



THE YEAR OF PEOPLE'S ACTION
FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Office of the Treasurer General

PROJECTS DEPARTMENT

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MEMORANDUM

To: NEC/ILC Secretariat

From: Mohammed Tikly,
National Coordinator, ANC Conference for Donors

Date: 1st November 1990

ANC CONFERENCE FOR DONORS

Please find herewith two memoranda.

MEMORANDUM A provides a briefing to the NEC/ILC on the forthcoming Donors Conference to be held in Arusha from January 31st to February 5th 1990. Decisions are urgently requested on ITEMS 7, 8 AND 9 on page two. } NOT ATTACHED

MEMORANDUM B addresses some of the issues surrounding the decision to continue with SOMAFCO and Dakawa for a long-term period. It supplements MEMORANDUM A because it highlights some of the problems surrounding the continuation of SOMAFCO and Dakawa. These problems could affect our case for funding at the Donors Conference.

The Office of the Treasurer-General has done its best and the Treasurer-General's own indefatigable efforts on behalf of Mazimbu and Dakawa should be recognised. The Project Manager and other workers at Mazimbu and Dakawa have made a profound contribution to the Projects in Tanzania.

As Director of Projects, I have and will loyally implement any NEC policy decisions but I feel that I should explain some of the difficulties and dilemmas surrounding the continuation of our projects on a long-term basis. I have consulted the Treasurer-General about the submission of these memoranda.

In the Year of Mass Action for a Democratic SA.

c.c. Treasurer-General, ANC, Johannesburg.

MEMORANDUM B

IMPLICATIONS OF THE NEC'S POLICY STATEMENT ON PROJECTS

A. BACKGROUND

- A.1. The NEC issued a Policy Statement on Projects in April 1990. Basically, it says that the Movement's external Projects will remain in operation for some years to come after mass repatriation because the education crisis in South Africa necessitates education and training facilities externally. Furthermore, that it is important to keep rear bases because the process towards political irreversibility will be protracted. The Statement goes on to appeal to donors to continue their assistance. (A copy of the Policy Statement is attached)
- A.2. The NEC Policy Statement followed the recommendations of a Commission on Projects set up after the legalisation of the ANC. Teachers, students and workers at Mazimbu and Dakawa held discussions and the consensus was that it was necessary to retain SOMAFCD and other educational institutions but that their continuation should be conditional upon better and autonomous administration, more experienced South African teachers, international rates of pay with fringe benefits, including an annual trip to South Africa.
- A.3. A UNESCO-sponsored Consultancy Mission led by Humphrey Langa came to similar conclusions and recommendations and estimates that the recurrent expenditure for SOMAFCD and the EDUCATION ORIENTATION CENTRE at Dakawa to be US \$ 41.5 million for 5 years.
- A.4. The Revised Dakawa Development Plan will require US \$ 29.5 million by way of new capital costs and US \$ 19.5 million for recurrent expenditure.
- A.5. Thus, a total of US \$ 90.5 million will be required to keep our educational institutions running for 5 years. It should be noted that this figure does not include maintenance costs or funds for other projects, such as, the farms, small industries and the Vocational training Centre.
- A.6. Assuming we train and educate 2000 students, the per capita cost per annum will be US \$ 9000. For this amount, three students can be educated in South Africa.

- A.7. While donors are willing to continue funding some of our external activities for a short period, they prefer to make donations inside the country, especially capital expenditure. The comparative cost analysis will compel their parliaments not to approve huge amounts of assistance to Mazimbu and Dakawa, especially when ANC members do not qualify as "REFUGEES" when a general amnesty is granted by the South African Government. This has become clear in recent consultations with our traditional donors.
- A.8. In addition to difficulties that we are likely to face from donors, there are problems worth noting on our side. Will sufficient cadres remain at Mazimbu and Dakawa to keep them going fully? Recent indications suggest that 90% of the working population will return to South Africa after indemnification is granted. There is scepticism about how many teachers will remain and students are pleading with their parents to recall them to South Africa. Will SOMAFCO remain a viable school?
- A.9. Since February this year there has been an outflow from South Africa of about 900 people, some have escaped from Inkatha-created violence and others have been encouraged to leave for educational opportunities abroad. However, only a small number has ended up at Mazimbu and Dakawa. Efforts are at an advanced stage to place 600 in Nigeria and others in Kenya and Zimbabwe. A few will go outside Africa for scholarships. It is clear that those coming out do not want to go to Mazimbu and Dakawa. Therefore, our enrolment projections for SOMAFCO and Dakawa are unrealistically high. Our projected figure of 2,500 for Dakawa is also rather optimistic.
- A.10. The Movement can be proud of Mazimbu and Dakawa. These Settlements provide excellent physical facilities and have some well-run departments but generally the administration and development of the schools, student maintenance and care and the quality and quantity of South African teachers have been unsatisfactory and below standard. There is serious disillusionment among those that are there and prospective newcomers. The isolation of Tanzania, our maladministration and the "mapando" system, among others cause disenchantment. And it is unlikely that we can improve or change these aspects in less than two years. At Dakawa, the completion of the remaining construction programme, if funded, will take at least 3 to 4 more years.

A.11. Thus, we are not in a situation where we can make a new beginning at Mazimbu and Dakawa immediately. Even if we make a convincing case at the Donors Conference, donors are unlikely to come up with large donations for external projects, as stated above. Furthermore, visiting teachers from South Africa have said that only very attractive salaries and fringe benefits will entice teachers within the country to leave for service in Tanzania.

B. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

B.1. While our policy of retaining our external Settlements is correct and politically necessary, we should consider their maintenance on a shoe-string basis by drastically reducing activities, utilising existing facilities to optimum effect and being as self-reliant as possible. This entails cutting down all new development plans and putting a halt to the deliberately created outflow of people from South Africa.

B.2. It is unlikely that we will receive substantial extra funding for our external projects at the Donors Conference. There will be limited help for recurrent expenditure but hardly at all for capital expenditure.

B.3. Mazimbu and Dakawa will become depleted when mass repatriation commences and our educational, production and other activities will be seriously affected.

B.4. The recruitment of new staff, students, administrators and skilled workers for Mazimbu and Dakawa will take time and will be extremely costly.

B.5. The NEC should reassess the situation with the help of those closely involved with our Settlements in Tanzania, including the Chief Representative, Director of Mazimbu, Coordinator of Dakawa, Project Manager, Head of Security and the Principals of SOMAFCO and the VTC and EOC. In view of the forthcoming Donors Conference on February 3 to 5 1990, this reassessment should take place without delay.

Mohammed Tikly
Projects Department

1st November 1990