonyane</b>, who allegedly received monthly payments of <b>R50 000</b> from 2002 to 2016, <b>security upgrades, 12 cases of frozen chicken, 200kg of beef braai packs, eight lambs, specialty alcohol including cases of premium brandy;</b><sup>3</sup></li> </ul>	2003-2019

<sup>1</sup> <https://mg.co.za/article/2019-02-01-00-the-bosasa-tally-r12-billion>

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/opinion/lavish-bribe-system-helped-bosasa-score-lucrative-contracts-19934966>

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/bosasa-ministers-bonanza-20180909-2>; <https://ewn.co.za/2019/01/21/bosasa-s-gifts-to-mokonyane-include-alcohol-meat-and-cash>

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● <b>Vincent Smith</b> allegedly received <b>R100 000</b> each month from 2016. A company in which Smith was the sole director, received <b>R671 000</b> in payments from Bosasa. He also allegedly received a <b>security upgrade</b> at his home. Smith allegedly helped Agrizzi's son land a job in the ANC;<sup>4</sup></li> <li>● <b>Vuselelo Vincent Magagula</b>, who allegedly received <b>R30 000</b> in monthly payments;<sup>5</sup></li> <li>● <b>Winnie Ngwenya</b>, who allegedly received <b>R20 000</b> in monthly payments and <b>R100 000</b> while being in the parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Correctional Services;<sup>6</sup></li> <li>● <b>Cedric Frolic</b>, allegedly received <b>R40 000</b> a month, to handle the issues related to Vincent Smith's relationship with AGO;<sup>7</sup></li> <li>● <b>Former President Jacob Zuma</b> allegedly received around <b>R3.5 million</b> per annum for "functions" he hosted or requested funding for,<sup>8</sup> <b>R300 000</b> per month in cash supposedly for his Jacob Zuma foundation,<sup>9</sup> but explained by Agrizzi as a bribe from Bosasa to avoid prosecution, and a <b>birthday cake</b><sup>10</sup>; and</li> <li>● An amount between <b>R8 million and R12 million</b> was allegedly donated to the ANC around 2004, 2005 or 2006. Agrizzi could not recall the exact amount.<sup>11</sup></li> </ul>	
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<sup>4</sup> <https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/vincent-smith-assisted-former-bosasa-boss-son-to-get-anc-job-20180905>

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.iol.co.za/news/opinion/bosasas-multimillion-rand-state-bribery-scheme-20056241>

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/bosasa-sent-anc-mp-to-entice-cope-spokesperson-zondo-commission-hears-19085147>

<sup>7</sup> <https://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2019-03-29-anc-mp-cedric-frolick-in-a-corrupt-relationship-for-10-years-angelo-agrizzi/>

<sup>8</sup> <https://www.iol.co.za/business-report/zumas-lavish-parties-worth-a-shocking-r35-million-11888133>

<sup>9</sup> <https://www.businesslive.co.za/bd/national/2019-01-20-bosasa-paid-zuma-r300000-a-month-to-avoid-prosecution/>

<sup>10</sup> <https://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2019-01-21-how-bosasa-paid-for-anc-rallies-and-even-paid-for-zumas-birthday-cake/>

<sup>11</sup> <https://citizen.co.za/news/south-africa/state-capture/2108571/bosasa-delegation-presented-large-donation-to-ancs-top-six/>

			Agrizzi also testified that AGO sponsored the ANC with various goods, including ANC <b>memorabilia</b> and <b>tickets to jazz festivals</b> . Further, AGO sponsored events, as per ANC officials requests, including a State of the Nation ( <b>SONA</b> ) <b>after-party</b> at a café/cigar lounge in Cape Town, called Cubana. <sup>12</sup>	
	Security upgrades worth R600 000	Sondolo IT	African Global Operations (AGO) employee, Richard le Roux, testified at the Zondo Commission of Inquiry, implicating ANC official, <b>Gwede Mantashe</b> . Le Roux was the regional technical coordinator in charge of "special projects" at AGO's subsidiary, Sondolo IT. According to le Roux, Gwede Mantashe was one of the ANC officials who received <b>security upgrades</b> from Sondolo IT. <sup>13</sup> Agrizzi testified that the value of the upgrades were around <b>R600,000</b> .	2016 - 2017
	R 1 700 000	Impulse International	In 2017, the Sunday Times reported that a company awarded almost R2-billion in tenders from state-owned enterprise, Impulse International, paid <b>R1.7-million</b> in two instalments into an ANC affiliated bank account. One of the instalments were transferred three days before the ANC's "January 8" birthday event at the Orlando Stadium in Soweto. <sup>14</sup>	2017
	Vehicles R10 million iPads	Robert Gumede	Robert Gumede is a South African billionaire who developed his career as a businessman through business consulting, investing and various other corporate ventures. Gumede is most popularly known for establishing the ICT company, Gijima Group. According to a report in the Sowetan, Gumede is even believed by some to be a "state capturer" of the ANC as it has been rumoured that he has, on occasion, paid salaries of municipal officials in Mbombela, Mpumalanga. <sup>15</sup>  There are various reports on donations allocated by Gumede to the ANC. In 2008, the Mail & Guardian reported that Gumede allocated <b>R10 million</b> to the ANC at an event held in	2016

<sup>12</sup> <https://www.enca.com/news/no-more-after-parties-agrizzi-describes-bosasa-bribes>

<sup>13</sup> <https://citizen.co.za/news/south-africa/state-capture/2110047/investigator-testifies-about-bosasas-security-upgrades-for-mantashe-mti/>

<sup>14</sup> <https://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2018-03-13-some-examples-of-political-donors-whose-secret-donations-were-exposed/>

<sup>15</sup> <https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/opinion/columnists/2019-03-04-anc-needs-to-institute-an-inquiry-into-capture-within-its-ranks/>

			Sandton. <sup>16</sup> According to a News24, Gumede allocated <b>12 vehicles</b> to the ANC in Nelspruit, Mpumalanga in 2016. <sup>17</sup> However, according to a Sunday Times report, Gumede donated <b>14 vehicles and 20 iPads</b> to the ANC in Nelspruit in 2016. <sup>18</sup>	
	R 3 500 000	LTE Consulting	LTE Consulting, provides consulting services in various sectors, including IT, health care, mining, energy, marine and shipping. <sup>19</sup> The quid-pro-quo relationship is evident in that ANC Minister of Water & Sanitation, <b>Nomvula Mokonyane</b> , delayed constructions of the Lesotho Highlands Water Project, in order to award contracts to the LTE Consulting, who donated <b>R3.5 million</b> to the ANC over two months in 2016.	2016
	R 2 000 000	VBS Mutual Bank	VBS mutual bank, based in Limpopo, has been in the public eye for what has been dubbed “The Great Bank Heist” by Advocate Motau and Werksmans Attorneys, who conducted a forensic investigation into the bank. Various state and political officials have been exposed for the looting of the bank’s funds, resulting in the subsequent collapse of the bank. ANC Treasurer General has openly confirmed that his party received <b>R2 million</b> from Vele Investments, a company owned by VBS’s owners. <sup>20</sup>	2016
	R3 600 000	Gaston Savoi	A Cape Town-based Uruguayan businessman, Dr Gaston Savoi is the director of Intaka holdings. In a Constitutional Court matter brought against him in relation to money laundering, corruption and fraud involving ANC officials, Savoi admitted that he donated <b>R1 million</b> to the ANC. <sup>21</sup> The former provincial chairperson of the ANC in the Northern Cape and MEC for Finance, Tourism and Economic Development, John Block, was instrumental in securing tenders for Intaka and also faced	2011

<sup>16</sup> <https://mg.co.za/article/2008-10-17-major-anc-donor-in-graft-probe>

<sup>17</sup> <https://www.news24.com/elections/news/it-billionaire-gives-12-vehicles-to-the-angumedec-20160614>

<sup>18</sup> <https://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2016-06-14-robert-gumede-donates-buses-ipads-to-anc-in-mpumalanga/>

<sup>19</sup> <https://businesstech.co.za/news/government/129644/corruption-seeps-into-south-africas-r26-billion-water-project-report/>

<sup>20</sup> <https://businesstech.co.za/news/government/281351/anc-admits-to-getting-r2-million-from-vbs/>; <https://www.businessinsider.co.za/vbs-mutual-bank-report-terry-motau-the-great-heist-greatest-hits-2018-10>

<sup>21</sup> <https://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2018-03-13-some-examples-of-political-donors-whose-secret-donations-were-exposed/>

			charges alongside Savoï. <sup>22</sup> In 2011, Amabunghane reported that he had made a total of <b>R3.6 million</b> in donations to the ANC. <sup>23</sup>	
	n.a.	Indian National Congress	Established in 1885, the Indian National Congress (INC) is one of India's major political parties. In a report by the Mail & Guardian, "insiders" claimed that in addition to maintaining "historical ties," one of the reasons of the then President Jacob Zuma's 2008 foreign delegations was to raise funds for the ANC. This report referred to the INC as one of the countries Zuma travelled to in 2008, where he reportedly signed a memorandum of understanding with the INC. <sup>24</sup>	2008
	n.a.	Chinese Communist Party	The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) is the dominant and ruling party of China. <sup>25</sup> In a report by the Mail & Guardian, "insiders" claimed that in addition to maintaining "historical ties," one of the reasons of the then President Jacob Zuma's 2008 foreign delegations was to raise funds for the ANC. This report referred to China, where Zuma reportedly met the CCP's secretary-general, Hu Jintao, on his visit to China.	2008
	n.a.	The People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA)	The People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) is the ruling party of Angola. In a report by the Mail & Guardian, "insiders" claimed that the then President Jacob Zuma was instrumental in strengthening ties with the MPLA, who reportedly funded the ANC. <sup>26</sup>	n.a.
	R 130 000	3P Consulting	3P Consulting is a management consulting company, specialising in public sector reform solutions. In August 2008, this company donated <b>R130 000</b> to the ANC in the Sedibeng Region. <sup>27</sup> The funding contributed to the costs of an ANC Women's League August 2008 conference held in the Free State.	2008

<sup>22</sup> <https://mg.co.za/article/2014-03-21-concourt-ruling-provides-certainty-for-intaka-case>

<sup>23</sup> <https://amabhungane.org/stories/fraud-suspect-gave-anc-r36-million/>

<sup>24</sup> <https://mg.co.za/article/2009-03-21-ancs-dodgy-funders>

<sup>25</sup> <https://mg.co.za/article/2009-03-21-ancs-dodgy-funders>

<sup>26</sup> <https://mg.co.za/article/2009-03-21-ancs-dodgy-funders>

<sup>27</sup> <http://www.politicsweb.co.za/news-and-analysis/proof-of-donations-to-anc-by-hlongwalinked-company>

	€ 1 000 000 to the ANC & various other gifts to former President Jacob Zuma	Thales	Thales, formerly known as Thomson CSF, is a French-based multinational arms company. The "arms deal," formally referred to as the Strategic Defence Force Package, was a military acquisition project of the South African government finalised in 1999. The controversy surrounding the project was that Thales bribed ANC officials in order to receive billions of rands from taxpayers money. In 2006, Thales <b>donated € 1 million</b> to the ANC. Former President Jacob Zuma also received <b>cash gifts, a free trip to Paris to watch the final of the 2007 Rugby World Cup, 5 star hotel accommodation and designer clothes.</b> <sup>28</sup>	2006
	R 1 000 000	Sanlam	Sanlam is one of South Africa's largest financial servicing entities. In 2004, former President Nelson Mandela admitted that Sanlam donated <b>R1 million</b> each to the ANC and the now defunct New National Party (NNP). <sup>29</sup> There have been other reports of Sanlam donations made to the ANC which are not referred to in this report.	2004
	R 1 380 000	Anglovaal Minerals (Avmin)	Anglovaal Group was one of South Africa's largest holding conglomerates involved in finance and mining. In the late 1990s, it split into Anglovaal Industrial Holdings (AVI) and Anglovaal Minerals (Avmin). In 2004, the company donated R2 million to various parties in the national legislature in proportion to the seats held in the legislature. The ANC's 66.4% representation accrued it <b>R1 380 000</b> of the R2 million. <sup>30</sup>	2004
	R 3 000 000	Anglo American	Anglo American is a mining company, producing iron-ore. In 2004, Anglo American announced that it would donate R6 million to political parties contesting the 2004 elections. The ANC received <b>R3 million</b> of the R6 million. <sup>31</sup>	2004

<sup>28</sup> <https://www.corruptionwatch.org.za/new-arms-deal-allegations-zuma-thales/>; <https://www.corruptionwatch.org.za/the-arms-deal-what-you-need-to-know-2/>

<sup>29</sup> <https://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2018-03-13-some-examples-of-political-donors-whose-secret-donations-were-exposed/>

<sup>30</sup> <https://www.iol.co.za/business-report/economy/avmin-makes-r2m-political-donation-765255>

<sup>31</sup> *Anglo donates R6m to SA political parties*(2004). SABC News. 13 February 2004.

	n.a.	MTN	In 2004, it was reported that MTN gave a total of R6.2 million to various political parties represented in Parliament. Although MTN did not disclose how it would divide the R6.2 million, the ANC received one of the largest portions of the R6.2 million. <sup>32</sup>	2004
	R 11 000 000	Oilgate/ Imvume Holdings	Imvume Holdings was known as an oil company, but in 2004 it emerged that it was a front company of the ANC. The front company was involved in what was dubbed the Oilgate scandal whereby the parastatal, PetroSA, transferred R15 million to the front company as a loan to assist in securing oil deals. <b>R11 million</b> of the R15 million was paid to the ANC, who used these public funds for their 2004 election campaign. <sup>33</sup>	2003
	USD 10 million	King Fahd of Saudi Arabia	Saudi Arabia's late and former King Fahd, ruled the country from 1982 to 2005. According to an online report the ANC received a donation on request by the late and former President Nelson Mandela from King Fahd who donated <b>USD 10 million</b> to the party in 1999. <sup>34</sup>	1999
	USD 10 million	Sheik Zaid bin Sultan al-Nahayan of the United Arab Emirates	The late and former Sheik Zaid bin Sultan al-Nahayan served as the President of the United Arab Emirates from 1971 to 2004. In an online report, it was reported that the ANC received <b>USD 10 million</b> from the former UAE's President. <sup>35</sup>	1999
	R 2 000 000	Sol Kerzner	Sol Kerzner is a South African businessman, most popularly known for founding the Sun City Hotel in South Africa's Pilansberg National Park in the North-West Province. The former and late President Nelson Mandela, admitted that Kerzner allocated <b>R2 million</b> to the ANC for its 1999 election campaign. The National Party also gained attention for its relationship with Kerzner, but refused to disclose if their party received donations from Kerzner. <sup>36</sup>	1996

<sup>32</sup> Msiza, Mahap. *MTN gives R6.2m for elections*. Finance24, 16 March 2004

<sup>33</sup> <https://mg.co.za/article/2005-05-03-the-ancs-oilgate>; <https://www.iol.co.za/business-report/economy/imvume-unlikely-to-get-any-more-petrosa-deals-747054>

<sup>34</sup> <https://inside-politics.org/2013/05/08/the-ancs-dubious-donors/>

<sup>35</sup> <https://inside-politics.org/2013/05/08/the-ancs-dubious-donors/>

<sup>36</sup> <https://mg.co.za/article/1996-09-13-sol-kerzner-alleged-to-have-helped-the-np-too>; <http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/media%5C1996%5C9608/s960810a.htm>;  
<https://www.businesslive.co.za/fm/features/2018-07-19-sol-kerzners-grim-wild-coast-legacy/>



	USD 50 million	General Sani Abacha, Nigeria	The late and former Nigerian Head of State, ruled Nigeria from 1993 to 1998. According to an affidavit from 2000 by an associate of Abacha's, Nigeria contributed <b>USD 50 million</b> to the ANC for the 1994 elections. <sup>37</sup>	1995
	USD 10 million	Taiwanese government	According to a Business Day article, the ANC received <b>USD 10 million</b> from the government of Taiwan, The article also quoted a rebuttal from a court case involving the now defunct, Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA), whereby Idasa argued that the Taiwanese government's donation "bought the embattled island state two extra years of diplomatic ties with SA[...]." <sup>38</sup>	1994
	USD 40 million	Muammar Mohammed Abu Minyar Gaddafi	The late Muammar Mohammed Abu Minyar Gaddafi, popularly known as Colonel Gaddafi, ruled Libya from 1969 to 2011. According to an article in the Mail & Guardian, on return from a trip to Libya, former President Nelson Mandela returned with a briefcase containing <b>USD 40 million</b> from Colonel Gaddafi. <sup>39</sup>	1994
	USD 6 million	Hitachi Power Africa	Hitachi Power Africa is the African unit of the Japanese owned Hitachi and is a company that executes the construction, manufacturing, supply and commissioning of fossil-fuel power plants. In 2005, the ANC's investment arm, Chancellor House, bought a stake in Hitachi Power Africa after it was agreed that Hitachi would grant Chancellor House a "success fee" if Hitachi would be awarded tenders for the construction of boilers at Eskom's Kusile and Medupi power stations. Hitachi reportedly received USD 5 billion from the contract and Chancellor House pocketed around <b>USD 6 million</b> . <sup>40</sup>	n.a.

<sup>37</sup> <https://www.politicsweb.co.za/news-and-analysis/mandela-and-abacha-how-not-to-deal-with-dictators>

<sup>38</sup> Hartley, Wyndham. *ANC 'took USD10m to retain Taiwan links*. Business Day, 26 March 2004

<sup>39</sup> <https://mg.co.za/article/2009-03-21-ancs-dodgy-funders>

<sup>40</sup> <https://www.fin24.com/Opinion/Columnists/pieter-du-toit-chancellor-house-and-eskom-f-off-said-the-ancs-treasurer-20190214;>  
[https://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2014-03-01-ancs-investment-arm-sells-stake-in-hitachi-power-africa/;](https://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2014-03-01-ancs-investment-arm-sells-stake-in-hitachi-power-africa/) <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2016-08-01-who-is-funding-our-political-parties-and-why-dont-we-know/>

	R2.5 million	Radovan Krejcir	Radovan Krejcir is a Czech fugitive, currently in prison in South Africa. According to Krejcir, he donated <b>R2.5 million</b> to Jacob Zuma in order for political asylum in South Africa. <sup>41</sup>	
	R14 million	Brett Kebble	The late South African businessman, Brett Kebble, gained a fortune in mining. Kebble had close ties to ANC officials and he donated <b>R14 million</b> to the ANC. In 2014, a High Court case in Cape Town, ordered the ANC to return this donation. <sup>42</sup>	n.a
	Various allocations including party donations, subsidising bonds, jobs in private companies, cash offers for state appointments	The Guptas	<p>The brothers Ajay, Rajesh and Atul Gupta, are from India, but relocated to South Africa in 1993. Atul Gupta setup Sahara computers as the first family business in South Africa. The brothers are embroiled in one of South Africa's most notorious post-apartheid corruption scandals, particularly with regards to their influential relationship with former President Jacob Zuma and its efforts towards state capture.</p> <p>While the Gupta links to various ANC officials is known, the full extent to which they supported ANC officials and the party as a whole, may be more accurately estimated at the Zondo Commission of Inquiry. While there is more evidence on the extent to which public resources and state institutions were captured under the influence of the Guptas, the total amount of private funding throughout the Gupta's relationship with the ANC and/or particular ANC officials still needs to be uncovered.</p> <p>In 2005, the Guptas strengthened their relationship with Zuma, after employing Zuma's twins, Duduzane and Duduzile Zuma, as well as one of Zuma's wives as a communications officer. The Guptas have reportedly further enriched the Zuma family, after the Gupta-linked Bank of Baroda contributed <b>R3.4 million</b> towards a home in Pretoria under the name of Zuma's wife, Bongji Ngema-Zuma.<sup>43</sup> In 2015, the Gupta's reportedly contributed towards the purchase of Duduzane's <b>R18 million</b></p>	Various years

<sup>41</sup> <https://ewn.co.za/2019/01/15/listen-unpacking-radovan-krejcir-s-claim-he-paid-zuma-r2-5m-for-asylum>

<sup>42</sup> <https://www.enca.com/south-africa/court-orders-anc-repay-kebble-money>

<sup>43</sup> <https://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2017-08-08-report-suggests-guptas-helped-pay-for-zumas-wifes-home/>

		<p>luxury apartment based in Burj Khalifa, Dubai and the purchase of a <b>R330 million</b> mansion located in Dubai.<sup>44</sup> Other Gupta-owned companies which gained access to South African tax payers money through their influence on Zuma includes Gupta's media holdings and the mining company called Tegeta.</p> <p>After the exposure of various corruption scandals involving the Guptas had already come to light, in 2017 the ANC's Zweli Mkhize admitted at a parliamentary committee meeting on party funding. that the ANC received a <b>R5 million</b> donation from the Guptas.</p> <p>The most widely known undue influence the Guptas had was on appointments, involved the hiring and firing of finance ministers. In 2015, the Guptas offered to pay <b>R600 million</b> to then Deputy Minister of Finance, Mcebisi Jonas, if he accepted an offer to usurp the role of Minister of Finance from his superior, Nhlanhla Nene.<sup>45</sup></p>	
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<sup>44</sup> <https://businesstech.co.za/news/government/177307/zumas-second-home-the-guptas-r330-million-mansion-in-dubai/>

<sup>45</sup> <https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2019-03-15-mcebisi-jonas-admits-to-errors-in-thuli-madonselas-state-capture-report/>; <https://www.iol.co.za/business-report/in-depth-a-timeline-of-how-the-guptas-bought-south-africa-11929842>; <https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/who-are-the-guptas-2080935>; <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-22513410>

	Donation amount/goods/services	Donor	Donor description	Year(s) of allocation(s)
Political Party	Democratic Party (DP) & Democratic Alliance (DA)			
	n.a.	Nathan Kirsh	<p>Nathan Kirsh is a South African born billionaire, residing in the United Kingdom.<sup>46</sup> In 2013, Forbes magazine ranked Kirsh as the 437<sup>th</sup> richest man in the world as his personal wealth then amounted to around R34 billion.</p> <p>In an interview with Business Times, Kirsh admitted that he funded the Democratic Alliance and Agang with a “marginal amount” of money. Some suspect that his funding to both parties was motivated by his interests for the two parties to merge.<sup>47</sup></p>	2014
	R 400 000	Stephen Nel/Sahara Computers/Guptas	<p>Stephen Nel is a director of the Gupta-owned Sahara Computers and an enthusiastic supporter of the DA. After a media frenzy surrounding the DA receiving funds from the Guptas, the DA released a press statement in 2013, clarifying that Nel funded the party in his personal capacity.</p> <p>Although the DA approached Sahara computers for donations in 2009, according to the party, they were not aware that Sahara computers was owned by the Guptas. The DA's statement said that although they approached the company, directors of such companies would usually sign-off on the donation in their personal capacity.</p> <p>On 13 February 2009, the DA met with Nel at the Gupta's home in Saxonwold, Johannesburg. At this meeting, Nel confirmed that he would provide <b>R200 000</b> to the DA. Following the meeting, the DA's fundraising department made a request</p>	2009/10

<sup>46</sup> <https://www.politicsweb.co.za/opinion/das-double-standards-on-international-relations--p>

<sup>47</sup> “Natie Kirsh, the man who caused all the trouble,” by Adele Shevel. *Sunday Times*. (2014); <https://mg.co.za/article/2015-03-24-is-a-jewish-billionaire-funding-the-eff-well-never-know>.

			for more donations from all its funders and subsequently, Nel provided another <b>R100 000</b> . The next <b>R100 000</b> donation was made in 2010, after Premier Hellen Zille met with Nel at Saxonwold to raise funds for the municipal elections in 2011. <sup>48</sup> As a result of the donations being allocated by Nel, the DA closed the corporate file of Sahara Computers and opened a file for Nel.	
	n.a.	MTN	In 2004, it was reported that MTN gave a total of R6.2 million to various political parties represented in Parliament. Although MTN did not disclose how it would divide the R6.2 million, the DA received one of the largest portions of the R6.2 million. <sup>49</sup>	2004
	R 350 000	Sanlam	Sanlam, described earlier, allocated money to various political parties in 2004. The Sanlam board approved a <b>R350 000</b> donation to the DA in 2004. <sup>50</sup>	2004
	R 200 000	Kumba Resources	In 2004, Kumba Resources, a company that merged with Anglo American, announced that a R1 million donation would be made to various political parties. The DA received <b>R200 000</b> of this donation. <sup>51</sup>	2004
	R 1 500 000	Anglo American	Anglo American, referred to earlier, is a mining company, producing iron-ore. In 2004, Anglo American announced that it would donate R6 million to political parties contesting the 2004 elections. The DA received <b>R1 500 000</b> of the R6 million. <sup>52</sup>	2004
	R 960 000	Anglo Gold	Anglo Gold, also referred to as Anglo Gold Ashanti, was reported to have "set aside" R3.2 million for various political parties. The DA was offered <b>R960 000</b> . <sup>53</sup>	2004

<sup>48</sup> <https://www.politicsweb.co.za/documents/stephen-nels-donations-to-the-da-the-facts-jonath>

<sup>49</sup> Msiza, Mahap. *MTN gives R6.2m for elections*. Finance24, 16 March 2004

<sup>50</sup> Msiza, Mahap. *Sanlam donates R1.5m*. Finance24, 11 March 2004

<sup>51</sup> Msiza, Mahap. *Kumba donates R1m*. Finance24, 08 March 2004

<sup>52</sup> *Anglo donates R6m to SA political parties(2004)*. SABC News. 13 February 2004.

<sup>53</sup> *Political parties' funding debate crops up, again*. (2004). SABC News. 29 January

	R 200 000	Anglo-Vaal Minerals (Avmin)	Anglo-Vaal Minerals (Avmin), referred to earlier, donated a total of R2 million to various political parties in 2004. The DA received <b>R200 000</b> of the R2 million. <sup>54</sup>	2004
	R 500 000	Jurgen Harksen	<p>Jurgen Harksen is a German, who was known as a billionaire and convicted for his involvements in fraudulent activities he orchestrated in South Africa. At the Desai Commission in 2002, Harksen testified that he first met former DA MEC in the Western Cape and DA fundraiser, Leon Markowitz. The late and former leader of the DA in the Western Cape, Gerald Morkel, also approached Harksen on request for donations to the party.</p> <p>At the Desai Commission, it emerged that Harksen instructed his employee to write a cheque of <b>R500 000</b> at a fundraising event for the DA's 2004 election campaign. Harksen also testified that he paid <b>R100 000</b> to Morkel, through a third-party account.<sup>55</sup></p>	2002
	DM 99 000	Eric Marais	Eric Marais, a former employee of ABSA, was fired by the bank in 2002 after it emerged that he advanced a donation to the DA in an irregular manner. The donation amounted to <b>DM [Deutsche Marks] 99 000</b> . <sup>56</sup>	2001

<sup>54</sup> *Avmin to donate money to political parties*. SABC. 11 March 2004.

<sup>55</sup> <https://www.news24.com/xArchive/Archive/Harksen-man-tells-of-DA-links-20020814>; <https://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2018-01-10-how-gerald-morkel-took-a-fall-in-a-more-innocent-period-of-politics/>; <https://mg.co.za/article/2002-05-24-harksen-damns-da-leaders>

<sup>56</sup> <https://www.news24.com/xArchive/Archive/Erik-Marais-out-again-20020830>; <https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/i-was-the-das-money-launderer-87354>; <https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/absa-man-spills-beans-on-da-donations-87351>

	Donation amount/goods/services	Donor	Donor description	Year(s) of allocation(s)
<b>Political Party</b>	<b>Economic Freedom Fighters</b>			
	R 500 000	Afrirent	<p>An amaBunghane investigation revealed that Afrirent, a company which bid for a tender to the value of R1.26 billion from the City of Johannesburg, transferred <b>R500 000</b> to Mahuna.</p> <p>Mahuna is a front company managed by the cousin of EFF's Commander in Chief (CIC), Julius Malema. Mahuna is reportedly used as a "slush fund" by the EFF and Malema. Speculations arose that the DA Mayor of Johannesburg, Herman Mashaba, allowed the EFF to manage the allocation of the relevant tender. Afrirent received the lowest ranking out of all five bidders, but allocated funding to Mahuna before the final bidder was selected.<sup>57</sup></p>	2018
	±R20 million	VBS Mutual Bank	<p>VBS Mutual Bank, referred to earlier, was exposed for funds accrued to EFF's Floyd Shivambu and the party's CIC, Julius Malema. In 2018, it was revealed that Floyd Shivambu's brother, Brian Shivambu, was allocated <b>R16 million</b>. <b>R10 million</b> of these funds was allocated to Floyd Shivambu and the party's account was allocated at least <b>R1.8 million</b>.</p> <p>Some of this funding allocated to the EFF was used for the EFF's 2017 anniversary celebrations. Further, an additional <b>R430 000</b> of VBS funds was allocated to a property that Malema lived at in 2012 in Sandown, Johannesburg. The property is registered under the party's name.</p> <p>In 2019, further revelations exposed Floyd , benefited from a R4 million loan, which would go towards his wine-bar called</p>	2017

<sup>57</sup> <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2018-11-29-firm-that-won-r1bn-joburg-fleet-contract-paid-malema-eff-slush-fund/>;  
<https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/outside-service-provider-to-assist-with-probe-into-eff-tender-kickback-claims-mashaba-20181130>;  
<http://www.702.co.za/articles/329061/the-city-of-joburg-may-have-turned-a-blind-eye-to-eff-corruption-amabhungane>

			Grand Azania in Soweto. Floyd's brother, Brian, was also instrumental in securing this funding. <sup>58</sup>	
	R 200 000	Adriano Mazzotti	<p>Adriano Mazzotti is a businessman and the co-director of Carnilinx, a company that manufactures cigarettes. Mazzotti has admitted to, 'smuggling, corruption, fraud, money laundering, tax evasion and attempted bribery of SARS officials.'<sup>59</sup> In 2013, Mazzotti donated <b>R200 000</b> to the EFF which was used for the party's registration to contest the 2014 general elections prior to the party's registration.</p> <p>It has been alleged by Nhlanhla Nene that former SARS boss Tom Moyane helped protect Mazzotti and stopped an investigation into his tax affairs.<sup>60</sup> The EFF was a vocal supporter of Moyane and claimed his removal from SARS was a political decision that did not follow proper process.</p>	2013
	R1 000 000	Kyle Phillips	In 2014, a co-director of Carnilinx, Kyle Phillips provided CIC Malema with a <b>R1 million</b> loan. Malema used this towards a tax bill he received from SARS amounting to millions of rands.	2014

<sup>58</sup> <http://www.capetalk.co.za/articles/328084/r1-8-million-of-the-illicit-vbs-funds-went-to-the-eff-and-julias-malema>; <https://www.businesslive.co.za/fm/features/cover-story/2018-12-21-scandal-of-the-year-vbs--a-most-unsophisticated-bank-heist/>; <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2019-04-03-the-great-vbs-heist-how-the-shivambu-brothers-benefited-even-more/>; <https://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2018-10-11-did-the-eff-get-cash-in-the-vbs-mutual-bank-scandal/>; <https://www.enca.com/news/watch-floyd-shivambu-eff-implicated-vbs-heist>

<sup>59</sup> <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2018-12-11-mazzottis-smoke-n-mirrors-a-matter-of-taxes-fraud-smuggling-and-cigarettes/>

<sup>60</sup> <https://citizen.co.za/news/south-africa/state-capture/2101500/moyane-killed-adriano-mazzotti-investigation-says-nene/>



	Donation amount/goods/services	Donor	Donor Description	Year(s) of allocation(s)
<b>Political Party</b>	<b>Inkatha Freedom Party</b>			
	R 180 000	Avmin	Avmin, referred to earlier, donated R2 million to various parties in the national legislature in proportion to the seats held in the legislature in 2004. The IFP was allocated <b>R180 000</b> of the R2 million. <sup>61</sup>	2004
	n.a.	MTN	MTN, referred to earlier, allocated R6.2 million to parties contesting the 2004 elections. MTN would not disclose how it would divide the funds among all recipient parties, but the IFP was indicated as one of the recipients. <sup>62</sup>	2004
	R200 000	Sanlam	Sanlam, described earlier, allocated money to various political parties in 2004. The Sanlam board approved a <b>R200 000</b> donation to the IFP in 2004. <sup>63</sup>	2004
	R 120 000	Kumba Resources	Kumba Resources, referred to earlier, donated R1 million to political parties represented in parliament. The IFP received <b>R120 000</b> of the R1 million donation. <sup>64</sup>	2004
	R 480 000	Anglo American	Anglo American, referred to earlier, is a mining company, producing iron-ore. In 2004, Anglo American announced that it would donate R6 million to political parties contesting the 2004 elections. The IFP received <b>R480 000</b> of the R6 million. <sup>65</sup>	2004
	R 640 000	Anglo Gold	Anglo Gold, also referred to as Anglo Gold Ashanti, was reported to have "set aside" R3.2 million for various political parties. The IFP and the UDM were each offered <b>R640 000</b> . <sup>66</sup>	2004

<sup>61</sup> *Avin to donate money to political parties.* SABC News, 11 March 2004

<sup>62</sup> *Msiza, Mahap. MTN gives R6.2m for elections.* Finance24, 16 March 2004

<sup>63</sup> *Msiza, Mahap. Sanlam donates R1055m.* Finance24, 11 March 2004

<sup>64</sup> *Msiza, Mahap. Kumba donates R1m.* Finance24, 08 March 2004

<sup>65</sup> *Anglo donates R6m to SA political parties(2004).* SABC News. 13 February 2004.

<sup>66</sup> *Political parties' funding debate crops up, again.* (2004). SABC News. 29 January

	R 50 000	Gambling Association of South Africa (GASA)	Gambling Association of South Africa (GASA) was involved in the establishment of illegal casinos in Kwazulu Natal. IFP President, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was invited to a secret meeting with GASA. IFP MP Kirtsen Rajoo was also instrumental in making deals for the casino industry, while serving on Parliament's Ad Hoc Committee on Gambling. The party did admit to the <b>R50 000</b> funding received. <sup>67</sup>	c. 1997
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<sup>67</sup> <https://mg.co.za/article/1997-02-07-charges-fly-in-kwazulu-gambling-war>

	Donation amount/goods/services	Donor	Donor description	Year(s) of allocation(s)
<b>Political Party</b>	<b>United Democratic Movement</b>			
	R 100 000	Guptas	In a Sunday Times report, the President of the UDM, Bantu Holomisa admitted that his party received a <b>R100 000</b> donation from the Guptas. <sup>68</sup>	n.a.
	R 70 000	Avmin	Avmin, referred to earlier, donated R2 million to various parties in the national legislature in proportion to the seats held in the legislature in 2004. The UDM was allocated <b>R70 000</b> of the R2 million. <sup>69</sup>	2004
	R 50 000	Sanlam	Sanlam, described earlier, allocated money to various political parties in 2004. The Sanlam board approved a <b>R50 000</b> donation to the UDM in 2004. <sup>70</sup>	2004
	R 30 000	Kumba Resources	In 2004, Kumba Resources, a company that merged with Anglo American, announced that a R1 million donation would be made to various political parties. The UDM received <b>R30 000</b> of the R1 million. <sup>71</sup>	2004
	R 120 000	Anglo American	Anglo American is a mining company, producing iron-ore. In 2004, Anglo American announced that it would donate R6 million to political parties contesting the 2004 elections. The UDM received <b>R120 000</b> of the R6 million. <sup>72</sup>	2004
	R 640 000	Anglo Gold	Anglo Gold, also referred to as Anglo Gold Ashanti, allocated was reported to have "set aside" R3.2 million for various political parties. The UDM and IFP were each offered <b>R640 000</b> . <sup>73</sup>	2004

<sup>68</sup> <https://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2018-03-13-some-examples-of-political-donors-whose-secret-donations-were-exposed/>

<sup>69</sup> *Avin to donate money to political parties*. SABC News, 11 March 2004

<sup>70</sup> Msiza, Mahap. *Sanlam donates R1.5m*. Finance24, 11 March 2004

<sup>71</sup> Msiza, Mahap. *Kumba donates R1m*. Finance24, 08 March 2004

<sup>72</sup> *Anglo donates R6m to SA political parties(2004)*. SABC News. 13 February 2004.

<sup>73</sup> *Political parties' funding debate crops up, again*. (2004). SABC News. 29 January

**Donors who donated to all or various political parties:** In 2004, various companies publicly disclosed that they donated to political parties. These companies include Standard Bank, Liberty Group, Anglo Gold, Sanlam, Mvelephanda, Sappi, Kumba, Cell C, MTN, Absa and Gencor.<sup>74</sup>

Some of these donors (Sanlam, Kumba, MTN) have been referred to earlier, but we have included other examples below.

Amount or type of donations allocated	Donor	Donor Description	Year(s) of allocation(s)
R9 000 000	SAB Miller	South African Breweries under the direction of SABMiller donated R9 million to the six largest political parties represented in the National Assembly in the run-up to the 2014 elections. Reports indicate ANC would receive R5 million and the DA, COPE, IFP, UDM, FF+ would receive the remainder of the funds. <sup>75</sup>	2013
R14 200 000	Standard Bank	Standard Bank is one of Africa's largest banks. Standard Bank has openly disclosed that they donate to political parties according to the formula by which the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) allocates public funding. In 2004 it allocated a total of R5 million to all political parties in the national legislature. Such allocations were also made in 2009/10 (R5 million), 2010/2011 (R2.1 million) and in 2011/2012 (R2.1 million). <sup>76</sup>	2004; 2009/10; 2010/2011; 2011/12
R12 960 000	Absa	Absa is one of Africa's largest banks and has publicly stated that it provided donations to various political parties in Parliament. A party must have at least three seats and the funding is distributed according to the formula the IEC uses to allocate public funding. In 2007 it donated a total of R2.4m, in 2008 it donated a total of R2.6 million, in 2009/10 it donated R2.56million, in 2010/11 it donated a total of R2.6 million and in 2011/12 it donated a total of R2.8 million. <sup>77</sup>	2007-2012

<sup>74</sup> SA Democracy Incorporated: Corporate fronts and political party funding, Vicki Robinson and Stefaans Brümmer. (2006). Institute of Security Studies.

<sup>75</sup> <https://www.iol.co.za/business-report/economy/sabmillers-political-donations-in-spotlight-1491543>

<sup>76</sup> *Parties must identify benefactors* (2004). Business Day. 29 October.

<sup>77</sup> [http://pmg-assets.s3-website-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/170803Human\\_-\\_Annexure\\_2.pdf](http://pmg-assets.s3-website-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/170803Human_-_Annexure_2.pdf)

	R6 000 000	Anglo American	Anglo American, referred to earlier, donated R6 million to various political parties, over two financial years contesting, the 2004 elections. The ANC received R3 million, the DA received R1.5 million, the IFP received R480 000, the UDM received R120 000 and smaller parties received R60 000. <sup>78</sup>	2004-2005
	R3 200 000	Anglo Gold	Referred to earlier, Anglo Gold, allocated a total of R3.2 million to various political parties. The ANC and DA were each offered R960 000. The IFP and UDM were offered R640 000. <sup>79</sup>	2004
	R1 500 000	Liberty	Liberty is a South African financial services company. In 2004 it allocated a total of R1.5 million to all political parties in Parliament contesting the 2004 elections. The total amount was split according to the seats that the relevant parties held in Parliament. <sup>80</sup>	2004
	n.a.	Woolworths	In a policy paper by Gary Pienaar, titled "The state of Party Funding in South Africa," in 2004 Woolworths made donations to various political parties to celebrate ten years of democracy in South Africa. <sup>81</sup>	2004

<sup>78</sup> *Anglo donates R6m to SA political parties.* (2004) SABC.

<sup>79</sup> *Political parties must identify benefactors* (2004). Business Day. 29 October.

<sup>80</sup> Standard to fund elections (2004). Finance 24. 01 March.

<sup>81</sup> [http://pmg-assets.s3-website-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/170803Human\\_-\\_Annexure\\_2.pdf](http://pmg-assets.s3-website-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/170803Human_-_Annexure_2.pdf)