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REPORT
OF
FACT-FINDING COMMISSION
ON THE
FUTURE OF MAZIMB, DAKAWA
AND OTHER PROTECTS

21/4/90

FINDINGS OF THE COMMISSION ON THE FUTURE OF MAZIMBU, DAKAWA AND OTHER PROJECTS.

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A. INTRODUCTION

A. ORIGIN, COMPOSITION AND WORKPLAN OF THE COMMISSION.

- A1. With the unbanning of the ANC on February 2nd 1990 and the decision of the NEC to tranfer the Movement's Headquarters to Johannesburg, it was natural that the future of all external ANC projects and activities should be reviewed.
- A2. An Inter-Departmental Meeting was convened by the Treasurer-General on March 16th 1990 in Lusaka. Twenty-two Departments and Structures were represented at the Meeting which discussed the future role of ANC projects and tried to formulate a perspective on projects in South Africa.
- A3. One of the recommendations of the March 16th Meeting was that a Fact-Finding Commission on Projects should be set up. Its terms of reference were to (i) obtain demographic data on all those engaged in projects, (ii) obtain data on all moveable and immoveable assets, and (iii) obtain the views of those involved with and in projects and the community at large about the future of their projects in the light of the political changes in South Africa and the probability of repatriation. (See Annexure I).
- A4. Mohammed Tikly was appointed Coordinator of the Commission and Winston Jacobs as its Secretary. They were to be the core members of the Commission, and were to be reinforced in the four Regions as follows:-
- A5. In Tanzania: Manala Manzini(replaced by Henry Chilisa),
 Alpheus Manghezi, Kaya Vanda, Oswald Dennis and

Ernest Khaile Terence Tryon, James Mann, Ben Rattle

In Angola: Terence Tryon, James Mann, B In Zimbabwe: Max Mlonyeni, Sipho Nhlapo

In Zimbabwe: Max Mlonyeni, Sipho Nhiapo In Zambia: Jacob Chilwane, George Naicker, Aaron Monakoe,

Leslie Ponnusamy and Sikelele Liphokojoe.

- A6. The Commission was endorsed by the NWC on April 19th 1990 and requested to submit its report by April 21st 1990.
- A7. The Core members of the Commission and their Regional counterparts accomplished the work of the Commission as follows:- in Tanzania from April 1st to 6th,

in Angola from April 10th to 13th,

in Zimbabwe from April 13th to 16th, and

in Zambia from April 17th to 20th.

A8. By agreement with Comrade Jackie Selebe, head of the REPATRIATION COMMITTEE, it was decided that the collection of detailed inventories and demographic data would be left to that Committee. This Commission on Projects would provide a broad idea of the assets of each project and an overall number of people engaged in projects. In any event, the time

constraint made it impossible to obtain the required data within the 30 days of the Commission's duration.

A9. Everywhere the core members of the Commission received excellent cooperation and we wish to convey our gratitude to the Regional Commission members for their efficiency and support. We wish to express our appreciation also to the students and staff at Mazimbu, Dakawa and Viana and to all workers and other cadres in all Regions. They held meetings, often at short notice, to obtain the collective views of their structures. Finally, our thanks to the Treasurer-General and Diana Williams for facilitating the Commission's tight itinerary and work.

B. WHAT ARE ANC PROJECTS?

- B1. ANC projects were established to cater for the needs of its political exiles. They AIM to prepare cadres for the struggle against Apartheid and for a Liberated South Africa. Their OBJECTIVES are to (a) provide educational, training, health, welfare, agricultural and cultural facilities, (b) create self-reliance, and (c) generate income where possible.
- B2. With the help of the International Community, huge and complex Settlements have been established at Mazimbu, Dakawa and Viana, each with a multiplicity of project activities. There are farms and other projects in Zambia, Zimbabwe and Angola and many smaller projects run by Departments. Not all projects involve assets, such as land, buildings and machines. Others involve training programmes, workshops, research and cultural and recreational events. This Commission is concerned mainly with ANC Settlements where there are schools, farms, production units, etc. It is their future that has to be decided when repatriation takes place because they are not tranferable to South Africa in their physical form.

C. THE MAIN FOCUS OF THIS FACT-FINDING COMMISSION

C1. The focus of the Commission's attention was the future role of ANC Settlements and its educational, production and other projects. What should happen to them now that the ANC is legalised and most of its membership will return to South Africa, sooner or later? Do they have a role in the future for training? Will there be enough ANC members to administer and work in the projects after repatriation? Will there be students and trainees available to justify their continuation? Are the projects viable? Should they be transferred to host governments or a Southern African regional body, like SADDC?

COMMISSION ON PROJECTS

FINDINGS

A. GENERAL FINDINGS

- A1. The overriding finding of the Commission has been that every ANC project has a shortage of personnel at all levels. Hence, most of them are in a critical state. Their continuation beyond the repatriation of ANC members hangs in the balance, regardless of the need for their continued existence.
- A2. The NEC must address this problem of the shortage of personnel head on before deciding to continue with external projects. Without qualified personnel, especially good managements, the projects will indeed become white elephants and donors will withdraw their assistance.
- A3. Another related finding and vitally important for the continuation of external projects is that in <u>ALL</u> Regions the overwhelming feeling of the membership is that they wish to return to South Africa when mass repatriation commences. There is general acceptance that people should go home in an orderly and disciplined manner, but many feel that the Movement is taking too long to organise it.
- A4. Against this, it should be noted that since the unbanning of the ANC on February 2nd 1990, there has been a steady outflow of people from South Africa. Most are students, some from the Natal conflict and others sent out by MDM structures.
- A5. There is a general feeling that educational projects should continue only if other viable projects involved with commodity production continue after repatriation, but under conditions of proper management and with market-rate remunerations and binding contractual obligations on both sides management and workers. The ANC should move from a WELFARE to a COMMERCIAL approach with all its projects.
- A6. While some external projects should continue, there is a widespread feeling that the Movement should pay urgent attention to the development of projects in South Africa.

B. FINDINGS IN TANZANIA

- B1. There is general consensus that our educational and training institutions should continue for at least five years after mass repatriation. After the initial euphoria about returning to South Africa, there is a growing realism about the need for educational provision externally because there are no meaningful learning opportunities available in South Africa for thousands in the country and returning students will find themselves on the streets. The students and teachers at SOMAFCO, the Vocational Training Centre (VTC) and the Education Orientation Centre (EOC) generally agree about this and so do Departments at Headquarters and the membership at large.
- B2. An added factor for the continuation of educational institutions is the steady arrival of new students at Dakawa after February 2nd 1990. This means that MDM structures conceive SOMAFCO as an important element in the problem of out-of-school youth in South Africa.
- B3. While there is agreement on the continuation and expansion of secondary schooling facilities, there is uncertainty about the continuation of pre- and primary schooling in their present form. It is felt that most young children will return home with their parents and only a small number will be left behind at Mazimbu and Dakawa.
- B4. It is generally agreed that the Education Orientation Centre (EOC) which is designed to provide political orientation and academic upgrading for newly arrived students, will have to adapt and serve as a conventional school.
- B5. The Commission in Tanzania posed three options for the VTC:
 (a) it should close down, (b) it should be transferred to South Africa, and (c) it should become part of the EOC for general education. The Commission doubted if the VTC could be put on a sound footing within a reasonable period of time.
- B6. There is unanimity within the education and all other structures that the continuation of SOMAFCO and other educational institutions should be CONDITIONAL on the following factors:
 - a. teachers and other staff should be on contract and receive pay comparable to those received by similar workers in South Africa, with additional incentives for working in Tanzania,
 - b. South African teachers should be in the majority,
 - c. there should be administrative and structural changes to improve the running of the school,
 - d. students should receive stipends and their recreational/sporting facilities and the quality of

catering improved,

e. staff and students should have the opportunity of visiting South Africa,

educational structures in South Africa should make an

input into the school,

g. curricula should be reviewed and brought into line with ANC education principles, such as the need to bridge the gap between mental and manual labour through education with production,

h. the examination system and certification should be reviewed and made to harmonise with the new situation,

- i. supportive structures should fall under the control of the school.
- B7. Mazimbu is almost fully developed with most of the necessry facilities while Dakawa requires far more physical development for complete viability as a settlement. It was generally felt that their continuation, and especially that of Dakawa, will be dependent on (a) personnel to educate, run, manage and maintain both settlements, and (b) the availability of donor assistance for new capital investment and recurrent expenditure.
- B8. Regarding Agricultural Projects in Tanzania, there is general agreement that the farms at Mazimbu and Dakawa have commercial viability and should continue for fund-raising purposes. However, they will require experienced managements because they are sophisticated farms. It was, furthermore, felt that the two farms should be administered as ONE farm with a clear delineation of production.
- B9. The Construction and Technical Departments at Mazimbu/Dakawa are the ANC's great success story, as evidenced by the structural growth of Mazimbu and Dakawa.
- P10. The Commission in Tanzania considers the Furniture Factory at Mazimbu commercially viable and has the potential for raising considerable income in the future.
- B11. Workers at the Garment Factory at Dakawa are almost unanimous about wanting to return to South Africa because the Factory cannot provide training beyond a certain level of expertise. It does not have commercial viability. There will, however, be a need for a clothing repair workshop.
- B12. The Leather Workshop has serious managerial problems and has performed badly in terms of production and training. The Commission does not consider it to have commercial viability.
- B13. A decision has already been made by the Department of Arts and Culture to transfer the Textile Printing Workshop and all other planned cultural activities at Dakawa to South Africa.
- B14. According to the Department of Health, health facilities will

continue at Mazimbu and Dakawa so long as there are communities present. All health workers, in its view, should be properly renumerated.

- B15. While the Electronics and Computer Department at Mazimbu could continue to provide training in these fields at SOMAFCO, the Commission in Tanzania considers that it has an important role to play in South Africa in the reconstitution process by (a) establishing a Communications Network and Information Processing Centre, (b) providing and identifying technical support for the Centre and other ANC structures, (c) establishing security, backup and recovery procedures for the Centre, and (d) countering the technical onslaught of the regime's security apparatus.
- B16. The Eli Weinberg Photolab will have a role to play in the future for training and publicity and should continue.

C. FINDINGS IN ANGOLA

- C1. The Projects in Angola have had difficult histories and sustained neglect by Headquarters, except by the Department of Health. Since the departure of MK from the Region there is less activity generally. The former rigid military structures stifled the development of projects because initiative was discouraged, yet reasonable progress has been achieved through the perseverence and hard work of a few individuals within the Projects and in the Mission.
- C2. An overwhelming majority of the remaining 400 cadres (there are another 400 Angolan dependents) will return to South Africa when mass repatriation commences.
- C3. There are three projects that fall under the MOSES KOTANE SELF-RELIANCE CENTRE at VIANA, near Luanda: health, education and motor mechanics. The Center is coping reasonably well despite adverse conditions. The former military bureaucracy was a constraint and so are infrastructural problems the sanitation system is in disrepair, the water supply is brought in daily by tanker for the 140 inhabitants and electricity comes from a generator.
- C4. The Clinic and Health Training Programme have been successful, although at present there is a severe shortage of trained health personnel. The Department of Health has decided to continue with the Health Training Programme and is aware that instructors have to be recruited and externally recruited trainees may be difficult to raise for 1991. In the Department's view, trainees could be drawn from South Africa.
- C5. The ANC Viana Motor Mechanics Workshop repairs vehicles and provides vocational training. Its main problems are that it lacks qualified staff, spare-parts are in short supply, the Workshop has no budget, the staff and students receive no incentives and it is unclear where the next group of trainees will come from, now that the Army has left the Region. However, the Commission in Angola feels that the Workshop should be retained.
- C6. Although the School at Viana is short-staffed, it provides a useful service by providing evening adult education classes and is planning to introduce day classes. O-Levels are taught with the help of courses from the South African Extension Unit in Dar-es-Salaam. The School should be kept and its staffing strengthened.
- C7. Premises stand ready for a Tailoring Workshop at Viana but because it cannot be supplied with electricity, it stands idle and unlikely to be made operational by the Women's Section.

- C8. Lilliesleaf Farm, outside Luanda, is about 3000 acres in size. It has had very little attention from headquarters and insufficient initial planning had gone into it. There is no experienced management and of the 97 ANC cadres on the Farm, only about ten are productive. Water has to be brought by tanker daily for the pigs, cattle and goats and only the field adjoining the river can be irrigated at present. The Commission in Angola concluded that without proper attention the Farm will degenerate. It could remain mainly as a Settlement and engage in small-scale vegetable production.
- C9. The Printshop in Luanda received very expensive machinery and equipment which is either out-of-order or under-utilised. DIP has shown complete neglect over the years and the workers are demoralised and without proper management. Since there is hardly any production taking place and likely to take place, the Commission in Angola feels it is best if the Workshop were to close down.

D. FINDINGS IN ZIMBABWE

- D1. Inspite of poor initial planning, lack of support from Headquarters and the absence of experienced management, the 20 acre ANC VUKANI COOPERATIVE FARM near Bulawayo has performed reasonably well over the first 4 years of its operation. Provided that a good manager is appointed the Farm has commercial potential and the Commission in Zimbabwe favours its continuation after repatriation.
- D2. So far, TRININCE FARM also near Bulawayo has not been utilised as a farm. The City Council of Bulawayo could claim it if it remains unused. A decision is required by the Treasury Secretariat about its future.
- D3. Regional Department Structures (Education, Culture, Women, Youth, Health, Manpower Development) provide useful facilities for about 150 students and 15 sick cadres in the Region. After repatriation, students will be the main component of the ANC Community in Zimbabwe.
- D4. Due to the lack of control and coordination, the Movement has lost valuable revenue that could have been raised by hiring out the powerful PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM donated by Sweden. In the view of the Commission in Zimbabwe, the equipment should be transferred to South Africa.

E. FINDINGS IN ZAMBIA

- E1. There are 4 large Projects in Zambia (Chongella and Makeni farms, Alpha Garage and Star Furniture) and some smaller ones, such as the Dora Tamane Creche, the Multi-Purpose Women's Centre, the Film and Video Units and a variety of training programmes.
- E2. The two farms, Alpha Garage and Star Furniture are complex operations and will require expert management if they are to continue and become commercially viable. It is clear that the ANC has very few management personnel and there will be fewer after repatriation. Recruitment from South Africa may prove difficult because of the shortage of management personnel there and the need to pay adequate salaries to attract them to Zambia. The Commission in Zambia felt that the 4 Projects should continue because they have the potential for raising funds but that Zambian or other expatriate managers will have to be appointed.
- E3. The Commission in Zambia felt that if the Projects are to continue, the best solution will be to appoint a Board of Directors to oversee the Projects in this Region.
- E4. A minority view in Lusaka was that one or more of the Projects should be given to the Government of Zambia as a token of the Movement's gratitude for its support.

COMMISSION ON PROJECTS

A. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

- 1. There is a lack of constant and reliable communication between ANC Headquarters, Internal ANC Structures and the Regions about the unfolding situation and this is causing uncertainty, confusion and rumour-mongering. It is also leading individuals to take the initiative about returning to South Africa. It is necessary for the leadership to keep in dynamic touch with the membership to prevent this situation getting out of hand and to enable educational and other activities to proceed as normally as possible.
- 2. Generally, but particularly in Angola, there has been a dramatic increase in theft of Movement property. Those responsible say that there is no point in leaving behind assets now that repatriation is about to take place.
- A matter of grave concern is the diminishing involvement of ANC members in project activity. Basically, projects were established to provide for the needs of cadres, for selfreliance and for imparting skills. In practice, very few ANC memebers are involved in many of the projects, certainly on all the farms, Star Furniture, Alpha Garage, the Garage and Furniture Factory at Mazimbu and in the Construction Department at Dakawa/Mazimbu. Even SOMAFCO's Secondary Division has more non-ANC teachers and support staff today. Thus, while one can claim the projects do belong to the Movement in terms of OWNERSHIP, their OPERATION is dependent largely on local labour and expatriates. The objective of SELF-RELIANCE, that is, running our own projects with our own effort and skills, has only partially been achieved. This factor requires consideration when the future of projects is being decided because it is something donors may use as a criterion for continuing their assistance.
- 4. The continuation of educational institutions and other projects beyond repatriation will have to rely on the support of ANC and MDM structures in South Africa. Staff and student will have to be recruited in a systematic way. It must be borne in mind that the pool of expert personnel for projects inside the country is not large and the demands from internal and external projects for personnel may conflict.
- once the ANC's Headquarters moves effectively to Johannesburg and the struggle to win power becomes the main focus of attention, projects outside the country will recede in importance. To avoid their neglect, stagnation and the wastage of resources, proper arrangements will have to be made regarding the control, management, evaluation and accountability of projects. Hence, the recommendation in this Report that projects should be placed in the care of effective Boards of Directors with the authority to run and account for

external projects.

6. While it is clear that the respective host governments will support the Movement's decision to continue with projects in their countries in the future, it is necessary to enter into formal discussion with them. There may be changes the ANC will have to adapt to as a result of its change of status and this will have implications for projects.

B. OBSERVATIONS ON THE ROLE OF HQ DEPARTMENTS ON PROJECTS

- B1. It is strongly felt at HQ and in the regions that projects are not give enough attention by the Projects Department, the Department of Economics and Planning and the Treasury Secretariat. Decisions about projects are often not made or their implementation delayed and this leads to demoralisation and the loss of good cadres.
- B2. Coordination on projects between the Projects Department and other departments is poor.
- B3. There is no systematic planning, monitoring and evaluation of projects.
- B4. Successful projects, such as the Construction and Technical Departments at Dakawa/Mazimbu have depended on the perseverence and hard work of individuals without any real support from Headquarters.
- B5. The critical shortage of personnel at all levels has never been properly addressed by departments and especially by the Department of Manpower Development. Training programmes are not synchronised with the personnel needs of the projects. This has been a major contributory factor in the generally poor performance of projects. In the transitional period, the overcoming of personnel shortages becomes all the more urgent.
- B6. The centralised Treasury has caused the loss of donor inputs into projects, e.g. the experiences of the NWS.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE VARIOUS REGIONS TO THE FACT-FINDING COMMISSION ON THE FUTURE OF MAZIMBU, DAKAWA AND OTHER PROJECTS.

A. TANZANIA:

- 1. Projects should continue and all structures/institutions/departments should assume that each will do so for at least another year, that is, until the repatriation issue has been worked through.
- The projects, in order to continue, require additional personnel.
- 3. A new type of adminsitration will have to be evolved.
- 4. An evaluation of the commercial viability of the production units should be made if they were to continue.
- 5. The projects should be reorganised to place them on a commercial footing.
- 6. The school should continue to receive sponsorship as far as possible.
- 7. Education with Production should be the motto for the continuation of the schools.
- 8. Conditions of service for teachers and staff should be seriously addressed.
- 9. Full and early consultations should take place with internal structures concerning:
 - recruitment of personnel from home
 - the return of personnel.
- 10. Regular and full briefings and consultations with and from the leadership should take place.
- The Dakawa Development Plan should be reviewed immediately.

B. ANGOLA:

- 1. The Farm should remain, but mainly as a settlement area, and with only small-scale production being undertaken.
- 2. A feasibility study should be made of the Farm.

- 3. The ANC should find a suitable donor to set up a joint administrative machinery to run the Moses Kotane Self-Reliance Centre.
- The educational process at the MKSRC should be integrated (i.e. the general process and the health school).
- The Printshop should be closed down as soon as possible.

C. ZIMBABWE:

- The Vukani Cooperative Farm should be given a sound management, and after undergoing a feasibility study, should continue.
- The Vukani Cooperative Farm should be registered as a cooperative.
- 3. The Trinice Farm should become a dairy farm, with crop production mainly for feed.

D. ZAMBIA:

- 1. A competent Board of Directors should be established to oversee the four projects. It may be necessary to appoint South African residents in Zambia and possibly Government or UNIP members.
- 2. The ANC must move away from the present WELFARE approach to a COMMERCIAL one. Proper incomes must be paid and contractual obligations imposed.

TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE FACT-FINDING COMMISSION INTO THE FUTURE OF MAZIMBU, DAKAWA AND OTHER PROJECTS.

At an inter-departmental meeting in Lusaka on 16/03/90, called on the initiative of the Treasurer-General to look into the future of all ANC projects, it was decided to appoint a Fact-Finding Commission into the Future of Mazimbu, Dakawa and other Projects. The Terms of Reference for the work of the Commission were defined as follows:

- 1. To obtain data on all projects, covering demographic information and an inventory of all moveable and immoveable assets.
- 2. To obtain recommendations from the communities of Mazimbu, Dakawa and other projects about how they perceive the future of their settlements, institutions and projects in the new political situation. In the event of an organised return to South Africa, is there justification for keeping the institutions and projects ongoing for a defined period? If so, will this be feasible from the point of view of funding, personnel and learning?
- 3. To obtain recommendations from departments about their projects at Mazimbu, Dakawa and elsewhere and their perspective on projects inside South Africa.
- 4. To compile a report on its findings, and to submit this report to the NEC within a period of one month after the interdepartmental meeting of 16/03/90.