

2021

The logo features the text "MY X VOTE COUNTS" in a bold, white, sans-serif font. The "X" is enclosed in a white square. The entire text is set against a black, irregular, brush-stroke-like background. The background of the slide is a solid magenta color with faint, light-colored line art illustrations of a hand holding a ballot, stacks of money, and a scale of justice.

**MY X VOTE
COUNTS**

**PRIVATE FUNDING OF
POLITICAL PARTIES:**

WHAT WE KNOW

(VERSION 2)



PRIVATE FUNDING OF POLITICAL PARTIES: WHAT WE KNOW (VERSION 2)

This updated report, titled “**Private Funding of Political Parties: What We Know?**” serves as a register of known donations, or reported donations from private sources to South African political parties and politicians. The following information is already available in the public domain, but not all the sources referenced are available online or are compiled collectively as is here. The negative impact of the unregulated private funding of politics in South Africa stretches back to the period prior to the inception of democracy in 1994 and continues today. While the private funding of politics is not always necessarily problematic or linked to corruption, when it is done in secrecy it can create suspicion and the only way to counter this is through transparency and regulation. In the absence of any disclosure of political parties’ private funding information, there is 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 will regularly be updated as we uncover more information. The Political Party Funding Act, set to be operational by 1 April 2021, and the Promotion of Access to Information Amendment Act, will for the first time in South Africa’s history compel political parties to make disclosures of their private funding. We will then have access to this crucial information that can be used to vote and make political choices from a more informed position, to hold political parties and politicians to account, and serve as a tool to stop and uncover corruption.

THIS REPORT PROVIDES THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION:

- **Political parties:** The report mainly lists donations allocated to the African National Congress (ANC), the Democratic Alliance (DA), the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the United Democratic Movement (UDM). 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.

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)				
	Jet rides and purchasing a home for Oliver Tambo	Roland "Tiny" Rowland	<p>Roland "Tiny" Rowland was a controversial British business tycoon whose rise in the business world began when he was sent to run the London and Rhodesian Mining and Land Company (Lonhro) in modern day Zimbabwe.¹ Rowland was once branded by the former British Prime Minister Edward Heath as the "unacceptable face of capitalism".²</p> <p>It is well documented that he established a good relationship with former ANC leader Oliver Tambo.³ He soon became a close associate to Tambo and even purchased a luxury home in one of Johannesburg's most fashionable white areas for the former ANC leader.⁴ In 1989 when Oliver Tambo suffered a stroke, Rowland availed his private jet to Tambo in order for him to seek medical attention.⁵</p> <p>In 1996, Nelson Mandela honoured Rowland with the Order of Good Hope, an award of the most prestigious honour in South Africa.⁶</p>	1989 - 1996

¹ <https://www.nytimes.com/1998/07/27/world/roland-rowland-dies-at-80-outspoken-british-tycoon.html>

² <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1998/07/27/roland-tiny-rowland-british-businessman-dies/e3f8a202-df02-448d-8f65-5dee351e1a83/>

³ <https://books.google.co.za/books?id=a9DCAWAAQBAJ&pg=PA224&lpg=PA224&dq=rowland+order+of+good+hope+award&source=bl&ots=z-B6Y9O4sA&sig=ACfU3U19jcPmElal1XQAwD4um-HXnXA&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwinzfvRhZ7IAhWSQEEAHdZFDUMQ6AEwA3oECAkQAQ#v=onepage&q=rowland%20order%20of%20good%20hope%20award&f=false>

⁴ ibid

⁵ <https://www.pressreader.com/kenya/daily-nation/20171224/281913068479374>

⁶ <https://alchetron.com/Tiny-Rowland>

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)				
	USD 50 million	King Fahd of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia	<p>It has been reported that a donation amounting to \$50 million from King Fahd of Saudi Arabia was made at the request of the late Nelson Mandela.⁷</p> <p>Mandela was friends with the royal family, the late King Fahd and Prince Bandar bin Sultan, who was Saudi ambassador to the US from 1983 to 2005.⁸</p>	1990
	£6 million	Taiwanese Government	<p>According to <i>Inside Politics</i>, a donation of £6 million was made to the ANC by the Taiwanese government.⁹</p> <p>It is alleged that Taiwan made the donation to the party so that South Africa would not abandon diplomatic and economic ties with the island republic in favour of relations with mainland China.¹⁰</p>	1993
	USD 10 million	Taiwanese Government	<p>According to a <i>Business Day</i> article, the ANC received USD 10 million from the government of Taiwan. The article states that, "It has been reported that the donation was made in order to assist the ANC repay a campaign debt worth USD 20 million".¹¹</p>	1994
	USD 40 million	Muammar Mohammed Abu Minyar Gaddafi	<p>The late Muammar Mohammed Abu Minyar Gaddafi, popularly known as Colonel Gaddafi, ruled Libya from 1969 to 2011. According to an article in the <i>Mail & Guardian</i>, on return from a trip to Libya, former President Nelson Mandela returned with a briefcase containing USD 40 million from Colonel Gaddafi.¹²</p>	1994

⁷ <https://inside-politics.org/2013/05/08/the-ancs-dubious-donors/>

⁸ <https://www.arabnews.com/node/1340796/saudi-arabia>

⁹ <https://inside-politics.org/2013/05/08/the-ancs-dubious-donors/>

¹⁰ <https://mg.co.za/article/1995-12-08-for-sale-sas-diplomatic-relations/>

¹¹ <https://inside-politics.org/2013/05/08/the-ancs-dubious-donors/>

¹² <https://mg.co.za/article/2009-03-21-ancs-dodgy-funders>

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AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)				
	£2.6 million	General Sani Abacha	According to <i>The Guardian</i> a donation of £2.6 million was made in cash to the ANC by General Sani Abacha of Nigeria. ¹³ The article further alleged that the ANC is known to have received cash donations from the Moroccan government as well. ¹⁴	1994
	USD 50 million	General Sani Abacha	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 USD 50 million to the ANC for the 1994 elections. ¹⁵ The donation was seen as preparation for an eventual rapport with the South African government led by Nelson Mandela. ¹⁶	1995
	R5 million	British Aerospace	British Aerospace (BAe) is a British arms dealer that formed part of a group of contractors that received tenders in the infamous South African Arms Deal. BAe had personal links to the former Minister of Defence and prominent ANC member Joe Modise. It is reported that BAe donated R5 million to the ANC's uMkhonto weSizwe Military Veterans Association (UKMVA) and in addition, BAe provided overseas trips to ministers, members of parliament and government officials. ¹⁷	1995

¹³ <https://inside-politics.org/2013/05/08/the-ancs-dubious-donors/>

¹⁴ ibid

¹⁵ <https://www.politicsweb.co.za/news-and-analysis/mandela-and-abacha-how-not-to-deal-with-dictators>

¹⁶ <https://inside-politics.org/2013/05/08/the-ancs-dubious-donors/>

¹⁷ <https://books.google.co.za/books?id=D2iHDAAAQBAJ&pg=PA230&lpg=PA230&dq=joe+modise+MK+donation&source=bl&ots=Xo3FBKXRzW&sig=ACFu3U1b4GEYsZclK0XwqDpFuZ6jnUilfA&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKewi9uManv6DIAhWlqHEKHaENDA44FBD0ATAHegQICRAB#v=onepage&q=joe%20modise%20MK%20donation&f=false>

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AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)				
	Various allocations of money and gifts are referred to in the description	Sol Kerzner	<p>Sol Kerzner was a South African businessman who is known as a hotel tycoon due to his building of luxurious hotels, including the Sun City and Beverly Hills Hotel.¹⁸</p> <p>It was confirmed by the office of the former President Thabo Mbeki that the ANC received donations from Sol Kerzner.¹⁹ Former President Nelson Mandela also confirmed that Sol Kerzner made donations to the ANC during fundraising before the elections.²⁰</p> <p>Former Minister of Tourism and the current President of the United Democratic Movement (UDM), Bantu Holomisa, made claims that Kerzner has made various donations to members of the ANC including a R2 million donation to the party, paying former president Thabo Mbeki's 50th birthday and providing free accommodation to former sports minister Steve Tshwete.²¹</p>	1996
	USD 10 million	King Fahd of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia	<p>Saudi Arabia's late and former ruler, 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 USD 10 million to the party in 1999.²²</p>	1999

¹⁸ <https://buzzsouthafrica.com/sol-kerzner-profile-biography/>

¹⁹ <http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/media/1996/9608/s960810a.htm>

²⁰ ibid

²¹ <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/anc-traded-charges-for-party-donations-1308301.html>

²² <https://inside-politics.org/2013/05/08/the-ancs-dubious-donors/>

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AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)				
	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 USD 10 million from the former President. ²³	1999
	Initial payments of R1.2 million and unknown additional payments.	Schabir Shaik	The <i>Business Day</i> reported that the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) has discovered additional payments which were made to former president Jacob Zuma by his former financial adviser, Schabir Shaik. ²⁴ In 2005 Shaik was found guilty of fraud and corruption related to the multibillion-rand arms deal involving French arms company Thales. The NPA is therefore required to update the forensic report into Zuma's finances. According to the publication the initial payments made to Zuma by Shaik totaled more than R1.2 million and Shaik argued that the payments were made out of friendship. ²⁶	Late 1990s
	R18.5 million	Group of wealthy businessmen	In an obituary covering the life of Nelson Mandela in The Guardian, it is alleged that the former statesman approached a group of wealthy businessmen for donations to support him and his family. ²⁷ Subsequently a trust fund was set up and between September 16th 2002 and March 10th 2005, a total of R18.5 million was received. ²⁸	Sept. 2002 - March 2005

²³ ibid

²⁴ <https://www.businesslive.co.za/bd/national/2020-05-12-npa-discovers-more-payments-from-schabir-shaik-to-jacob-zuma/>

²⁵ <https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/npa-finds-schabir-shaik-made-even-more-payments-to-jacob-zuma-report-20200513>

²⁶ ibid

²⁷ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/dec/05/nelson-mandela-obituary>

²⁸ ibid

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)				
	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.²⁹ The late Gavin Watson, who was the CEO of the AGO, had a close relationship with the ANC for several years and this relationship and bribes were used to secure numerous government contracts.³⁰ According to the <i>Mail and Guardian</i>, over a 15 year period it is alleged Bosasa secured over R12 billion in questionable state contracts including Limpopo's Department of Social Development, Northern Cape's Arts and Culture Department and the National Department of Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry.³¹</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.³² According to Agrizzi, AGO spent between R4 million and R6 million monthly for cash bribes to senior government officials on the company's payroll.³³ Agrizzi implicated the following ANC Members of Parliament (MPs) and/or ANC officials: <i>(continued on next page)</i></p>	2003 - 2019

²⁹ <https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/bosasa-board-dissolved-workers-to-keep-their-jobs-for-now-liquidator-20190222>

³⁰ <https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/south-africa/2019-01-22-meet-the-watson-brothers-in-struggle-often-in-headlines-for-the-wrong-reasons/>

³¹ <https://mg.co.za/article/2019-02-01-00-the-bosasa-tally-r12-billion>

³² <https://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2019-03-29-five-bombshells-angelo-agrizzi-dropped-at-the-state-capture-inquiry-this-week/>

³³ <https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/opinion/lavish-bribe-system-helped-bosasa-score-lucrative-contracts-19934966>

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)				
	Various allocations of money and gifts are referred to in the description	African Global Operations / Bosasa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nomvula Mokonyane, who allegedly received monthly payments of R50 000 from 2002 to 2016, as well as security upgrades, 12 cases of frozen chicken, 200kg of beef braai packs, eight lambs, specialty alcohol including cases of premium brandy;³⁴ • Vincent Smith allegedly received R100 000 in cash every month from former Bosasa CEO Gavin Watson.³⁵ A company in which Smith was the sole director, Euro Blitz 48, received R671 000 in payments from Bosasa.³⁶ He also allegedly received a security upgrade at his home and his daughter's university fees were also covered by Bosasa.³⁷ Smith allegedly helped Agrizzi's son land a job in the ANC;³⁸ • Vuselelo Vincent Magagula, who allegedly received R30 000 in monthly payments;³⁹ • Winnie Ngwenya, who allegedly received R20 000 in monthly payments and R100 000 while being on the parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Correctional Services;⁴⁰ • Cedri Frolic, allegedly received R40 000 a month in relation to facilitating meetings between Bosasa and various politicians;⁴¹ <i>(continued on next page)</i> 	2003 - 2019

³⁴ <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>

³⁵ <https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/bosasa-paid-top-anc-mp-20180901>

³⁶ ibid

³⁷ <https://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2019-01-21-anc-mps-got-home-security-upgrades-university-fees-agrizzi/>

³⁸ <https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/vincent-smith-assisted-former-bosasa-boss-son-to-get-anc-job-20180905>

³⁹ <https://www.iol.co.za/news/opinion/bosasas-multimillion-rand-state-bribery-scheme-20056241>

⁴⁰ <https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/bosasa-sent-anc-mp-to-entice-cope-spokesperson-zondo-commission-hears-19085147>

⁴¹ <https://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2019-03-29-anc-mp-cedric-frolic-in-a-corrupt-relationship-for-10-years-angelo-agrizzi/>

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)				
	Various allocations of money and gifts are referred to in the description	African Global Operations / Bosasa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Former President Jacob Zuma allegedly received around R3.5 million per annum for “functions” he hosted or requested funding for,⁴² R300 000 per month in cash supposedly for his Jacob Zuma foundation,⁴³ but explained by Agrizzi as a bribe from Bosasa to avoid prosecution, and a birthday cake⁴⁴; and • An amount between R8 million and R12 million was allegedly donated to the ANC around 2004, 2005 or 2006.⁴⁵ Agrizzi could not recall the exact amount.⁴⁶ • Agrizzi also testified that AGO sponsored the ANC with various goods, including ANC memorabilia and tickets to jazz festivals.⁴⁷ Further, AGO sponsored events, as per ANC officials requests, including a State of the Nation (SONA) after-party at a café / cigar lounge in Cape Town, called Cubana.⁴⁸ 	2003 - 2019

⁴² <https://www.iol.co.za/business-report/zumas-lavish-parties-worth-a-shocking-r35-million-11888133>

⁴³ <https://www.businesslive.co.za/bd/national/2019-01-20-bosasa-paid-zuma-r300000-a-month-to-avoid-prosecution/>

⁴⁴ <https://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2019-01-21-how-bosasa-paid-for-anc-rallies-and-even-paid-for-zumas-birthday-cake/>

⁴⁵ <https://citizen.co.za/news/south-africa/state-capture/2108571/bosasa-delegation-presented-large-donation-to-ancs-top-six/>

⁴⁶ ibid

⁴⁷ <https://www.enca.com/news/no-more-after-parties-agrizzi-describes-bosasa-bribes>

⁴⁸ <https://www.enca.com/news/no-more-after-parties-agrizzi-describes-bosasa-bribes>

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AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)				
	Various allocations of money and gifts are referred to in the description	African Global Operations / Bosasa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The former Bosasa CEO, Gavin Watson, also donated R500 000 to President Ramaphosa's ANC presidential campaign, CR17.⁴⁹ Although not revealed at the Zondo Commission, President Cyril Ramaphosa has confirmed receiving this donation.⁵⁰ In light of Bosasa's contract with Blue Crane Capital, suspicions have been raised of undue influence and the exact nature of the relationship between Ramaphosa, his family and Bosasa, after it was confirmed that Gavin Watson attended Ramaphosa's son Andile's wedding in Uganda.⁵¹ 	2003 - 2019
	R11 million	Oilgate/ Imvume Holdings	Imvume Holdings was at one stage known as an oil company, but in 2004 it emerged that it was a front company of the ANC. ⁵² 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. R11 million of the R15 million was paid to the ANC, who used these public funds for their 2004 election campaign. ^{53/54}	2003

⁴⁹ <https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/exclusive-leaked-emails-reveal-who-ramaphosas-cr17-campaign-asked-for-money-20190803>

⁵⁰ <https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/ramaphosa-confirms-r500k-bosasa-payment-was-to-fund-anc-presidential-campaign-18149588>

⁵¹ <https://mg.co.za/article/2019-07-26-bosasa-boss-attended-my-sons-wedding-ramaphosa>

⁵² <https://mg.co.za/article/2005-05-03-the-ancs-oilgate>

⁵³ ibid

⁵⁴ <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>

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)				
	R1 million	Unknown businessman	In the book, <i>South Africa's Brave New World: The Beloved Country Since the End of Apartheid</i> , it is alleged that a businessman found out that the cheque he donated to the ANC for R1 million in 1999 remained uncashed. ⁵⁵ After another request for a donation from the party, the businessman simply cancelled the old cheque and wrote a new one for the same value of R1 million . ⁵⁶	2004
	R1 million	Sanlam	Sanlam is one of South Africa's largest financial servicing entities. In 2004, former President Nelson Mandela admitted that Sanlam donated R1 million each to the ANC and the now defunct New National Party (NNP). ⁵⁷	2004
	R1.38 million	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). ⁵⁸ In 2004, the company donated R2 million to various parties in the national legislature in proportion to the seats held in the legislature. ⁵⁹ The ANC's 66.4% representation accrued it R1 380 000 of the R2 million. ⁶⁰	2004
	R600 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. ⁶¹ The ANC received the largest allocation, R 600 000 . ⁶²	2004

⁵⁵ <https://books.google.co.za/books?id=aVs9lywrEdcC&pg=PT224&lpg=PT224&dq=President+Mahathir+Mohammed+donations+to+South+Africa&source=bl&ots=lec-#v=onepage&q=President%20Mahathir%20Mohammed%20donations%20to%20South%20Africa&f=false>

⁵⁶ *ibid*

⁵⁷ <https://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2018-03-13-some-examples-of-political-donors-whose-secret-donations-were-exposed/>

⁵⁸ <https://blog.e-hokkaido.in/57546008/1/anglovaal.html>

⁵⁹ <https://www.jstor-org.ezproxy.uwc.ac.za/stable/pdf/20406509.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A8d1c3fab5416d4ae57fd46835269d7bd>

⁶⁰ *ibid*

⁶¹ <https://www.engineeringnews.co.za/article/kumba-donates-funds-to-sa-parties-2004-03-09>

⁶² Sarakinsky, Ivor. (2007). "Political Party Finance in South Africa: Disclosure versus Secrecy," *Democratisation*, Vol.14(1): 111-128.=

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)				
	R3 million	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. ⁶³ The ANC received R3 million of the R6 million. ⁶⁴	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. ⁶⁵ 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. ⁶⁶	2004

⁶³ <https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/anglo-gives-parties-a-major-financial-boost-205967>

⁶⁴ Anglo donates R6m to SA political parties(2004), SABC News. 13 February 2004.

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)				
	USD 20 million	Viktor Vekselberg	<p>Viktor Vekselberg is a controversial Russian oligarch and businessman who is the President and owner of the Renova Group - a Russian conglomerate and investment group with interests in oil and metals.⁶⁷ Chancellor House, the ANC's investment arm, had its biggest mining investments in the Kalahari through the company United Manganese Kalahari (UMK), a venture with Renova Manganese Investments (RMI), a Bahamas-registered subsidiary of the Renova Group controlled by Vekselberg.⁶⁸</p> <p>The Department of Minerals and Energy (DME) awarded UMK a order prospecting rights to eight farm portions in the area of Kuruman.⁶⁹ RMI controlled 49 per cent of UMK, with Chancellor House and Pitsa controlling 51 per cent.</p> <p>UMK was funded by Renova to the amount of US\$20 million, 'effectively giving nearly half this sum to Chancellor and Pitsa as RMI partners'.⁷⁰</p>	2004 / 6

⁶⁷ <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/donald-trump/meet-nice-russian-oligarch-linked-trump-lawyer-michael-cohen-n872716>

⁶⁸ https://open.uct.ac.za/bitstream/item/28284/Jolobe_Financing%20the%20ANC_2010.pdf?sequence=1

⁶⁹ ibid

⁷⁰ ibid

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)				
	€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. ⁷¹ The controversy surrounding the project was that Thales bribed ANC officials in order to receive billions of rands from taxpayers’ money. ⁷² In 2006, Thales donated €1 million to the ANC. ⁷³ Former President Jacob Zuma also received cash gifts, a free trip to Paris to watch the final of the 2007 Rugby World Cup, 5 star hotel accommodation and designer clothes. ⁷⁴	2006
	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 <i>Mail & Guardian</i> , “insiders” claimed that in addition to maintaining “historical ties,” one of the reasons of the then President Jacob Zuma’s 2008 foreign delegation was to raise funds for the ANC. ⁷⁵ 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. ⁷⁶	2008
	n.a.	Chinese Communist Party	The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) is the dominant and ruling party of China. ⁷⁷ In a report by the <i>Mail & Guardian</i> , “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. ⁷⁸ This report referred to China, where Zuma reportedly met the CCP’s secretary-general, Hu Jintao, on his visit to China.	2008

⁷¹ <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/>

⁷² <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2020-05-20-thales-how-to-buy-a-country/#gsc.tab=0>

⁷³ <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2017-05-03-zuma-corruption-and-the-arms-deal-the-gift-that-just-keeps-on-giving/#gsc.tab=0>

⁷⁴ <https://www.corruptionwatch.org.z>

⁷⁵ <https://mg.co.za/article/2009-03-21-ancs-dodgy-funders>

⁷⁶ *ibid*

⁷⁷ *ibid*

⁷⁸ <https://www.ft.com/content/33686fc4-d171-11e1-bbbc-00144feabdc0a/new-arms-deal-allegations-zuma-thales/>; <https://www.corruptionwatch.org.za/the-arms-deal-what-you-need-to-know-2/>

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)				
	R130 000	3P Consulting	3P Consulting is a management consulting company, specialising in public sector reform solutions. In August 2008, this company donated R130 000 to the ANC in the Sedibeng Region. ⁷⁹ The funds were allegedly used to cover half the cost for an ANC Women's League (ANCWL) conference which was held in Parys in 2008. ⁸⁰	2008
	R3.6 million	Gaston Savoi	A Cape Town-based Uruguayan businessman, Dr Gaston Savoi is the director of Intaka Holdings. ⁸¹ In a Constitutional Court matter brought against him in relation to money laundering, corruption and fraud involving ANC officials, Savoi admitted that he donated R1 million to the ANC. ⁸² 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 charges alongside Savoi. ⁸³ In 2011, <i>AmaBunghane</i> reported that he had made a total of R3.6 million in donations to the ANC. ⁸⁴	2011

⁷⁹ <http://www.politicsweb.co.za/news-and-analysis/proof-of-donations-to-anc-by-hlongwalinked-company>

⁸⁰ <https://citizen.co.za/news/south-africa/1989840/court-documents-expose-brian-hlongwa-linked-companys-corruption/>

⁸¹ <https://mg.co.za/article/2011-01-21-fraud-suspect-gave-anc-r36million>

⁸² <https://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2018-03-13-some-examples-of-political-donors-whose-secret-donations-were-exposed/>

⁸³ <https://mg.co.za/article/2014-03-21-concourt-ruling-provides-certainty-for-intaka-case>

⁸⁴ <https://amabunghane.org/stories/fraud-suspect-gave-anc-r36-million/>

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)				
	<p>Various allocations to Malema including: cash payments, Mercedes Benz Viano (at a cost of nearly R1m), construction costs of Malema's Sandown mansion, bodyguard costs and full access to petrol cards.</p>	Lesiba Gwangwa	<p>It has been reported that former ANC Youth League (ANCYL) president Julius Malema received millions of rands worth of goods and services through the Ratanang Family Trust.⁸⁵ It is alleged that Malema received the funds from Lesiba Gwangwa, boss of On-Point Engineering, a company that was awarded a R50 million tender by the Limpopo Department of Roads and Transport in 2009 to operate the department's project management unit.⁸⁶</p> <p>Malema's charges of fraud relating to his involvement in On-Point Engineering had been struck off the roll by the NPA.⁸⁷</p>	2011
	<p>Security upgrades worth R600 000</p>	Sondolo IT	<p>African Global Operations (AGO) employee, Richard le Roux, testified at the Zondo Commission of Inquiry, implicating ANC official, Gwede Mantashe.⁸⁸ Le Roux was the regional technical coordinator in charge of "special projects" at AGO's subsidiary, Sondolo IT.⁸⁹ According to le Roux, Gwede Mantashe was one of the ANC officials who received security upgrades from Sondolo IT.⁹⁰ Agrizzi testified that the value of the upgrades were around R600,000.⁹¹</p>	2016 - 2017

⁸⁵ <https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/exclusive-the-damning-evidence-against-julius-malema-the-npa-chose-to-ignore-20191201>

⁸⁶ <https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/exclusive-the-damning-evidence-against-julius-malema-the-npa-chose-to-ignore-20191201>

⁸⁷ <https://www.news24.com/news24/mynews24/the-malema-dilemma-20151207-2>

⁸⁸ <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2019-01-31-bosasa-funded-home-security-for-mantashe-mokonyane-and-mveni-says-witness/#gsc.tab=0>

⁸⁹ ibid

⁹⁰ <https://citizen.co.za/news/south-africa/state-capture/2110047/investigator-testifies-about-bosasas-security-upgrades-for-mantashe-mti/>

⁹¹ <https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/agrizzi-insists-bosasa-installed-r600k-worth-upgrades-to-mantashe-homes-20214083>

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)				
	Vehicles R10 million iPads	Robert Gumede	<p>Robert Gumede is a South African billionaire whose career as a businessman stems from business consulting, investing and various other corporate ventures.⁹² Gumede is most popularly known for establishing the ICT company, Gijima Group. According to a report in the <i>Sowetan</i>, 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.⁹³</p> <p>There are various reports on donations allocated by Gumede to the ANC. In 2008, the <i>Mail & Guardian</i> reported that Gumede allocated R10 million to the ANC at an event held in Sandton.⁹⁴ It has been reported that Gumede allocated 12 vehicles to the ANC in Nelspruit, Mpumalanga in 2016.⁹⁵ In addition Gumede donated 14 vehicles and 20 iPads to the ANC in Nelspruit in 2016.⁹⁶</p>	2016
	R3.5 million	LTE Consulting	<p>LTE Consulting, is a company which provides a host of consulting services in various sectors, including IT, health care, mining, energy, marine and shipping. LTE consulting donated towards the ANC a total of R3.5 million over 2 months which saw Minister of Water & Sanitation, Nomvula Mokonyane, delay construction of the Lesotho Highlands Water Project, in order to award contracts to the LTE Consulting.⁹⁷</p>	2016

⁹² <https://www.theafricareport.com/12179/south-african-party-funding-under-the-spotlight/>

⁹³ <https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/opinion/columnists/2019-03-04-anc-needs-to-institute-an-inquiry-into-capture-within-its-ranks/>

⁹⁴ <https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/anc-must-return-tainted-r10m-donation-420744>

⁹⁵ <https://www.news24.com/elections/news/it-billionaire-gives-12-vehicles-to-the-angumedec-20160614ay>

⁹⁶ <https://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2016-06-14-robert-gumede-donates-buses-ipads-to-anc-in-mpumalanga/>

⁹⁷ <https://businesstech.co.za/news/government/129644/corruption-seeps-into-south-africas-r26-billion-water-project-report/>

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)				
	R2 million	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. ⁹⁸ Various state and political officials have been exposed for the looting of the bank’s funds, resulting in the subsequent collapse of the bank. ⁹⁹ ANC Treasurer General has openly confirmed that his party received R2 million from Vele Investments, a company owned by VBS’s owners. ¹⁰⁰	2016
	R2 million	Johnny Copelyn	Johnny Copelyn, CEO of Hosken Consolidated Investments, reportedly donated R2 million towards President Cyril Ramaphosa’s CR17 campaign to be ANC President at the party’s 2017 Nasrec National Elective Conference (NEC). ¹⁰¹	2017
	R1 million	Maria Ramos	Recently retired CEO of the Absa Bank Group Maria Ramos, reportedly donated R1 million to President Cyril Ramaphosa’s CR17 campaign at the party’s 2017 Nasrec NEC. ¹⁰² In February 2019, Ramos resigned as Absa CEO and in July 2019, joined the Public Investment Corporation’s (PIC) interim board. ¹⁰³	2017

⁹⁸ <https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/vbsmutualbank-report-almost-r2bn-looted-by-50-corrupt-people-17429412>

⁹⁹ <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2020-06-18-vbs-bank-heist-arrests-whos-next/#gsc.tab=0>

¹⁰⁰ <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>

¹⁰¹ <https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/cr17-campaign-paid-high-ranking-politicians-including-a-minister-and-deputy-minister-report-claims-20190811>

¹⁰² *ibid*

¹⁰³ <https://www.fin24.com/Companies/Financial-Services/eff-rejects-maria-ramos-appointment-to-pic-board-20190710>

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)				
	R10 million	Nicky Oppenheimer	Nicky Oppenheimer is the richest man in South Africa and the second richest man in Africa. He previously held the position of Director of De Beers Holdings Limited and is the former Chairman of De Beers Consolidated. ¹⁰⁴ It is alleged that the Oppenheimers donated R10 million towards the CR17 campaign at the ANC's 2017 Nasrec Conference. ¹⁰⁵	2017
	R1 million	Raymond Ackerman	Raymond Ackerman is the owner of the Pick 'n Pay group with hundreds of stores located across Southern Africa. ¹⁰⁶ According to reports, Ackerman donated R1 million towards the CR17 campaign. ¹⁰⁷	2017
	R120 million	Anonymous Donor	It is reported that the single largest donation contributed towards the CR17 campaign in the lead up to the ANC's Nasrec National Conference was made by an anonymous donor who donated R120 million . ¹⁰⁸	2017
	R2.4 million	Sifiso Dabengwa	Sifiso Dabengwa is the former chief executive of MTN and an Eskom board member, who is also reported to have made a donation amounting to R2.4 million towards the CR17 campaign. ¹⁰⁹	2017
	R10 million	ANDH Trust	ANDH Trust put forth a post conference donation amounting to R10 million on 12 November 2018. ¹¹⁰	2017

¹⁰⁴ <https://www.thesouthafrican.com/news/famous-south-africans-nicky-oppenheimer-five-quick-facts/>

¹⁰⁵ <https://www.politicsweb.co.za/opinion/cyrils-spot-of-bother>

¹⁰⁶ <https://www.forbes.com/profile/raymond-ackerman/#68d60238536e>

¹⁰⁷ <https://citizen.co.za/news/south-africa/politics/2187699/anc-member-drags-ramaphosa-cr17-to-court-over-r1bn-in-donations/>

¹⁰⁸ *ibid*

¹⁰⁹ <https://www.africanews24-7.co.za/index.php/southafricaforever/businessman-defends-hip-alliances-donation-to-cr17-campaign/>

¹¹⁰ <https://www.iol.co.za/sundayindependent/news/how-the-cr17-campaign-funds-were-channelled-30641667>

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)				
	R250 000	Bobby Godsell	Bobby Godsell is one of the longest serving trustees of the Oppenheimer Memorial Trust and served as chair for the period 1987 to 2001. ¹¹¹ It has been reported that he donated R250 000 towards the CR17 Campaign. ¹¹²	2017
	R600 000	Mike Teke	Mike Teke is the CEO of Seriti Resources Holdings which according to its website “provides coal to Eskom power stations which generate 23% of the country’s electricity”. ¹¹³ According to reports R600 000 was donated to the CR17 campaign in two tranches in January and February in 2018. ¹¹⁴	2017
	R70 000	Colin Coleman	Colin Coleman is the Chief Executive of Goldman Sachs Southern Africa. He is another high profile chief executive to donate to the CR17 campaign. His donation amounted to R70 000 . ¹¹⁵	2017
	R50 000	Manne Dipico	Manne Dipico is the former Premier of the Northern Cape provincial legislature and the first Premier of the province. ¹¹⁶ It has been reported that he donated an amount of R50 000 towards the CR17 campaign. ¹¹⁷	2017
	R1.8 million	GrovePoint Limited	GrovePoint Limited is a UK based investment firm operating as principal and investment manager. ¹¹⁸ Grovepoint donated R1.8 million towards the CR17 campaign. ¹¹⁹	2017

¹¹¹ <https://www.omt.org.za/the-board-of-trustees/godsell-bobby/>

¹¹² <https://www.iol.co.za/sundayindependent/news/how-the-cr17-campaign-funds-were-channelled-30641667>

¹¹³ <https://seritiza.com/about-us/#overview>

¹¹⁴ <https://www.iol.co.za/sundayindependent/news/how-the-cr17-campaign-funds-were-channelled-30641667>

¹¹⁵ *ibid*

¹¹⁶ <https://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/manne-dipico-former-premier-northern-cape-born-kimberley>

¹¹⁷ <https://trvnews.net/news/how-the-cr17-campaign-funds-were-channelled/>

¹¹⁸ <http://www.grovepoint.co.uk/>

¹¹⁹ <https://www.iol.co.za/sundayindependent/news/how-the-cr17-campaign-funds-were-channelled-30641667>

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)				
	R2 million	Phembani Group	Phembani is an energy company which was founded by former MTN chief executive Phuthuma Nhleko. ¹²⁰ The group merged with Cyril Ramaphosa's Shanduka Group in 2015 to resolve the then deputy president's business conflict. ¹²¹ It has been reported that the Group donated R2 million towards the CR17 campaign. ¹²²	2017
	R2 million	Andre Crawford-Brunt	Andrew Crawford-Brunt is a board member of Sygnia Media. It was reported that a donation was made by Syngia Media, however it was clarified in a statement by the company that the donation was made by a non-executive board member in their personal capacity (referring to the donation of Crawford-Brunt). ¹²³ It is reported that the donation amounted to R2 million . ¹²⁴	2017
	n.a	Aspen Pharmacare	Aspen Pharmacare is a pharmaceutical company which is one of the major beneficiaries of government contracts. ¹²⁵ It has been reported that Stavros Nicolaou of Aspen has donated millions of rands towards the CR17 campaign through an organisation called the HIP Alliance (Hellenic, Italian and Portuguese Alliance). ¹²⁶	2017
	R1 million	Mark Lamberti	Mark Lamberti, is the former CEO of Imperial Holdings and the founder of the Massmart Group. ¹²⁷ As reported he donated R1 million towards the CR17 campaign. ¹²⁸	2017

¹²⁰ ibid

¹²¹ ibid

¹²² ibid

¹²³ <https://www.biznews.com/briefs/2019/08/12/sygnia-denies-cr17-donation>

¹²⁴ <https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/call-for-a-cr17-fund-inquiry-30761922>

¹²⁵ <https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/businessman-defends-hip-alliances-donation-to-cr17-campaign-30297924>

¹²⁶ ibid

¹²⁷ <https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/cr17-campaign-paid-high-ranking-politicians-including-a-minister-and-deputy-minister-report-claims-20190811>

¹²⁸ <https://www.iol.co.za/sundayindependent/news/how-the-cr17-campaign-funds-were-channelled-30641667>

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)				
	R1.7 million	Impulse International	In 2017, the Sunday Times reported that a company awarded almost R2 billion in tenders from state-owned enterprise, Eskom, paid R1.7 million in two instalments into an ANC affiliated bank account. ¹²⁹ According to the <i>Sunday Times</i> , an insider made claims that the first payment to the ANC was made after then treasurer-general and current Minister of Health Dr Zweli Mkhize pleaded with Impulse International CEO Pragasen Pather to rescue the party as it was struggling to pay bills for its annual birthday bash. ¹³⁰ One of the instalments was transferred three days before the ANC's "January 8" birthday event at the Orlando Stadium in Soweto. ¹³¹	2017
	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 <i>Mail & Guardian</i> , "insiders" claimed that the then President Jacob Zuma was instrumental in strengthening ties with the MPLA, who reportedly funded the ANC. ¹³²	n.a.

¹²⁹ <https://www.thesouthafrican.com/news/who-gave-money-cr17-donors-cyril-ramaphosa-eff-latest/>

¹³⁰ <https://www.timeslive.co.za/sunday-times/news/2017-04-23-eskom-linked-firm-donated-r17m-to-anc-birthday-bash/>

¹³¹ <https://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2018-03-13-some-examples-of-political-donors-whose-secret-donations-were-exposed/>

¹³² <https://mg.co.za/article/2009-03-21-ancs-dodgy-funders>

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)				
	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. ¹³³ Hitachi reportedly received USD 5 billion from the contract and Chancellor House pocketed around USD 6 million . ¹³⁴	n.a.
	R2.5 million	Radovan Krejcir	Radovan Krejcir is a Czech fugitive, currently in prison in South Africa. ¹³⁵ According to Krejcir, he donated R2.5 million to Jacob Zuma in order for political asylum in South Africa. ¹³⁶	n.a.
	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 R14 million to the ANC. ¹³⁷ In 2014, a High Court case in Cape Town, ordered the ANC to return this donation. ¹³⁸	n.a.

¹³³ <https://www.news24.com/fin24/Opinion/Columnists/pieter-du-toit-chancellor-house-and-eskom-f-off-said-the-ancs-treasurer-20190214>

¹³⁴ <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.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2016-08-01-who-is-funding-our-political-parties-and-why-dont-we-know/>

¹³⁵ <https://www.iol.co.za/the-star/news/czech-gangster-radovan-krejcir-moans-about-his-treatment-in-prison-33558806>

¹³⁶ <https://ewn.co.za/2019/01/15/listen-unpacking-radovan-krejcir-s-claim-he-paid-zuma-r2-5m-for-asylum>

¹³⁷ <https://www.enca.com/south-africa/court-orders-anc-repay-kebble-money>

¹³⁸ *ibid*

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)				
	<p>Various allocations including party donations, subsidising bonds, jobs in private companies, cash offers for state appointments</p>	<p>The Guptas</p>	<p>The brothers Ajay, Rajesh and Atul Gupta, are from India, but relocated to South Africa in 1993. Atul Gupta set up Sahara Computers as their first family business in South Africa.¹³⁹ 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 Guptas 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.¹⁴⁰ The Guptas have reportedly further enriched the Zuma family, after the Gupta-linked Bank of Baroda contributed R3.4 million towards a home in Pretoria under the name of Zuma's wife, Bongzi Ngema-Zuma.¹⁴¹ In 2015, the Guptas reportedly contributed towards the purchase of Duduzane's R18 million luxury apartment based in Burj Khalifa, Dubai and the purchase of a R330 million mansion located in Dubai.¹⁴² <i>(continued on next page)</i></p>	<p>Various years</p>

¹³⁹ <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-22513410>

¹⁴⁰ <https://mg.co.za/article/2011-03-18-plum-gupta-job-for-zuma-fiance>

¹⁴¹ <https://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2017-08-08-report-suggests-guptas-helped-pay-for-zumas-wifes-home/>

¹⁴² <https://businesstech.co.za/news/government/177307/zumas-second-home-the-guptas-r330-million-mansion-in-dubai/>

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)				
	<p>Various allocations including party donations, subsidising bonds, jobs in private companies, cash offers for state appointments</p>	The Guptas	<p>Other Gupta-owned companies which gained access to South African tax payers money through their influence on Zuma include Gupta's media holdings and the mining company called Tegeta.¹⁴³</p> <p>After the exposure of various corruption scandals involving the Guptas had already come to light, in 2017 current Minister of Health Dr Zweli Mkhize during his tenure as the Treasurer General for the ANC admitted at a parliamentary committee meeting on party funding, that the ANC received a R5 million donation from the Guptas.¹⁴⁴</p> <p>The most widely known undue influence the Guptas had was on appointments, involving the hiring and firing of finance ministers. In 2015, the Guptas offered to pay R600 million 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.¹⁴⁵</p>	Various years
	<p>Jeep motor vehicle valued at R1.1 million</p>	Lonwabo Bam	<p>Eastern Cape Premier Oscar Mabuyane received a Jeep Cherokee which retailed for R1.1 million from ANC-connected businessman Lonwabo Bam.¹⁴⁶ Mabuyane's spokesperson stated initially that the vehicle was donated to the ANC, Mr Bam however confirmed that he bought the vehicle for Mr Mabuyane.¹⁴⁷</p>	2019

¹⁴³ <https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/in-the-dark-you-can-thank-the-guptas-for-load-shedding-20181204>

¹⁴⁴ <https://citizen.co.za/news/south-africa/1616056/anc-received-donations-from-guptas-zweli-mkhize/>

¹⁴⁵ <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>

¹⁴⁶ <https://mg.co.za/article/2019-09-20-00-mabuyane-sold-anc-donated-jeep/>

¹⁴⁷ *ibid*

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)				
	R1 million	Iqbal Surve	Iqbal Surve who is one of two black billionaires in South Africa made a donation of R1 million to the ANC in the Western Cape. ¹⁴⁸ Mr. Surve has stated the donation was made due to his desire to “deepen democracy” for the 2019 elections. ¹⁴⁹	2019
	R80 million	Maria Gomes	<p>Lucky Montana, former Passenger Rail Agency of SA (Prasa) boss, alleged that former ANC treasurer-general, Zweli Mkhize provided Maria Gomes with bank account details for her to deposit funds for the benefit of the ANC.¹⁵⁰</p> <p>It is further alleged that the Angolan businesswoman donated R80 million from her company, Swifambo Rail Company in 2016.¹⁵¹ Swifambo secured a R40m contract of Prasa’s infamous R3.5-billion “tall trains” contract in 2013 and 2014.¹⁵²</p>	2020

¹⁴⁸ <https://www.news24.com/news24/elections/news/iqbal-surve-gives-western-cape-anc-11th-hour-financial-boost-but-wants-no-favours-20190505>

¹⁴⁹ ibid

¹⁵⁰ https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2020-11-08-lucky-montanas-anc-bombshell-zweli-mkhize-supplied-bank-details-to-prasa-tall-trains-beneficiary/?utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=First%20Thing%20Monday%209%20November%202020%20Uber+CID_61cd1e31a24953d1196fdb56f6db4f48&utm_source=TouchBasePro&utm_term=202020%20Uber&utm_content=First%20Thing%20Monday%209%20November%202020%20Uber+CID_61cd1e31a24953d1196fdb56f6db4f48&utm_source=TouchBasePro&utm_term=Lucky%20Montanas%20ANC%20bombshell%20%20Zweli%20Mkhize%20supplied%20bank%20details%20to%20Prasa%20tall%20trains%20beneficiary

¹⁵¹ <https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/lucky-montana-zweli-mkhize-personally-confirmed-to-me-that-he-received-anc-donation-ddab043b-1770-4c21-a6b3-bfea574a6ca7>

¹⁵² <https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2020-11-11-montana-says-mkhize-met-angolan-businesswoman-for-anc-fundraising/>

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE (DA)				
	DM 99 000	Eric Marais	Eric Marais was a former employee of Absa who was fired by the bank in 2002 after it was discovered that he advanced a donation in an irregular manner to the DA. The donation amounted to DM [Deutsche Marks] 99 000 . ¹⁵³	2001
	R500 000	Jurgen Harksen	The billionaire, Jurgen Harksen, was convicted for his involvement in fraudulent activities he orchestrated in South Africa. ¹⁵⁴ At the Desai Commission in 2002, Harksen testified that he met the late and former DA Premier of the Western Cape Gerald Morkel and DA fundraiser, Leon Markowitz. ¹⁵⁵ Morkel approached Harksen on request for donations to the party. ¹⁵⁶ At the Desai Commission, it emerged that Harksen instructed his employee to write a cheque of R500 000 at a fundraising event for the DA's 2004 election campaign. ¹⁵⁷ Harksen also testified that he paid R100 000 to Morkel, through a third-party account. ¹⁵⁸	2002
	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. ¹⁵⁹	

¹⁵³ <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>

¹⁵⁴ <https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/harksen-deserved-a-harsher-sentence-104775>

¹⁵⁵ <https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/harksen-drops-da-bombshell-at-hearings-87064>

¹⁵⁶ *ibid*

¹⁵⁷ <https://www.iol.co.za/capetimes/news/you-will-not-believe-who-helps-fund-our-big-political-parties-21550569>

¹⁵⁸ <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>

¹⁵⁹ Msiza, Mahap. MTN gives R6.2m for elections. Finance24, 16 March 2004

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE (DA)				
	R350 000	Sanlam	Sanlam, described earlier, allocated money to various political parties in 2004. The Sanlam board approved a R350 000 donation to the DA in 2004. ¹⁶⁰	2004
	R200 000	Kumba Resources	Kumba Resources is a company that merged with Anglo American that made donations to various political parties which amounted to R1 million, to which the DA received R200 000 . ¹⁶¹	2004
	R1.5 million	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 R1.5 million of the R6 million. ¹⁶²	2004
	R960 000	AngloGold	AngloGold, now known as AngloGold Ashanti, was reported to have “set aside” R3.2 million for various political parties. The DA was offered R960 000 . ¹⁶³	2004
	R200 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 R200 000 of the R2 million. ¹⁶⁴	2004

¹⁶⁰ Msiza, Mahap. Sanlam donates R1.5m. Finance24, 11 March 2004

¹⁶¹ <https://www.theafricareport.com/12179/south-african-party-funding-under-the-spotlight/>

¹⁶² Anglo donates R6m to SA political parties(2004). SABC News. 13 February 2004.

¹⁶³ Political parties' funding debate crops up, again.(2004). SABC News. 29 January

¹⁶⁴ Avmin to donate money to political parties. SABC. 11 March 2004.

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE (DA)				
	R400 000	Stephen Nel / Sahara Computers / Guptas	<p>Stephen Nel is a director of the Gupta-owned Sahara Computers.¹⁶⁵ 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.¹⁶⁶</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.¹⁶⁷ The DA's statement said that although they approached the company, the directors of such companies would usually sign-off on the donation in their personal capacity.¹⁶⁸</p> <p>On 13 February 2009, the DA met with Nel at the Gupta's home in Saxonwold, Johannesburg.¹⁶⁹ At this meeting, Nel confirmed that he would provide R200 000 to the DA.¹⁷⁰ Following the meeting, the DA's fundraising department made a request for more donations from all its funders and subsequently, Nel provided another R100 000. The next R100 000 donation was made in 2010, after Premier Hellen Zille met with Nel at Saxonwold to raise funds for the municipal elections in 2011.¹⁷¹ 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.¹⁷²</p>	2009 / 2010

¹⁶⁵ <https://www.politicsweb.co.za/documents/stephen-nels-donations-to-the-da-the-facts--jonath>

¹⁶⁶ ibid

¹⁶⁷ <https://www.theafricareport.com/12179/south-african-party-funding-under-the-spotlight/>

¹⁶⁸ <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2013-01-31-helen-zille-v-the-new-age-money-threats-lies/#gsc.tab=0>

¹⁶⁹ <https://www.theafricareport.com/12179/south-african-party-funding-under-the-spotlight/>

¹⁷⁰ <https://www.politicsweb.co.za/documents/stephen-nels-donations-to-the-da-the-facts--jonath>

¹⁷¹ ibid

¹⁷² ibid

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE (DA)				
	n.a.	Nathan Kirsh	<p>Nathan Kirsh is a South African born billionaire, residing in the United Kingdom.¹⁷³ In 2013, Forbes magazine ranked Kirsh as the 437th richest man in the world as his personal wealth then amounted to around R34 billion.¹⁷⁴</p> <p>In an interview with <i>Business Times</i>, Kirsh admitted that he funded the Democratic Alliance and Agang with a “marginal amount” of money.¹⁷⁵ Some suspect that his funding to both parties was motivated by his interests for the two parties to merge.¹⁷⁶</p>	2014
	Toyota Fortuner Vehicle	Markus Jooste	<p>Markus Jooste is a South African businessman and the former CEO of Steinhoff.¹⁷⁷ Jooste resigned from his position at Steinhoff following allegations of fraud and insider trading which resulted in the crash of Steinhoff’s share price.¹⁷⁸</p> <p>According to various reports, Jooste gifted a white Toyota Fortuner to the DA, ahead of the 2016 local government elections.¹⁷⁹ According to a <i>City Press</i> report, by 2019, the vehicle remained a property of a rental car company which was still being used by the then leader of the DA, Mmusi Maimane.¹⁸⁰ According to <i>City Press</i>, the Federal Executive Chairperson of the DA, James Selfe, the DA provided the vehicle to Maimane as a work vehicle.¹⁸¹</p>	2016

¹⁷³ <https://www.politicsweb.co.za/opinion/das-double-standards-on-international-relations--p>

¹⁷⁴ <https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/sunday-times-1107/20140302/282415577206998>

¹⁷⁵ <https://mg.co.za/article/2015-03-24-is-a-jewish-billionaire-funding-the-eff-well-never-know/>

¹⁷⁶ “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.>

¹⁷⁷ <https://informationcradle.com/safrica/markus-jooste/>

¹⁷⁸ <https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/south-africa/2019-09-29-maimane-drove-suv-donated-by-steinhoffs-markus-jooste-report/>

¹⁷⁹ *ibid*

¹⁸⁰ <https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/the-das-steinhoff-link-maimane-drove-car-paid-for-by-markus-jooste-report-20190929>

¹⁸¹ *ibid*

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE (DA)				
	Trip to Israel by Maimane	Unknown	In 2017 the then Democratic Alliance (DA) leader, Mmusi Maimane, caused controversy when he visited Israel. ¹⁸² The party defended the trip and Maimane's meeting with Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu by alleging that the DA was in Israel to learn about the conflict in the interest of working towards peace in the region. ¹⁸³ DA MP, Van Damme said the trip was funded by a donor but was not willing to disclose the identity of the donor, which was a standard practice and in line with DA policy. ¹⁸⁴	2017
	Three months rent-free stay	Michiel le Roux	Between August and October 2019 Helen Zille, the now DA federal chairperson, and her husband stayed rent-free at Michiel le Roux's Blouberg house, reported the <i>City Press</i> . ¹⁸⁵ Le Roux is a DA donor and founder of Capitec Bank. However, Zille contended that her stay in the donor's house was not a conflict of interest because the duration of her stay took place before her comeback to politics. ¹⁸⁶ Zille retired at the end of her term as Western Cape premier before becoming federal chairperson of the DA. ¹⁸⁷	2019
	Unknown	Steinhoff	Former DA Federal Chairperson Athol Trollip admitted that the party received donations from corruption tainted company Steinhoff. ¹⁸⁸ When questioned regarding the donation, the DA spokesperson Solly Malatsi stated that as per the party's policy it was not willing to disclose its donors. ¹⁸⁹	2019

¹⁸² https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2017/01/13/da-defends-maimanes-israel-visit-explains-he-also-visited-pale_a_21654135/?guccounter=1&guce_referrer=aHR0cHM6Ly93d3cuZ29vZ2x1LmNvbS8&guce_referrer_sig=AQAAANIMwBCUqzKb1Vx-BkPc2EyuG5MAHAyqdiLeblh8g_LHg-yJJei8VmVpVWowW311vZxa8htbn3xdccb6NPjgF9Y344qbOQGGQ7G9jYr7Pyl-B3F18fbwV4XcE-MKqHhDfO6ds5zsi4jR9Sv93_uVqC_Vt4kX6DIBQrXxiHhtpluZ

¹⁸³ <https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/da-defends-maimanes-israel-trip-7392764>

¹⁸⁴ <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2017-01-17-maimane-in-israel-da-defends-visit-while-attacks-mount/>

¹⁸⁵ <https://city.press.news24.com/News/helen-zille-stayed-rent-free-for-almost-three-months-at-da-funders-house-20200203>

¹⁸⁶ <https://www.businesslive.co.za/fm/fm-fox/good-week-bad-week/2020-02-06-a-bad-week-for-helen-zille/>

¹⁸⁷ <https://city.press.news24.com/News/helen-zille-stayed-rent-free-for-almost-three-months-at-da-funders-house-20200203>

¹⁸⁸ <https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/da-refuses-to-disclose-how-much-it-got-from-fraud-tainted-steinhoff-33971972>

¹⁸⁹ *ibid*

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
ECONOMIC FREEDOM FIGHTERS (EFF)				
	R200 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”.¹⁹⁰ In 2013, Mazzotti donated R200 000 to the EFF which was used for the party’s registration to contest the 2014 general elections prior to the party’s registration.¹⁹¹</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.¹⁹² 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
	n.a.	Robert Mugabe’s Cabinet	<p>Baba Jukwa, a disenchanted high ranking figure in the Zanu-PF claimed on a Facebook post that the EFF have received funding from ministers in former Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe’s Cabinet.¹⁹³</p> <p>Reports by the City Press stated that Jukwa has leaked damaging secrets, some of which were proven to be true from within the party.¹⁹⁴</p>	2013
	R1 million	Kyle Phillips	<p>It was reported in 2014, a co-director of Carnilinx, Kyle Phillips provided Malema with a R1 million loan. Malema used this towards a tax bill he received from SARS amounting to millions of rands.¹⁹⁵</p>	2014

¹⁹⁰ <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2018-12-11-mazzottis-smoke-n-mirrors-a-matter-of-taxes-fraud-smuggling-and-cigarettes/>

¹⁹¹ <http://www.capetalk.co.za/articles/279791/listen-ndlozi-mazzotti-donated-r200-000-to-eff-registration-in-2014-election>

¹⁹² <https://citizen.co.za/news/south-africa/state-capture/2101500/moyane-killed-adriano-mazzotti-investigation-says-nene/>

¹⁹³ <https://www.news24.com/News24/EFF-denies-funding-by-Mugabe-men-20130721>

¹⁹⁴ <https://www.businesslive.co.za/bd/opinion/columnists/2013-07-23-does-it-matter-where-malemas-eff-gets-its-money/>

¹⁹⁵ <https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/malema-mazzotti-and-pauw-spat-r1m-crime-proceeds-loan-claim-surfaces-20180706>

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
ECONOMIC FREEDOM FIGHTERS (EFF)				
	±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 leader, Julius Malema. In 2018, it was brought to light that the brother of Floyd Shivambu, Brian Shivambu, received a total of R16 million, of which R10 million was allocated to Floyd and an amount of R1.8 million was allocated to the account of the EFF.¹⁹⁶</p> <p>In addition, an amount of R430 000 of VBS funds was paid in three portions towards a luxury property located in Sandown, Johannesburg that the party's leader Julius Malema occupied in 2012 with the property later being bought and duly registered under the party's name.¹⁹⁷</p> <p>It is alleged that Floyd Shivambu made use of funds looted from VBS Mutual Bank to pay for his luxurious wedding in 2017.¹⁹⁸ According to reports over half a million was spent which has been linked to VBS via the company Grand Azania, while this was denied by Shivambu it was discovered that payments for the wedding were made from the account of Grand Azania.¹⁹⁹</p> <p>In 2019, further revelations exposed that Shivambu benefited from a R4 million loan, which would go towards his wine-bar called Grand Azania in Soweto. Floyd's brother, Brian, was also instrumental in securing this funding.²⁰⁰</p>	2017

¹⁹⁶ <https://www.theafricareport.com/12179/south-african-party-funding-under-the-spotlight/>

¹⁹⁷ <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2018-11-21-vbs-bank-heist-effs-family-ties-and-moneyed-connections/>

¹⁹⁸ <https://citizen.co.za/news/south-africa/politics/2188159/da-to-report-shivambu-over-vbs-money-allegedly-spent-on-his-wedding/>

¹⁹⁹ *ibid*

²⁰⁰ <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/>; <http://www.capetalk.co.za/news/watch-floyd-shivambu-eff-implicated-vbs-heist>

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
ECONOMIC FREEDOM FIGHTERS (EFF)				
	R500 000	Afrirent	<p>An investigation conducted by amaBunghane Centre for Investigative Journalism uncovered that Afrirent, a company which placed a bid for a tender valued at R1.26 billion from the City of Johannesburg transferred a total of R500 000 Mahuna Investments.²⁰¹ Mahuna is a company which is managed by the cousin of EFF leader Julius Malema and has reportedly been used as a “slush fund” by the EFF.²⁰²</p> <p>Speculations arose that the DA Mayor of Johannesburg, Herman Mashaba, allowed the EFF to manage the allocation of the relevant tender.²⁰³ Afrirent received the lowest ranking out of all five bidders, but allocated funding to Mahuna before the final bidder was selected.²⁰⁴</p>	2018
	R160 000	CR17	Two EFF Members of Parliament, Tebogo Mokwele and Nkagisang Mokgosi, each received R80 000 from President Ramaphosa’s ANC’s presidential campaign. ²⁰⁵	2018
	Unknown	Johan Rupert	Johan Rupert is a South African entrepreneur and the founder of Richemont. ²⁰⁶ Rupert is the richest man in South Africa having passed Nicky Oppenheimer in 2020. ²⁰⁷ The book, <i>Stellenbosch Mafia: Inside the Billionaires Club</i> , revealed that Deputy President of the EFF Floyd Shivambu has a warm relationship with Johan Rupert and the political party has been financially supported by Rupert and his friends. ²⁰⁸	2019

²⁰¹ <https://www.theafricareport.com/12179/south-african-party-funding-under-the-spotlight/>

²⁰² ibid

²⁰³ <https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/firm-that-won-r1bn-joburg-fleet-contract-paid-malema-eff-slush-fund-20181129>

²⁰⁴ <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>

²⁰⁵ <https://ewn.co.za/2019/08/21/former-eff-mp-mokwele-not-surprised-by-cr17-donation>

²⁰⁶ <https://www.businessoffashion.com/community/people/johann-rupert>

²⁰⁷ <https://www.businessinsider.co.za/johann-rupert-nou-south-africas-richest-person-replacing-nicky-oppenheimer-2020-1>

²⁰⁸ <https://www.thesouthafrican.com/news/julius-malema-eff-funded-johann-rupert-reaction-shivambu/>

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY (IFP)				
	R50 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 Buthe, 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. ²⁰⁹ The party admitted to the R50 000 funding received. ²¹⁰	c. 1997
	R180 000	Anglo-Vaal Minerals (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 R180 000 of the R2 million. ²¹¹	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. ²¹²	2004
	R200 000	Sanlam	Sanlam, described earlier, allocated money to various political parties in 2004. The Sanlam board approved a R200 000 donation to the IFP in 2004. ²¹³	2004

²⁰⁹ <https://mg.co.za/article/1997-02-07-charges-fly-in-kwazulu-gambling-war>

²¹⁰ *ibid*

²¹¹ Avin to donate money to political parties. SABC News, 11 March 2004

²¹² Msiza, Mahap. MTN gives R6.2m for elections. Finance24, 16 March 2004

²¹³ Msiza, Mahap. Sanlam donates R1055m. Finance24, 11 March 2004

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY (IFP)				
	R120 000	Kumba Resources	Kumba Resources, referred to earlier, donated R1 million to political parties represented in parliament. The IFP received R120 000 of the R1 million donation. ²¹⁴	2004
	R480 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 R480 000 of the R6 million. ²¹⁵	2004
	R640 000	AngloGold	AngloGold, now known as AngloGold Ashanti, was reported to have “set aside” R3.2 million for various political parties. The IFP and the UDM were each offered R640 000 . ²¹⁶	2004

²¹⁴ Msiza, Mahap. Kumba donates R1m. Finance24, 08 March 2004

²¹⁵ Anglo donates R6m to SA political parties(2004). SABC News. 13 February 2004.

²¹⁶ Political parties' funding debate crops up, again.(2004). SABC News. 29 January

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
UNITED DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT (UDM)				
	R100 000	Guptas	In a <i>Sunday Times</i> report, Holomisa disclosed that his party received a R100 000 donation from the Guptas. ²¹⁷	n.a.
	R70 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 R70 000 of the R2 million. ²¹⁸	2004
	R50 000	Sanlam	Sanlam, described earlier, allocated money to various political parties in 2004. The Sanlam board approved a R50 000 donation to the UDM in 2004. ²¹⁹	2004
	R30 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 R30 000 of the R1 million. ²²⁰	2004
	R120 000	Anglo American	In 2004, Anglo American announced that it would donate R6 million to political parties contesting the 2004 elections. The UDM received R120 000 of the R6 million. ²²¹	2004

²¹⁷ <https://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2018-03-13-some-examples-of-political-donors-whose-secret-donations-were-exposed/>

²¹⁸ Avin to donate money to political parties. SABC News, 11 March 2004

²¹⁹ Msiza, Mahap. Sanlam donates R1.5m. Finance24, 11 March 2004

²²⁰ Msiza, Mahap. Kumba donates R1m. Finance24, 08 March 2004

²²¹ Anglo donates R6m to SA political parties(2004). SABC News. 13 February 2004.

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
UNITED DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT (UDM)				
	R640 000	AngloGold	AngloGold, now know as AngloGold Ashanti, was reported to have “set aside” R3.2 million for various political parties. The UDM and IFP were each offered R640 000 . ²²²	2004
	R250 000	MTN	<p>Before South Africa’s May 2019 general elections, the President of the United Democratic Movement (UDM), Bantu Holomisa, disclosed that R250 000 was donated by MTN towards his party’s election campaign.²²³ Holomisa also said that the party would arrange credit facilities, presumably for funds towards the party’s election campaign.²²⁴</p> <p>At the time of disclosing the donations, Holomisa said that the amount of R250 000 was the only donation the party received.²²⁵ Subsequently Holomisa disclosed at a later stage that in addition to R250 000 the party received, there were an additional “2 or 3” donations of R100 000 each.²²⁶</p>	2018

²²² Political parties’ funding debate crops up, again.(2004). SABC News. 29 January

²²³ <https://www.news24.com/elections/news/party-funding-just-one-political-party-reveals-donation-but-others-unwilling-to-go-public-20190422>

²²⁴ ibid

²²⁵ <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2019-04-25-with-a-few-exceptions-corporate-sa-has-ditched-the-idea-of-funding-political-parties/>

²²⁶ ibid

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
NEW NATIONAL PARTY (NNP)				
	R400 000	Count Riccardo Augusta	<p>Count Riccardo Agusta, an Italian property developer, who reportedly gave donations to senior members within the New National Party (NNP) after they intervened in a Roodefontein development on his behalf.²²⁷</p> <p>In a plea bargaining deal, Augusta pleaded guilty to bribing former Western Cape Premier, Peter Marais, and former MEC for Environment and Development, David Malatsi.²²⁸ Augusta admitted to paying R400 000 to get the approval of the golf estate development in Roodefontien, Plettenberg Bay in the Western Cape Province.²²⁹</p>	2002

²²² <https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Malatsi-tells-of-Agusta-money-20060711>

²²³ <https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/i-bribed-marais-and-malatsi-agusta-admits-115084>

²²⁴ ibid

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
FREEDOM FRONT PLUS (FF PLUS)				
	R10 000	Sanlam	Sanlam is one of the biggest insurance companies around the world and an important financial institution in South Africa. ²³⁰ After consultation with its independent corporate social investment (CSI) advisory board, donations were made to various political parties including the FF Plus. FF Plus returned the cheque of R10 000 offered by Sanlam, feeling that it was disproportionate to the totals allocated to other parties. ²³¹	2004
	Share of R9 million allocated to political parties	SABMiller	The Freedom Front Plus (FF Plus) were one of the beneficiaries of the R9 million donated to political parties by SABMiller. The ANC was the primary beneficiary with the DA, COPE, the IFP, UDM and Freedom Front Plus receiving the rest. ²³²	2013

²³⁰ <https://www.sanlam.co.za/about>

²³¹ <https://www.fin24.com/Companies/Sanlam-gets-donation-back-20040325?pageNo=1>

²³² <https://www.iol.co.za/business-report/economy/sabmillers-political-donations-in-spotlight-1491543>

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
COPE (CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE)				
	R500 000	AngloGold Ashanti	The AngloGold Ashanti board approved a number of donations to political parties who were competing in the 2009 general elections. As a result of this, COPE received R500 000 . ²³³	2009
	Share of R9 million	SABMiller	As mentioned earlier SABMiller donated R9 million to six political parties ahead of the National elections in 2014. ²³⁴ COPE was one of the beneficiaries.	2013

²³³ <https://www.politicsweb.co.za/advertise-with-us/anglogold-ashanti-donates-r4m-to-political-parties>

²³⁴ <https://www.iol.co.za/business-report/economy/sabmillers-political-donations-in-spotlight-1491543>

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
AFRICAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (ACDP)				
	n.a.	Various Donors	Spokesperson of the ACDP confirmed that the party does receive private funding with most of the funding coming from individuals as opposed to corporations and that most of the party's donations are below R5 000 . ²³⁵	2019



²³⁵ <https://www.news24.com/elections/news/party-funding-just-one-political-party-reveals-donation-but-others-unwilling-to-go-public-20190422>

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
DONATIONS MADE TO MULTIPLE PARTIES				
	R3.2 million	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. ²³⁶	2004 2009/10 2010/11 2011/12
	R14.2 million	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). ²³⁷	2004 2009/10 2010/11 2011/12
	R6 million	Anglo American	Anglo American, referred to earlier, donated R6 million to various political parties contesting the 2004 general elections, over two financial years. 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 . ²³⁸	2004 - 2005
	R1.5 million	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. ²³⁹	2004

²³⁶ *Political parties must identify benefactors* (2004). Business Day. 29 October.

²³⁷ *ibid*

²³⁸ <https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/anglo-gives-parties-a-major-financial-boost-205967>

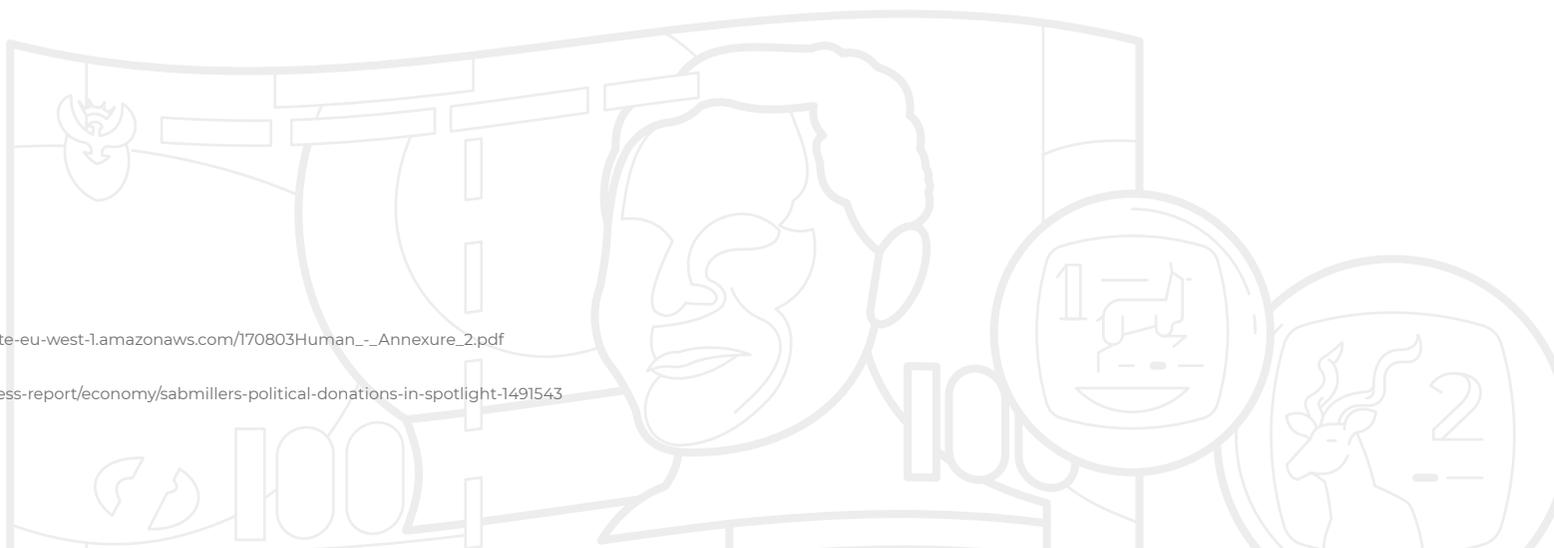
²³⁹ *Standard to fund elections* (2004). Finance 24. 01 March.

Political Party	Donation amount / goods / services	Donor	Donor Description	Years of allocation(s)
DONATIONS MADE TO MULTIPLE PARTIES				
	n.a.	Woolworths	In a policy paper by Gary Pienaar, titled “The state of Party Funding in South Africa,” it is reported that in 2004 Woolworths made donations to various political parties to celebrate ten years of democracy in South Africa. ²⁴⁰	2004
	R12.96 million	Absa	Absa is one of Africa’s largest banks and has publicly stated that it provided donations to various political parties in Parliament. In 2007 it donated a total of R2.4 million , in 2008 it donated a total of R2.6 million , in 2009/10 it donated R2.56 million , in 2010/11 it donated a total of R2.6 million and in 2011/12 it donated a total of R2.8 million . ²⁴¹	2007 - 2012
	R9 million	SABMiller	As mentioned earlier SABMiller allocated R9 million to various political parties. A request was made to SABMiller to make a donation of R9 million which was distributed across the six largest political parties in South Africa’s National Assembly, these included the ANC, DA, COPE, IFP, UDM and the Freedom Front Plus. ²⁴²	2013

²⁴⁰ http://pmg-assets.s3-website-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/170803Human_-_Annexure_2.pdf

²⁴¹ ibid

²⁴² <https://www.iol.co.za/business-report/economy/sabmillers-political-donations-in-spotlight-1491543>





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