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 Secretary DPE, sit _ .
 Lusaka. . ZZNCV ,
 ULSYJUQHJ , _ .
 Dear Comrades,
 From the attached Report No:4/89, you will note that
 all local members of the DPE agree thht there will definitely
 not be any possible CENSAS courses at Dakawa this year,
 and little if any in the first part of next year. You
 will appreciate that this leaves me without any function in
 this region. I
 My original agreement with you was that I stay here for a
 minimum of one year. At that time both you and I believed
 that courses would start about May 89; and that the school
 would be running with its "teething problems" sorted out
 before my year ended. This has proved to have been hopelessly
 over-optimistic. I have continued to do what I can to advance
 the CENSAS project, despite the delays and difficulties of
 which you have been advised from time to time. Now that
 there is no prospect of doing the work I came here to do
 within the time I set aside, I see my continued stay here as
 purposeless.
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 I regret that I must therefore formally advise you that I
 intend to bring my involvement here to an end, and to leave
 Mazimbu and my position in the CENSAS project at about the
 end of the year. I hope to have a speedy response from
 you to this notification.
 Two practical matters arise in consequence. First: that
 as we cannot reoccupy our house in the UK until April, we
 plan to travel in Southern Africa between leaving here and
 returning to the UK. This will enable Hilda to develop her
 book, but leaves the date and place from which we will finally
 depart for the UK undecided. Could you ask the TzG: to arrange
 in some way - by airline credit or cash advance or whatever -
 to make available to us the value of our normal ex-Dar ,
 return flight, so that we can use it as becomes appropriate,
 with any excess costs met by us personally. (The return
 half of our tickets out were surrendered to the Dar office
 on our arrival.)
 Second: I intend to ship my belongings back to the UK via
 Dar before leaving here. Can you arrange that the T.G.
 authorise whoever it is that sees to these things that the
 bill is met by the ANC?
 We look forward to hearing from you soon,
 iFraternally, and best wishes,
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 z/V
 /
 Rusty Bernstein.
 Copies: Chief Rep. EzA:
 Director of Education Mazimbu.
 DPE: Mazimbu.

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CENTRE FOR SOUTH AFRICAN STUDIES.(CENSAS). .

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1. Report No: 1/89 describes events concerning the CENSAS project to 18.7.89. It concluded that no date could be set for opening the centre until all aspects of buildings, facilities and equipment were visibly complete.

Since that date, the buildings - apart from some of the staff housing - are complete. There are still only temporary kitchens, no furniture for classrooms or dormitories, no equipment beyond that detailed in Report No:1, no transport at our disposal, and no response from Unesco to our request for material aid.

To date then the only substantial progress we can record is that made at the meeting in Lusaka on 24.9.89, at which the major part of our proposals for this school content and curriculum was approved. The portions of them adopted have still not reached us in their revised form.

2. The prospect of fitting CENSAS into the ECG building complex at Dakawa has declined. There is a steady increase in the EOC's pupil numbers; as against the planned capacity of 128 total, including CENSAS students, EOC already exceeds that number by itself, and we are informed that a further 50 pupils are expected imminently.

Dormitory space once intended for CENSAS is thus already filled; classrooms similarly intended are already in use by EOC - some indeed for two forms at once; staff numbers are increasing, putting staff housing intended for CENSAS at risk. As matters now proceed, CENSAS cannot realistically be accommodated in the complex, unless and until EOC numbers are radically reduced and thereafter strictly limited.

3. Your attention - and that of DOE - was drawn to the lack of any arrangements for the funding of CENSAS or for overall administrative control. This was discussed at the meeting of 24.9.89, and repeated in our letters dated 27th September and 27th October. Both matters remain unresolved.

Your letter of 12th October refers to Cde. Dennis' remark that "a lot of money" is available to cover costs of equipping EOC: As far as we have been able to ascertain, there are informal suggestions only that such funds might be made available by Scandinavian donors. Such funds, if they do materialise, are essentially for long-term planning. Suggestions in your letter that other operating expenses may be similarly met by donors are equally non-immediate, long term.

4. The issue of who will control CENSAS funding, budgeting and expenditure, and who will control and allocate monies is thus left unanswered for the present. Your letter suggests that "...our section(??)" prepare a budget for which the Department will then have to find a source of funds.

Apart from this still unresolved matter, there is equal lack of precision about who supervises, administers and directs CENSAS, and who adjudicates space needs and allocations

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day. There is in fact no organisational machinery. CENSAS is an ANC project. But it exists in limbo, outside of Somafo structures, outside the regional political structures, ee'aaa apparently outside of the briefings of the Chief Rep. or the Director of Schools. The contact with DgBe Lusaka is occasional and infrequent, and does not meet the needs.

5. In an attempt to overcome this situation we convened a meeting of all those who might have a direct concern with these matters. (Agenda and list of invitees attached.) The meeting aborted due to extremely poor attendance; another attempt may yet be made, but we have little expectation that it will take the matter much further.

All we have at present is a statement by the Regional Treasurer that, although he has no funds earmarked for CENSAS, petty cash expenditure for minor items of stationery etc. could be made available on occasion.

We have been unable to get any further information from the Project Manager about when furniture will be available, or what further items of equipment or resources are on hand or expected to arrive.

6. All these considerations lead the Department members here to agree:

that preparations for CENSAS courses during this year be abandoned. And

that the DPE Lusaka be advised that accommodating CENSAS in the EOC is unrealistic in the foreseeable future.

We are unanimous in recommending to you:

4) that the whole CENSAS project at Dakawa be formally suspended until adequate structures can be devised and put in place.

5) that in such restructuring, CENSAS should be set up as a self-regulating independent structure within the ANC in the way already pioneered for Somafo - that is, with its own Directorate, funding and administration, linked to the appropriate regional political structures, and under overall NEC/Departmental supervision. '

The work already put into establishing CENSAS at Dakawa is not regarded as wasted. All the arrangements regarding the character of CENSAS, its mode of operation and its curriculum content can be carried over into any future phase.

7. Since it was first decided to site CENSAS at Dakawa, over 18 months ago, there have been sharp political changes in our situation. There is now a constant and growing flow of people between South Africa and the ANC outside. This persuades us that the focus of our political education courses should be on those cadres already active inside South Africa, and those who can be expected to return there shortly. The Dakawa base was chosen at a time when our main need was seen to lie in the concentration of our cadres in and around East Africa.

We believe that when the future of CENSAS is reassessed, the question of where the new CENSAS is to be located must be considered anew.

3.

We therefore unanimously recommend that in reviewing CENSAS' future, our aim should be to establish its base as close as possible to South Africa, and to make courses easily accessible to people from inside the country.

that accordingly, careful consideration be given to the possibility of establishing CENSAS within the Front Line states - Zimbabwe, Namibia, Botswana or elsewhere other than East Africa.

Signed: L. Bernstein

Principal CENSAS.

Quintin Magula.

Political Officer. East Africa.

Mpho Muthle.

Administrative Secretary.

Docteur Gumalo.

Member. DPE Mazimbu.

Mazimbu. 18.11.89

Copies: Chief Representative, East Africa.

Director of Schools, Mazimbu.

POINTS RAISED DURING DISCUSSION ONREPORT NO: #/89, AT DPE MAZIMBU:

- 1: That the point of departure from previous positions is: that HQ feels that the school must be started NOW and in DAKAWA. Our contrary opinion is based on both objective and subjective factors that confront us in this region. viz:
2. Lack of understanding amongst regional structures of the necessity for the school, giving rise to lack of support for its establishment..
3. Absence of a formal agreement with DOE which would have committed them to providing adequate space for us at 800, and matter what inconvenience this might have caused them.
4. No formal agreement with the TG on funding which would have ensured that his regional representative would become involved.
5. No consistent participation of DPE personnel specifically deployed for the implementation of the project and its transformation into reality.
6. Decisions generally being taken at HQ without the involvement of comrades in East Africa, who were only informed of decisions after they had been taken.
7. Lack of regular flow of information from East Africa which could have influenced HQ thinking on the feasibility of setting up at Dakawa.
8. Very weak DPE strength in East Africa, which could adversely affect membership attendance at Dakawa courses.
9. The geographic position of the school, which prevents it being seen as a direct contribution to the struggle at home, since the members in E:A: don't see themselves as being reckoned to have a direct contribution to make to that struggle.
10. The level of development on the ground in BA in respect of communications, roads, services etc does not match up to the demands imposed on us by the political situation.
11. Access to South African social, economic and political material is very limited, and would certainly affect the content of courses and provision of student study material.
12. Difficulties foreseen in persuading teachers to come to Dakawa, regardless of any improvements made in its image

RECOMMENDATIONS.

13. Restart the project, taking into account the experience gained thus far, and Cde. Dennis' report on Swedish aid possibilities.
14. That any DPE member at HQ or East Africa concerned with the request for and use of donor aid should be involved in the whole aid negotiations in co-ordination with the TG's office.
15. That Regional DPE officials make an immediate start on training political tutors for our courses, and on identifying graduates from Party schools for specialist training in pedagogy.
16. That governments of front line states be approached for discussion

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on possibilities of establishing the school close to SzA:

17. That Zimbabwe is particulail?m663lFEBIETWfBYWheeeOhwef"ltsv" i::;7?_ consistent political support of our cause, reasonable security, proximity to SA, economic development capable of providing suitable infrastructure and material supplies; and especially for ease of traffic for people and written material from inside S:A:

18. That a base in Zimbabwe will ensure that the school always haas close contact with current developments and ideas on the SA front, which will lend dynamism to its.operations.

or other front-line state outside East Africa would be a good encourage

19. That the prospect of being selected for a course in Zimbabwe 4) ment to East African comrades to work harder and better. I

20. That whoever takes on the leadership of the school project in n the future should initially be based at HQ and commute between HQ and the school, and only become permanently stationed at the school when all the setting-up processes have been satisfactorily completed and are running.

MAZIMBU:

18.11.89

Note: The above are points made during discussion. They are not necessarily endorsed by all members of the DPE in the region.