

1. Part of ceremony - to unveil bust.
 But since the man has not been seen
 or heard for 27 years, sometimes
 fail to see the live man - see only
 dead representations.
 My task to unveil the MAN.

2. NM Something special, unique.
 phenomenon. Here is a national
 leader - ~~hero who has not been seen~~
~~for 27 years~~. No one under 40 can
 have seen or heard him - buried
 alive for 27 years. Censorship prevents
 his voice, or his pen. Yet on 70th
 birthday - celebrations & ceremonies
 demanding freedom throughout world.
 Man who should be buried, forgotten
 mute - is recognized everywhere. Road in
 London, park at City Hall leads, busts,
 statues everywhere, slogans everywhere,
 & so on. The most famous South
 African, the most famous political
 prisoner of our times - perhaps of all time.

Speech at Weymouth 1989 on
 unveiling of Mandela Bust.

3. Other great international figures make their mark in various ways -
- by rising to absolute power over the corpses of their enemies;
 - by leading great armies to historic victories;
 - by manipulating great international conferences or political machines.
 - by writing - like Lenin - the works that transform human thought.
 - by awarding themselves great titles - 'The Great Helmsman', 'The beloved leader', 'Generalissimo', 'Kamuzo?' etc. and building an army of propagandists to cover the countryside with portraits & busts.

4. But Mandela has none of this - no armies, no battles fought - war, no major works, no army devoted to his cult - no title except that which we ALI have - COMRADE? Yet there he stands - at centre of the world's attention.

5. What is secret of the man? I have had privilege to have been thrown by fate or history together with him - over years of joint Congress activity - 3 years of treason trial, ~~a year in Russia~~ months in the underground, a year in Rwanda trial. I have watched the man closely.

He is a man like so many - taller than some, better educated than some; handsome like many, serious & sober over politics like many; friendly, open, easy laughing.

6. So what is his secret? Two very simple things:

a) That ~~things~~ he has never sought to rise above his colleagues, or the collective in which he works. Always he has been one of a collective, insists on collective - not personal decisions - collective, not individual actions!

b) That for him being a leader, is not a reason for special privilege, status,

special honours, specially favoured
treatment or conditions, special
honours. Instead, he sees "leading"
as special obligation,

Some draft suggestions. 1989 for
Nankwilele? to take to International
Librarians Conference.

1. At present all attention focussed on prospects of change in S.A./ negotiations/
repeal of apartheid laws, reform etc.
Very welcome, & long overdue - if it happens.
But the repeal of those laws which legalise & formalize race discrimi-
nation are not the whole matter - certainly so far as library
services are concerned.
2. The structure of race discrimination and gross racial inequality preceded the
modern era of 'apartheid.' It has existed in substance for over
100 years, under Boer & Britan, colony, dominion and republic.
Called at various times the 'white mans civilizing mission', 'trustee-
ship', segregation, bantustan, apartheid, and now - the latest
buzz words - 'group rights'. Repeal of one, or several laws will
not - of itself - change that structure, which ensures gross inequality
between white and black, everywhere, in every walk of life.
3. So far as library services and literacy are concerned, gross inequality
exists from the cradle to the grave. Consider children learning to
read. White education is universal, compulsory to 16, free. Black education
is not compulsory, many blacks do not and cannot get into schools; the
majority of those who do, do not get beyond the most elementary
levels of quasi-literacy. White schools are well funded by public
purse and private benefactors from the richest - white - community;
black schools underfunded, dependent on the parental contributions
of the poorest sections; white schools generally have adequate, good
or excellent facilities - including libraries and reading rooms;
black schools generally have none, or totally inadequate facilities,
no libraries - even school books are often not publicly supplied.
For that minority of children who pass beyond elementary
levels to high school & higher education, the position gets worse;
even teachers in black schools are mainly untrained or half-

trained; troops and police patrol the institutions and terrify the children; theories of language - insistence on Afrikaans as the medium of teaching, on 'mother-tongue' education in place of English etc. hold back development; the absence of library facilities grows more crippling as the need for self-study increases.

At University level, the position remains. The white universities have well endowed, publicly and privately funded, libraries with collections built up over many years - often impressive international status reading, lending and reference collections. They are either closed to black students, or admit only a sprinkling, a minority of blacks. The majority of blacks who make it to University or College level, are restricted to "tribal" or ethnic colleges, of recent origin, with comparatively poor library facilities, no long built up collections, a bias towards apartheid and ethnic orientation in book selection etc.

Even beyond University, in the world of work and adulthood, gross inequality exists, and extends. Almost all the well-established and well-stocked libraries in the country, whether publicly or privately funded, are situated in the ~~town~~^{town} centres - the predominantly white urban centres, around which are clustered the white residential areas, easy of access to libraries. Blacks on the other hand live everywhere in segregated black areas, remote from ~~the~~ town centres, ~~where~~^{central} libraries are inaccessible to all except the few blacks who work in or close to the town centres - even if the libraries are not racially segregated. Black adults - living outside the cities in ghettos, leave home early, travel long distances to and from work and arrive home late. Their leisure hours are severely restricted. And even then, gross inequalities prevail. Every white residential area has electricity and night lighting; almost no black areas have either. Night library

services, in black areas generally, cannot and do not exist. Public amenity funding for all amenities in black areas are vastly less than those for whites; income levels are much lower than those in white areas, and privately provided amenities therefore few, poorer, and fewer. Almost all white residential areas have access to accessible libraries; almost no black residential areas have any.

4. This gross racial inequality in literacy and library services exists literally from the cradle to the grave. It will continue to exist almost unchanged, even if those laws which give legal protection to race discrimination are repealed.

What is needed then, if library services are even to approach towards "free and equal" levels with gross racial inequality, is not JUST the repeal of some laws, but the breaking down of time-encrusted racial inequalities which have been cemented into the whole structure of S.A. life - and which will only change slowly - perhaps over several or many generations - even after all apartheid laws have been scrapped.

5. What is needed above all in library services, is immediate affirmative action - to equalise access, facilities and provision. There are many avenues now open for affirmative action: as eg:

- The freezing or even reduction of funding for white owned libraries, and the rapid reallocation of funds to provide black owned facilities.
- The redistribution of books and collections, to ensure equitable available stocks at all black libraries

- A rapid programme of development of services in black areas by way of development of mobile libraries, to rural residential area libraries and reading rooms with portable electric generators for lighting.
- A comprehensive loan-and-assistance scheme from well established libraries, to new or under-served libraries.
- The development of a crash programme for training of black librarians and library assistants, even at the expense of ^{temporary} cutting back on training for whites.
- The imaginative extension of library services to the black population by way, for example, of providing "reading room space and periodicals" in long distance commuter trains; or extensive story-telling/reading sessions in the open, for young children.

And so on. Every librarian who cares to think about the real situation in South Africa - not just the formal, statutory and legal situation - will come up with ideas, perhaps more immediate and effective than these.

6. But the essence of the problem is affirmative action now to tackle the gross racial inequalities which are built into S-African society and library services.

It is appropriate and necessary that every SA librarian, and every SA library, every SA library funding authority looks sharply at its own performance in this field, and attends to its own responsibilities for action. It is appropriate too for IFLA to work to encourage, advocate and sponsor such affirmative action, if it is to fulfil its aspirations to develop and extend proper library facilities on a free and equal

basis to all peoples everywhere.

To attend only to the laws which permit or enforce racial segregation in South Africa is to ignore the monumental structure of customary, traditional or inherited ~~inequality~~ gross racial inequality which exists beyond the statute book. It would be to apply only the daintiest dab of cosmetics to the totally unacceptable and unchanging face of the most racially discriminatory and unjust library service on the face of our planet.

(2)

That they can learn in time, is not ~~in~~ in doubt. But in the meantime, ~~the~~ these things flow from their inexperience:

- 1) That the process of change to the new policy does not come easily, overnight, but can become a prolonged battle against the ingrained attitudes of the old incumbents.

And while they are learning, developing expertise, ~~they~~ in the still unfamiliar details of our economic policy, they will be required also to administer the whole economic structure to prevent its collapse. They will be doing this ^{against a background of} doubt, and resistance or downright sabotage from the ranks of the old incumbents - ~~because~~ because these old incumbents are so steeped in the old ethos that they are incapable of looking at things anew and finding ways to change; sometimes because they ~~do not want~~ ~~to find new ways~~, - would rather sabotage new policies rather than assist them. Changing the institutional ethos of the whole economic apparatus of state is not a matter of an administrator's domain, a law-drafted in a people's Parliament. It will be a prolonged struggle, inside and outside the institution to change ingrained white-supremacist and 'self-advancement' attitudes, to create a new bureaucracy imbued with a new spirit, new aims - objectives. And expensive!

Two ~~consequences~~ things flow from this: first, that substantial economic change will not be made at a go, if we are to rely on the 3-legged top-down approach. ~~And~~ while the slower the process, the longer it delays, ~~providing~~ ~~delays~~ what we have promised, the more the people will become disillusioned & disenchanted with the new leadership. ~~And~~ the second: that during the process of changing, ~~there~~ there is no certainty that ~~the~~ our ethos of the new incumbents will convert that of the old. On the contrary, much experience elsewhere suggests that - in the absence of powerful political mass pressure upon them - from which - the well established entrenched ethos of the old bureaucracy will gradually be absorbed, taken over by the new. And the "people's eye" will pass into black replicas to the whites they have displaced.

There has to be more to economic change than the simple administrative act, ~~of~~ the new laws and the appointment of new people to managerial posts.

There are 3 things wrong with this thesis. First: The overwhelming majority of the state and business officials are either fundamentally white supremacists (~~white~~ ^{dislike} ~~white~~ ^{dislike} ~~by~~ ^{by} ~~majority~~ ^{majority} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~state~~ ^{state}) or so steeped in the perspectives of white supremacy that they are ~~incapable~~ ~~of~~ ~~seeing~~ ~~their~~ ~~devotion~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~new~~ ~~SA~~ ~~must~~ ~~be~~ ~~suspect~~. ^(A) Second: That we do not have enough specialists of our own in any sector of state or business to shake off the white supremacist institutions; and such specialists as we do have ^{are} ^{mainly} ^{after} ^{years} ^{of} ^{experience} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{field} ^{of} ^{practical} ^{hands-on} experience. Third, that even ~~while~~ ~~we~~ ~~train~~ ~~our~~ ~~own~~ ~~specialists~~ ~~with~~ ~~our~~ ~~own~~ ~~resources~~ ~~we~~ ~~have~~ ~~not~~ ~~developed~~ ~~a~~ ~~detailed~~ ~~programme~~ ~~for~~ ~~every~~ ~~aspect~~ ~~of~~ ~~social~~ ~~economic~~ ~~and~~ ~~political~~ ~~reform~~, and have at present little more than the broad notions of the FC to guide our own specialists.

(A) They have not themselves been converted to new liberalist thinking, despite their support for or acquiescence to Klerk's reformism.

There are 3 things wrong with this thesis:

- 2nd: It is unthinkable that we will be able to make a clean sweep of all the old specialists, bureaucrats and administrators, and replace them with our own people. And we do not have ~~enough~~ nearly enough trained and experienced people of our own who are capable of taking over these posts, without grave damage to the country. Those we do have have mainly theoretical knowledge and little hands-on practical experience. A 'clean sweep' is as likely to lead to total breakdown of the process of change as any new ^{social} force.
- 3rd: That we ourselves have very little in the way of a detailed worked-out practical program for every aspect of social and economic change which could serve as a guide for the ~~new~~ practical activities of the new incumbents. Our own guidelines go little further than the broad notions of the FC, which provide us practical immediate 'plans-of-work' for the masses to produce the new SA reality.
- 1st: The whole of the existing personnel in senior (and probably even junior) echelons of state and business have ~~been~~ ^{been} trained and been steeped in the notions of the white supremacist state and policy. Their ethos and outlook are those of the present-apartheid society, and their loyalty to the depth of their liberationist convictions of even those who genuinely support the idea are ~~not~~ ^{not} far below what a new social order will require. [Their thinly disguised & ingrained white supremacist attitudes.]

~~There are~~ It follows that, for some time while we train and develop a new cadre of our own specialists to take over the reins, ~~the~~ state and business executive functions will need to remain in the same hands as in the old SA. Any attempt at wholesale replacement of them by political-administrative power threatens to bring about a collapse of the functions themselves. In time we will be able to train and develop an entire cadre of our own specialists steeped in the outlook of non-racial and ~~for~~ liberationist SA. But so long as the old specialists remain in senior positions, all 'on-the-job' training will take place ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ within the present ethos of white supremacy, and pursuit of personal advantage rather than social improvement.

Meanwhile 'on-the-job' training will take place in a ^{conservative} business or state institutions geared to concepts of white supremacy - not liberation, and to aims of private or corporate gain - not social reconstruction. And these aims and concepts, Experience of other ~~such~~ ^{leads our attention to} countries in the period immediately after liberation ~~show that~~ ^{that the ethos of} the old order is likely to be absorbed even by the new, trusted official apparatus who ~~are~~ ^{are} ~~entrusted~~ ^{entrusted} ~~with~~ ^{with} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~reins~~ ^{reins} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~senior~~ ^{senior} ~~personnel~~ ^{personnel} who carry on to occupy the seats of power, ^{largely} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the</}

On the economy.

i) The economy is too important to be left to the usual hennepin of the state/bureaucracy, employers/financiers, and trade union officials. Ultimately, it settles the questions of housing, education, health, wages, job opportunities for all. And \therefore all ordinary citizens have a vital interest.

ii) The "hennepin" cannot be entrusted to speak for us. As is well known, it is too heavily weighted against us. The state bureaucracy is essentially of the old order. It is not 'ours', and cannot be our voice, spokesman until it is fully part of the new SA. Until then it will carry the old mass, values, priorities etc. into its tasks. Likewise the employers group. They have already had their chance to modify SA - a look at what they have made of it.

iii) But we will have taken over power? But will we. We have insufficient ^{properly trained} people to replace the old order men. ~~If~~ This is precisely one of the key purposes of the new order - to produce our men for the job. But right now, too few, too little training, too little experience as co-workers of the old order. We can nominate our reps to boards, jobs in the bureaucracy. But for a long time they will be ~~inferior~~ unable to match expertise for expertise - to effectively 'rule'.

iv) The essence of ^{the} ~~our~~ ~~plan~~ ~~is~~ popular - for the people - is to empower the people. Perhaps in 20 years time with a new generation created by new popular education - training, we will be able to "take over." But not now! Now we must empower the people - the workers, employees etc, and the progressive academics as a central balance to the establishment.

v) The TV leaders alone are not enough. They too lack experience of the whole of economic planning, policy etc, and can at best only be a minority disturbance to the establishment when not a part of it with its own 'vested interests' in maintaining the *status quo*. \therefore We need to find ways to empower ordinary people.

A suggestion for discussion.

vi) I agree with VP - the establishment will have to set the overall national plan - its aims, its targets. But no one can imagine that ~~any~~ any state - least of all the SA state with its white supremacist hegemony - can be trusted to actually put the whole society to work to achieve the plan. Nor - on the major cost items of a new SA - housing, health, education - does the state command the resources - financial or material - to make an immediate and substantial programme. Plan yes. Execute no!

vii) Alternatively, it should be possible to take the execution of plans outside the establishment - by partly implementation and detail - i.e. micro decisions made

into the hands of those directly involved at grass roots. ^{Organization:} Perhaps for a major enterprise (or perhaps a number of enterprises) as e.g. Anglo-Vacuum, or the Ford (Prochem) case as a whole: to set up an Enterprise Board composed of the employees, state reps, workers in the enterprise.

Task: to develop for their own enterprise a ~~monthly~~ plan, fully into, matching the parameters of the state plan on all relevant issues: for example, to set production targets, and within these targets to allocate resources between the wage fund, the social fund, ~~and~~ investment and dividends.

Is this possible given the differing aims? I think it can be made possible by:

a) Placing on the enterprise responsibility for a part of the social programs set by the state; in which the enterprise board will decide what part of the surplus will be allocated to wages, to housing for its own workers & their families; to education for its own employees and families; to health care etc.

For this purpose, the direct participation of elected workers (in addition to TU reps) is essential. So too, the overall state role of ~~the~~ macro-planning, and ~~convergence~~ of objectives of the micro-planning, to see they coincide.

Why should employees & financiers accept this? Because the alternative for them is a total passage for nationalization & thus their total removal from authority. * Cold (A)

And financiers: because it will guarantee them an agreed rate of return not subject to total devaluation as a result of rampant wage demands.

And the state? Because in this way the actual organization & provision of social services will be hived off from a vast central bureaucracy to individual enterprise boards using the established managerial/admin/ supply facilities of the enterprise, in place of the slow development of a new centralized dole.

The workers? Because ~~is~~ the main concern which is not cash wages but social services (currently only obtainable with cash) will be within their own control. And the priorities of expenditure on wages vs. social facilities too.

The TUs: Because not only in this scheme limits the daily function of the TU - to protect the needs & conditions of its members, to advise their social provision for them, or to bargain directly with the employer over wages & work conditions. This last directly restricted within the perimeters of the national plan. But then so would they be restricted without any enterprise board.

(A) * Social benefits arrangements can be adjusted, tax advantages or penalties for ~~future~~ compliance with national & E.B. proposals.

How to ensure workers use their muscle? ANC to lead with the TUs. Educate!

On the 10th Anniversary Celebrations.

These celebrations had two sides. One was to record a decade of growth and construction at Mazumbu; the other to give the whole community a festive holiday. Both were successfully managed. We gave ourselves praise for the past; we talked some politics - though not too much. We gave many of our friends and supporters a chance to see what their help has made possible.

All of this was fine. We looked back in pride, with some justification. I missed much sense of looking forward to what remains to be done. But there were some things which should give us food for thought.

FIRST: the celebrations were essentially FOR the community, but not BY the community. We were asked beforehand for suggestions for the occasion; we were never asked to discuss or pass opinion on the suggestions made or on the Organising Committee's plans. We were never asked to make our own contribution to the occasion, by working together to build anything or to develop any new facilities or amenities. And in the end, we were not even given the programme for the event until it was half-way through. Surely we can do better than this. Surely we should all be involved in planning such an important event, and all be involved also in collective work to bring it about. An ANC event cannot be tackled in the spirit of a commercially organised occasion.

SECOND: the approach of the celebrations gave rise to a

flurry of activity. Buildings and facilities which had become shabby or broken-down were suddenly put in order and smartened up. Roads were repaired, ~~and~~ encroaching bush and jungle cut back, and the whole place given a "carred-for" look. If the materials, labour and cash for all this were on hand, why did we not do it before? The ANC should not allow itself to slop along apathetically, until there is a sudden realisation that VIP's are coming, and must be impressed. We should not need an anniversary before we keep our own town in good shape.

THIRD: we depended heavily on 'outsiders' - people neither of Mazimbu nor the ANC - for the success of the event. The face-lifting and renovation of buildings and the tidying of the landscape was largely done by Tanzanian aides, though the organisation was ours. And the most inspiring and forward-looking speeches were made not by our members but by Trevor Huddleston from Britain, Peter Kaba from South Africa, and Mwalimu Nyerere from Tanzania. We seem to be becoming very dependant on others for our achievements; and not self-reliant-enough on our own efforts.

But - after saying all that - I think the event was a great success, and something we all enjoyed and will remember. Congratulations to all those who did take part in the planning and organising.

But let's make the next anniversary ours - the collective success of the collective efforts of the whole community. And let's look forward, as well as back.

L.B.

Collection Number: A3299

Collection Name: Hilda and Rusty BERNSTEIN Papers, 1931-2006

PUBLISHER:

Publisher: **Historical Papers Research Archive**

Collection Funder: **Bernstein family**

Location: **Johannesburg**

©2015

LEGAL NOTICES:

Copyright Notice: All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

Disclaimer and Terms of Use: Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of paper documents and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.

This document is part of the *Hilda and Rusty Bernstein Papers*, held at the Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.