

Mazunbo,

20. 6. 89.

Secretary.

SACP. Lusaka:

Dear Comrade,

I wish to draw the attention of the Party CC to the following facts concerning the situation at Mazunbo.

i) There is deep malaise running through the whole community here. From the ranks of the most senior to the children, there is an atmosphere of decline; there is disillusion about the ANC as an organisation, and with its leadership. There is indifference or positive retreat from social and political work; There is a growing tolerance of sloppy performance of tasks, of indiscipline and of alleged corruption and clique-ism. There is an air of despair amongst the most motivated and sincere people that any improvement can be anticipated. Cadres are 'dropping out' of social or political work; attendances at meetings are abysmal; and discussions at meetings are desultory and lifeless.

ii) Many reasons can be given - or suggested - for this situation. It is not intended to attempt to do so here. But at least one of the factors contributing to this situation is the absence - or inadequacy - of any leading core, such as should be provided by a vanguard party. I have been here 10 weeks. In that time I have seen no evidence

whatsoever that there is any effective (or for that matter ineffective) Party organisation operating here, or effecting any influence against the prevailing climate. No one has made any contact with me, who purports to represent or belong to any Party organisation. There is talk of the periodic meeting of "ANC units." I have not seen any; and I am told that when they do meet, they are poorly attended, and deal mainly with what are called "social problems" — i.e. difficulties over accommodation, family concerns etc.

iii.) Such conditions should surely shock us into some action in any community. But this Mazimbo community should be an example of what could be, and what should be our aim in all South African communities. Here there are all the advantages and all the most favourable conditions for the ANC and the Party to truly prove their leadership qualities. We are in a totally ANC oriented and directed community, subject to continual ANC influence, exhortation, guidance and politicisation (amounting to something akin to 'brainwashing.'). If both ANC and Party are failing to lead such a community, and are instead presiding over its decline, what lessons should we draw about our effectiveness in the far less favourable circumstances in our home territory? Are we demonstrating — and practising — any real leadership and vanguard capability?

iv.) The overwhelming majority of the community here are "youth" — that is to say, young enough to have many

years ahead of them, in which they could play active and leading part in the future of our struggle, and also in the future reconstruction of South Africa. We have here the unique opportunity to raise a large number of young people totally according to our own desires - limited neither by apartheid laws nor even tight financial and material constraints. We should be creating the cadres of tomorrow, who will carry our aspirations forward into the future. I think a realistic assessment would be that we are failing abysmally, and that in developing the cadres of our future we are less successful, less serious than are the underground activists of Soweto and elsewhere in South Africa.

v.) There is only one question arising from all this. And I put it firmly to the CC of the Party:

What, if anything, are you doing to ensure that the vanguard role of the Party is effectively deployed in the Maguibo scene?

Fraternally, and in deep alarm,

Dusty Bernstein.

* : For example, June 16th, an official 'public holiday' here. The celebratory meeting attracted about 15 people at starting time, perhaps 25 half-an-hour later, and perhaps 50 at the close. Compare this with 6 to 8 times that number at the afternoon soccer match, and perhaps 12 to 15 times at the evening theatrical show. Speeches at the meeting were uninspired, full of sloganeering and devoid of thought, (generally), singing of "revolutionary songs" pathetic.

Somafco.
18. 10. 89

The Chief Rep,
ANC: Dar es Salaam.

Dear Comrade,

I am writing to you to ask that you intervene personally on the following matter, which I have taken up repeatedly with members of your office staff over months, without any result. The facts are these:

1. When I came to Somafco, my belongings were sent ahead of me by the ANC office in London. Apart from some minor boxes, the main consignment, which included books and equipment specifically necessary for the work I came here to do - namely to run a Political School for the ANC. Six cases were sent out air freight via Paris, and arrived in Dar on 6th April.

2. I have made repeated inquiries from various members of your office staff, but to date - over six months later - seem no closer to getting the cases than I was when I arrived here. I have had a succession of stories and explanations. It was said at first that the Consignment documents had not reached the office. I received duplicates from the London office and passed them on. Then, that the documents had been lost. I got more - twice! Then it was said that the cases had been wrongly addressed to me - not to the ANC. Untrue as the documents will show. Then I was told that a special letter from the Chief Rep was needed. I stood in your office while it was typed and handed over to the appropriate member of staff. The I was told that it was all organised, but that some money was needed to finalise it all. And so on and so on. I now doubt whether I was ever told the truth.

3. In the week before he left for the USSR for medical checks I was told by Com. Morodi personally that he had been told that the cases would be released the following week. No result. When comrades Wolfie and Toine were here for the 10th anniversary celebrations, they said they were going on to Dar and would personally investigate the whole thing, since they had dispatched the cases and felt responsible. The only message I have had from them suggests that they left Dar satisfied that whatever had held the cases up would be straightened out without delay. Four weeks ago I was in your office on my way to Lusaka. I was told by Comrade Teddy that everything was now cleared, and the cases would be released to him that day or the next. Two weeks ago Comrade Hilda was in Dar. She was taken by Com. Morodi personally to TCRS, where she was told by their official that he was new in the post, but would investigate it immediately. Nothing further has been heard.

4. I can only conclude that there is total indifference, slackness or incompetence on the part of your staff over a period of six months and more.

May I now therefore ask you to investigate what the devil is going on. And I would appreciate it if I received an official report of the state of affairs - not another airy promise by someone in the office just to get rid of me.

Yours fraternally,

Rusty Bernstein DPF

3
COPY.

Mazimbu.
18.11.89

Secretary DPE,
Lusaka.

Dear Comrades,

From the attached Report No:4/89, you will note that all local members of the DPE agree that 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.

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.

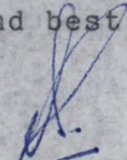
I regret that I must therefore formally advise you that I intend to bring my involvement here to an end, and to leave Mazimbu and my position in the CENSAS project at about the end of the year. I hope to have a speedy response from you to this notification.

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 T:G: 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,

Fraternally, and best wishes,


Rusty Bernstein.

Copies: Chief Rep. E:A:
Director of Education Mazimbu.
DPE: Mazimbu.



AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL EDUCATION

PO BOX 31791
Lusaka, Zambia
Telephone: 219656/7
Telex: 45390

18th December 1989

The Treasurer - General
African National Congress
Lusaka
Zambia

Dear Comrade T.G.,

Re: Rusty Bernstein

Greetings!

We have received a letter from Comrade Lionel "Rusty" Bernstein wherein he expresses his intention to terminate his involvement in the DPE Centre for south African Studies project at Dakawa and return to London. Flowing from his decision, therefore, are a number of issues which need your attention.

Our department therefore requests you to give the matter your immediate and positive consideration.

Please find enclosed a copy of the said letter.

Thanking you in anticipation of your favourable response.

Amandla! Maatla!

LUCKY C. MABASA
DEPUTY SECRETARY

cc. Rusty Bernstein
DPE(Mazimbu)



AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL EDUCATION

PO BOX 31791
Lusaka, Zambia
Telephone: 219656/7
Telex: 45390

19th December 1989

Comrade Rusty Bernstein,
Department of Political Education,
African National Congress,
Mazimbu.

Dear Comrade Rusty,

RE: Your letter of 18th November 1989.

Thank you so much for your letter of the 18th November 1989 which we received only on the 14th December. Most unfortunately the head of the department, Comrade Reg September is out of the region and is due only in January. We have, however, faxed him your letter and we hope that he will be in touch with us soon. Since the details and terms of your involvement in the CENSAS project were agreed upon between you and Reg we feel that it will only be proper for us to solicit his advice in this matter.

Nevertheless, we thought that we should forward to the TG your request concerning your travel and shipping of personal belongings to England. Please find attached, herewith, a copy of our letter to the Treasurer General. We shall duly let you know of the response from the TG.

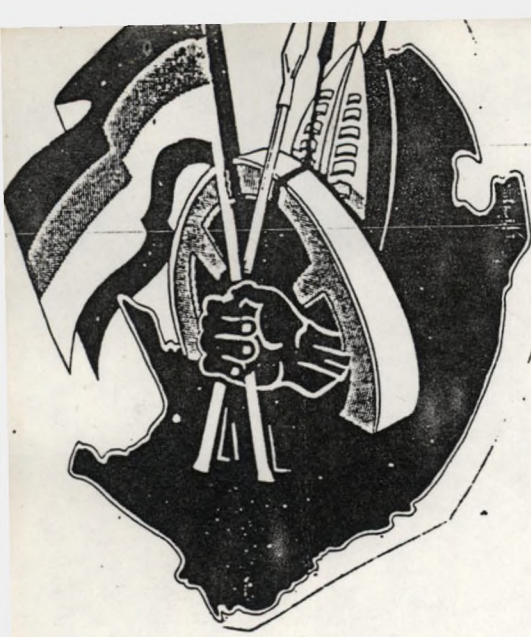
We would also like to acknowledge receipt of your comments on the CENSAS syllabus.

Thanking you,

Yours,

LUCKY C. MABASA
Deputy Secretary

c.c. DPE Mazimbu



African National Congress

Department of Religious
Affairs
& Inter-Faith Chaplaincy

Regional
Secretariat
Sasha Kani
Zolile Mvela

Cde. Rusty Benstein

I am requested by the Head of the Department to invite you to attend a Prayer Service in support of Heroes' Day which will be marked by Tanzanian Christians and the D.R.A. of the A.N.C. on the 17th December 1989.

After a thorough thought the Department found it fitting to request you to be a speaker to out-lay the formation of the M.K. plus the history of the A.N.C.

Hopping that our request will be meet your favourable consideration.

In this year of Mass Action for People's Power.

Yours in Struggle
Trevor (For Secretary)
Rev. Sasha Kani (Head of Department)

P.O.Box 2239
DAR ES SALAAM

P.O.Box 680
MOROGORO

Phone: 4420/1-3

Telex: 55042
SOMAC TZ

PROGRAMME/DECEMBER 17th SOLIDARITY SERVICE

TANZANIAN CHURCHES IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN HEROES DAY!

VENUE: St. Albans Anglican Church, Upanga near YWCA

DATE : 17th December 1989

PROGRAMME

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. NATIONAL ANTHEM | - Nkosi Sikelel'i Afrika |
| 2. PRAYER | - Rev. Malasusa |
| 3. WELCOME REMARKS | - Rev. Crombie |
| 4. DRA PAPER | - Cde Sasha Kani |
| 5. GUEST OF HONOUR | - CCT Representative |
| 6. HISTORY OF THE ANC | - Cde Rusty Bernstein |
| 7. DCC SPEAKER | - Pastor of Msimbazi Roman Catholic Church |
| 8. UMOJA WA VIJANA | - Representative of Vijana |
| 9. ANC CHIEF REP | - Cde Henry Chiliza |
| 10. OFFERINGS | - Conducted by DCC |
| 11. NATIONAL ANTHEM | - Mungu Ibariki Afrika |
| 12. CULTURAL PERFORMANCE! CULTURAL PERFORMANCE! | |
| 13. BENEDICTION | - By a Bishop |

CHOIRS TO PARTICIPATE ON THAT DAY

Anglican Church choir
Lutheran Church Choir
Roman Catholic Church Choir
Pentecostal Church Choir
Assemblies of God Choir
Njumba yaa Sana
Vijana GHP
Roots and Culture
Welling Peasants
Mission to Simen
Pastors Choir
Salvation Army
Africa Inland Church Choir
ANC Choir

For reasons not understood, this programme was hijacked on the day. A. Masondo was called on by the Anglican church chairman - I was not. No explanation ever received.

1. — years ago, Mandela wrote: No easy walk. Perhaps at that time, even he did not foresee how hard the walk would be. It was not then as hard as it would become soon thereafter. In 1960, illegality; bans, house arrest. Soon after, Sabotage Act; News blackout, detention without trial, torture.

Organisations collapsing, dissolving, people disappearing into prisons, exile, death.

It was as though our walk to freedom, hard as it was, had suddenly run into a roadblock - a great armoured tank which blocked our path. And gradually that tank had begun to move slowly downhill towards us, driving us back, rolling over us and our organisations, crushing the bodies and the spirit of our people. For a while it seemed untoppable; push as we would against it, it rolled steadily down on us, over us.

2. Twenty six years ago, Mandela and his colleagues - Sisulu, Mboke, Mhlabane, Kathrada, Motsaedi, Mhlaba, Goldberg and Bernstein stood together in the Court at Rivonia.

They decided that - come what may - that armoured juggernaut must be stopped! They would form a line across the road, dig in their heels, and strain their muscles, stretch the last drops of their strength to push against the tank, and stop its advance. No easy walk! ^{IF LEFT ALONE!} It was a gesture, a heroic gesture if you like. But a gesture. They would dig in and say - thus far and no further. They would hold the line. They would break the silence and ~~also~~ tell the country ~~of~~ that the fight back against the armed terror had begun - that an armed force Umkhonto had been founded; that the people could stop the tank and force it back up the hill. ~~of~~ They would place their lives on the line, ~~and~~ in order to block the road!

No easy walk! - But how long - no one knew!

3. Rivonia was the turning point - and the men whose release we celebrate signalled the turn when they dug in their heels. ~~Slowly~~ They were not alone. Given the example of self-sacrifice, of nerve, of courage, - at first slowly, later in greater and greater numbers, people came out of their hiding places, recovered their courage, & joined the ranks of those pushing against the armoured tank. Gradually, as the army of resistors grew - 100s, 1000s, gradually the tank began to be pushed back, into reverse, up the hill. This too was No easy walk!

People slipped and were injured, crushed, killed beneath the wheels. But still the army of pushers grew & grew. Not only from inside the country but from outside.

2.
All over the world, supporters began to gather, to pass on assistance, cheers of encouragement, aid, support - no one perhaps more than people of Tanzania!!

Together, over the years, while Ruwanda men remained dignified, resistant, refusing to yield in jail - the tank has been pushed back, & back and back - up the hill. The resistance by its armed occupants has been fierce - firearms, murder, shooting without respite. But still the people stood. And pushed. And rolled the armed mountain back, up the hill.

4. And now, at last, these Ruwanda men have come to the crowning point of that - hard and testy walk to freedom. They have fought their way through the SA prison system, breaking its worst brutalities by united struggle, winning new - better conditions not just for themselves but for 1000's of political prisoners and ordinary, non-political victims of SA laws. They have educated a generation of young activists and peoples leaders, who have graduated from the University of struggle, on Robben Island. They have remained an inspiration for all our people down the years as a symbol of resistance - refused to yield, to the bitter end.

FIRST BREAKTHROUGH TO FREEDOM / NOW TO FREESPEECH!

5. And now, at last - 26 years ~~down~~^{up} as hard a road as anyone can walk they are free. Free at last! And today, throughout the world, and above all in SA, people rejoice - with them and for them!

They are back amongst us - and law or no law, the ANC is unbanned. Surely they will speak of freedom - in a speech, interrupted by 26 years - but the message unchanged -

Free South Africa. Mayibuye i Afrika. Unite. Struggle.

6. Free at last. And yet not yet at the top of the hill. The tank has been pushed back and back. But not yet over

the crest of the hill - after which it will roll down faster and faster, down the other side to crash in ruins at the bottom.

We are near - the top of the hill. Near enough today, that our eyes have risen above the crest and we look over the crest to the great prospect of freedom that lies ahead. As long as we keep up the march!

But we are not there yet! We can see the great vistas opening up ahead. But we still have to push the last remaining yards, so that not only our eyes but ~~also~~ our whole bodies can pass to the other side.

We can see now, in our sights the free South Africa we will reach tomorrow. We are not there. There will still be no easy walk to freedom. There will still be need for courage, for unity, for struggle. There will still be victims and people who will fall in the battle. But we are near the top.

And if we now look over to tomorrow's Free SA, it is because these Kwana men led the line ^{up} ~~at~~ the blackest, darkest hour of our history. We rejoice today not only in ^{But because it is the beginning of freedom for all SA people} their freedom from prison, not only in the triumph of their determination and their courage, but in the certainty of the future they have made possible by lives devoted to a cause - A future they have lived to see over the horizon, a future free South Africa which all of us will ~~the~~ harvest from their example, in our own lifetime!

Only then will their walk - and ours - be ended.

1. Speech for Dec. 16th, 1999 at Dur.
Never delivered. See attached
Notes.

Almost every country in the world has its own national day, on which it recalls great events in their history; and on which it remembers its heroes and its martyrs. But like most things South African, our national day, December 16th, is somewhat different. For one thing it is known by two different names. For us, the South Africans who are struggling to free our country from apartheid, it is known as Heroes Day. But for those who maintain apartheid by force of arms it is called the Day of the Covenant. For us it is the day we recall the deeds and the sacrifices made in a fight for freedom. For our rulers it recalls a day in 1838, when their ancestors - with modern firearms - inflicted a terrible slaughter on a Zulu army with ox-hide shields and spears. For us it is a time to recall many heroic struggles. For them a celebration of a single battle.

For many years after that single battle at a place called thereafter 'Blood River' the armed white state and its supporters believed that their war of conquest of South Africa had been ended. But they were wrong. They misread the signs then, as they repeatedly misread them even now. That battle was not the end of the war and the final triumph of white arms. It was in fact the start of a new style war - a war which would not be fought out and decided by armaments alone; but a war which would be fought with ideas, with reasoning, with organisation and ideals - with the weapons of politics and of peace.

Blood River and its so-called Day of the Covenant, is a memorial to a battle. Like so many national days - Bastille Day on 14th July, Armistice Day on 11th November, the national day symbolises the end of war, and the beginning of an era of peace. But not for us. Heroes day is neither the end of war, nor the signal of peace. It is instead a milestone in the middle of a war, whose end is not yet in sight. Our country is a country at war - not with outside enemies, but with its own people. It is a country steeped in a war between the majority of our people, who are racially oppressed, generally poor and badly provided for and totally excluded from power - and our rulers who cling to total power by a combination of racism and terrorism, and through force of arms.

This South African internal war is the longest-running war in the continent's history. It began with the first imposition of white state power even before that battle at Blood River, and it cannot end until that white monopoly of state power is broken. Only national liberation, universal rights and freedom, can bring the war to its end.

So it is that, each year, even in the midst of war, we recall those heroes of this year and years past who have fallen in the struggle, and pay tribute to their courage and their example. And each year, sadly, the list of the fallen grows longer and longer. Now the men, women and children on the list have reached into the thousands, perhaps the tens of thousands - no one knows how many, for in such a mass struggle as ours many fall without record. That our list of fallen should include many women and children indicates that ours is not a conventional war, fought by conventional armies on each side. Ours is a special kind of war - a war of national liberation. And its freedom fighters are men and women and children, almost all totally unarmed, with only courage and determination and justice to sustain them. Our heroes are not only - or even mainly - those who have fallen in exchange of fire, but are mainly those who have fallen in peaceful and non-violent resistance to oppression. Many have indeed been killed by the fire-power of the state, and many more have been maimed and wounded by state fire-arms in their streets and schools and workplaces and homes; and many others have been grievously damaged in mind and body by torture in the state's jails and police stations.

Naturally there are particular individuals whose deeds in the struggle stand out dramatically from the rest - and who receive the lion's share of attention and acclaim from the public and the press. But that fact must not obscure the real measure of our losses. Our heroes list, perhaps thousands, perhaps even tens of thousands, grows steadily longer with every day that our people's liberation is delayed.

In war it is to be expected that the casualties on each side will be fairly equal in number. But it is not so in our South African war. Here, uniquely.

the casualties, the dead, the maimed and the wounded, are almost all on our side. On the side of our opponents - the state - there are almost none, perhaps a handful recorded over many years. This extraordinary circumstance illustrates the special of the war that is being fought out. It is a war fought by an almost totally unarmed people against a heavily armed and violent state. This is no accident! It is not the simple consequence of a state policy which prevents the black majority from entering the country's armies, from carrying firearms or possessing them. Such legal restrictions have never prevented people anywhere from arming themselves when they decide the time has come to do so - neither in revolutionary Cuba or Algeria, neither in El Salvador or in Polisario Western Sahara. Our force is an almost disarmed force because our people have decided that that is the way they will conduct their struggle.

It has been so since the struggle for national liberation started ~~its~~ⁱⁿ modern form in 1912, when the African National Congress - the ANC - was born. It dedicated itself to pursue freedom only through non-violent means. It held to that course through many years of violent provocation from the state, and at the cost of much martyrdom. Forty years on, that great ANC leader and statesman could declare, with total truthfulness, that he and his organization had spent those years knocking peacefully at a locked door, but without response. And in recognition of his own and his people's consistently non-violent struggle, he was in 1960 awarded the first Nobel Prize for Peace ever brought home to Africa.

Paradoxically, 1960 - the year of the South African peace prizewinner - was the year when the South African state violence burst all bounds. That was the year of the bloody police massacre of unarmed civilians at Sharpeville. It was the year of the imposition of the first State of Emergency, of rule by decree without regard to law; it was the year of mass arrests of thousands of people, held in prison and concentration camps without charge or trial.

1960 too was the year the apartheid state decided to leave the British Commonwealth, and to adopt a totally new constitution - republican and presidential

in form. And to do so by consulting only the white minority by way of referendum, and totally ignoring the wishes or opinions of the black majority. In the early months of the next year, a nation-wide strike of protest against the new and racial constitution was suppressed with massive state armed force, and Emergency laws. 1961 was the year when our people's tolerance, too, finally ran out. Sporadic acts of unthinking violence, ~~people's~~ ^{people's} acts, unorganised, began to erupt in several parts of the country. It was then, for the first time in 49 years of activity, the leaders of the ANC decided that the time had come to reconsider. If state force was not to be met with people's counter-force, the national liberation struggle would be crushed; organised acts of popular resistance would be replaced by unorganised outbursts of anger and violent revenge; the country would descend into a nightmare of blood and disorder.

The ANC leaders, calmly and deliberately, consulted with its members and its allies. It was decided that the time had come to create a people's armed force. That force would protect the people and the non-violent political struggle. Where necessary, it would carry out disciplined armed counter-attack against the armed aggression of the state. Thus our people's army - Umkhonto we Sizwe was born.

And on December 16th, 1961, Umkhonto we Sizwe - the Spear of the Nation struck its first blows against the apartheid state, in a series of sabotage attacks on state installations. We commemorate that dramatic turn in Heroes Day - the anniversary of our own armed struggle. Yet even now, on the 28th Heroes Day, and with many hundreds of large and small armed actions ruid behind it, Umkhonto we Sizwe remains only a fraction - a small fraction of a great and unarmed liberation army - A small fraction, but a significant fraction. Umkhonto's attacks from time to time against the symbols and the installations of apartheid, complement the mass peaceful struggles, and inspire a spirit of self-confidence and of daring which our struggle demands of all who enter into it. Despite the steady growth of Umkhonto's numbers and its expertise - our war

remains overwhelmingly non-violent. It depends almost entirely on mass enthusiasm and mass support. And the casualties still remain almost all ours and on our side.

Ours is a just cause, and a moral cause. We pursue it with standards of morality and humanity, which are exclusive to our side. Our opponents rely only on force and fire-power. It shoots indiscriminately; it uses shot-guns and tear-gas without regard to persons; it fills the prisons, practices routine torture, organises death squads and assassinations, and executes political prisoners. And still our army is a people's army. It will employ no terrorist methods to embolden the enemy. It will act neither to terrorise nor to assassinate - though it has the means and the know-how to do so.

But we choose not to. That is not our way. Our army is a contingent of the people, not a poisonous cancer upon it. It is a special part of our popular mass struggle, not a substitute for it.

It is necessary to say this now, loud and clear. Because in these times we are being besieged by friends inside and outside South Africa - and also by enemies in friends' clothing - We are being urged to discard our armed force, to renounce our right to reply with force to the state force still deployed and launched against us. It is urged on us that if we would lay down our small armory of fire-arms now, the way to a peaceful reconciliation between people and state would somehow miraculously follow.

Perhaps such pleas are well meant - well, sometimes perhaps. But if so, let all our advisers remember that right and morality in the South African war is on our side, and in our actions. Our moral codes - like the scriptures - enjoin us not to seek violence for the sake of violence. Nor do we. They persuade us rather to turn the other cheek when violence is offered against us. Generally we do; we always have, and we pay heavily for it. But neither morality nor scriptures persuade us to desert the good fight - to desert the struggle for right and justice when the battle grows fierce - or because it grows fierce.

We will not do so! That is the message that can be read from our past record. We will not retreat. That is the pledge made to ourselves and all our fallen heroes on Heroes Day.

Those heroes are a true cross-section of the South African people. They are of all races, and all colors, - black, brown and white. They are of all religions - Catholic, Muslim, Hindu, Jewish and pagan, and often of none.

All, like our late Chief Luthuli, have spent many years knocking at the door of full citizenship in their own land. But not in vain!

The knocking has grown louder, louder, more insistent. Now we hammer at the door with all our strength, and our Umkhonto comrades batter at it with shot and hand grenades. Now, on Heroes Day 1989, it can be seen that the door is being forced, and begins to yield. The locking bars which have held it closed for so many years begin to bend. A tiny chink of light begins to show around the edge, - and the prospect of a mass breakthrough to the free, democratic and united country which lies the other side of the door, is now realistically within our sights.

This is the vindication of our policies and our moral stance, for which so many have paid so heavily. This is vindication for the sacrifices of life and limb of all our heroes down the years. We have good cause now to remember them, and all they have done.

On Heroes Day we do ~~not~~ glorify death, but we glorify lives lived and lost so that others may go free. It is a tribute by us, the living, the fortunate and the survivors. It is our tribute to all those who have made it possible - certain! - that all our people and the generations which will follow will live as free citizens in a free land.

Heroes Day.

St. Albans Anglican Church.

Dar-es-Salaam, 17.12.89.



African National Congress

Department of Religious
Affairs
& Inter-Faith Chaplaincy

Regional
Secretariat
Sasha Kani
Zolile Mvela

RE-APPOLOGY:

Comrade Rusty, I am hereby appologising for what happened in Dar-es-Salaam on the 17th December 1989.

I wish to register my sincere regret for the highjacking of our event, by some comrades who authorised themselves without the knowledge of my Department and especially myself as the head of this Department. I plead that you forgive me and my Department, and we are going to register a strong protest with the Chief Representative's office for they are cause of this.

In this year of mass action for people's power,
Yours in Struggle
Revd. Sasha Kani

P.O.Box 2239
DAR ES SALAAM

P.O.Box 680
MOROGORO

Phone: 4420/1-3

Telex: 55042
SOMAC TZ

Somafco,
Mazimbu.

18.12.89

Alfred Nzo,
Lusaka.

Dear Comrade Alf,

In the more than 30 years we have known each other, and during which I have been closely involved with the ANC, I have never before felt impelled to write you a letter. I make this point so that you will understand that I write only after deep thought, and because I see it as the only way I can exercise what I see as some responsibility for our organisation's future in East Africa. I think that right now we are rapidly approaching a disaster which can cause immense harm to the whole ANC and probably the South African freedom struggle too.

There is a situation here at Mazimbu which I do not think any of us, the NEC included, dare ignore. For if we do not act to correct it soon, I fear that we may become the centre of an international scandal which will draw in our supporters at home and abroad as well as foreign donor bodies. Let me explain, by giving you a single illustration of the problem and how it develops to crisis proportions. I describe the events of this last weekend, as I saw them and as they were seen by two visitors who were present at all the events described:

December 16th is a public holiday here. We had a printed programme of events, starting with Toi-Toi, to be followed with a flag-raising ceremony, laying of wreaths at the graveyard. There was no toi-toi. For the flag raising, about 30 adults, many of them students gathered - out of a community I estimate exceeds 1500 - together with rather more children who may have come voluntarily, or may have been brought by the school authorities. (The fact that the ANC flag was raised some time after those of the CCM and Tanzanian state may be put down to a symbolic technical hitch caused by gremlins.) After a feeble singing of the National Anthem, it was announced that there were "unfortunately" no wreaths. We walked up to the graveyard, ripping sprigs of leaves and flowers from the trees as we passed to lay some sort of floral tribute. On the way back to breakfast there was much comment, some of it unfortunately jokey, about the number of absentees being the result of hangovers from the previous night's holiday celebrations.

The programme followed with a meeting at the Dome at 9.30. Meanwhile, our German guests, who had spent two years rounding up womens' organisations in the FRG and collecting donations to buy a bus for the ANC, were making a formal presentation of the new bus to the local ANC Womens' Section. There were 3 - three! - of our women present while the bus was formally donated, and photographs taken for the record.

At 9.30 there were four people in the Dome, plus a half dozen students fetching and carrying chairs. By 10.30 the loud-speakers were being installed watched by perhaps 30 people; and at around 10.45, the meeting started with some 50 to 60 adults and a number of children present. It was a pretty miserable affair; the chairman had to demand a response several times before anyone would start a #revolutionary song."

Two of the listed speakers were missing, said to be ill - but no

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substitutes were offered. By 1,2 o'clock it was over, a totally spiritless affair. The chairman made four announcements: the lunch scheduled for 12 would be postponed till 2p.m; beer would be available as scheduled; there would be a boxing match at 3.30; and a cultural event at 7.30. Only the beer materialised. At 2p.m. there were only a few comrades slicing up vegetables in the dining hall; and neither lunch, boxing or cultural event happened. No explanations, no apologies. Just one of those things!

Sunday 17th. Our two visitors were leaving in their new bus for Dar-es-Salaam. With the ~~m~~ there was to be a large contingent of comrades, including choral and music groups, who were to take part in a large gathering in Dar organised by our RADept, together with the Dar Council of Churches. The group bus, scheduled for 7.30 finally moved off full at 8.30, followed by the full Womens' bus at 9.00. Both were stopped at the gate by the gate-keepers, and a long and acrimonious dispute over permits, names and so on went on. I did not join in to discover the details, which resulted in everyone except the foreigners being turned out of the buses. Our visitors went off with our listed speaker, and arrived in time for the meeting, which had a considerable Tanzanian audience including

several church choirs and priests, but no ANC contingent. The ANC speaker who addressed the audience was not the comrade instructed to do so by the RAD, but someone else substituted on the list by persons unknown. Until the very end of the affair, no one explained the ANC absence; it was subsequently learnt that, after finally resolving the dispute at the gate, they had set out late, and had finally had a breakdown along the road.

All of this sorry sequence of disasters and failures could, of course, be the result of unforeseen accidents. But I have been here now for long enough to know that this sort of thing is now regular and expected; the details vary, but the abysmal standards of incompetence and casual indifference do not. And on every occasion when this type of fiasco occurs, there are visitors - aid workers, donors and families from South Africa - to see it all for themselves. None of these visitors are either deaf or blind. They move freely about this place; they see a great deal of the normal daily workings in addition to whatever they are shown formally by the administration; they talk to all and sundry that they pass in the street or meet in the guest house and elsewhere. I know that in so doing, they make often acute observations of the things they are not shown, from the seamier side of our complex; and they hear a great deal of gossip, complaint, criticism, and allegations of mispractice of all kinds. I know this because I am in a somewhat exceptional position here; I am regarded as something of a veteran with political seniority, and yet not of the ANC hierarchy or an office-bearer or administrator; nor am I one of the many refugees here who would love to get away, I am here as a volunteer and free to leave at will. For these reasons perhaps, many visitors discuss matters with me that they might refrain from discussing

with you or other officials. I have been told, for instance, by some GDR volunteers who have spent some years here, that three or four years ago, Heroes Day was a grand affair; the whole community prepared actively for it for days before, and enthusiastically; that on the day, there were large attendances at everything, including letsema, and a really high spirit, which they have seen decline from year to year to the present pathetic state. Others who have served in Angola for several years in SWAPO camps compare our standards of activity, of political involvement and seriousness

very unfavourably with those of SWAPO.

What kinds of things do our visitors discuss? They are all mightily impressed with the buildings, the landscaping, and the wide scope of all the ongoing projects. But they are worldly-wise enough to know that they were all built by, and often designed by and maintained by outside agencies, foreign aid workers or paid Tanzanian workmen. ~~At~~ they see that almost all the work, building, farming, gardening, maintenance - and even much of the teaching and care of our own children is in the hands of Tanzanian hired staff. They see that our own comrades are gradually retiring into the exclusive "white men's jobs" - brain-work, admin, and supervising others. Even our individual house gardens, and personal laundry is now widely seen to be delegated to Tanzanian casual labourers. Our visitors have seen, and commented to me, about evidence of neglect and poor, unacceptable standards of child care in our institutions; about apparently outmoded, unsatisfactory and authoritarian practices at the schools. They have contrasted the comparatively luxurious standards of housing, abundant free food and clothing, with a general atmosphere of dissatisfaction and bitching, and with widespread cynicism, apathy, inefficiency and disengagement from political life or social service activities.

And of course they hear complaints of all kinds: complaints of favouritism and discrimination in the award of scholarships; of harsh and totally unacceptable security practices and punishments; of commandism and bureaucratic practices, without any public accountability; of arbitrary appointments made without public reason or discussion; of disregard or failure to deal with the deep psychological problems and needs for counselling of children without parents and of war or prison-damaged adults. And over and over again, complaints of the remoteness, the virtual invisibility of the ANC leaders and the impossibility of making a formal complaint and asking for rectification. They hear, too, tales of petty corruptions, of the selling off of ANC property or clothes received from donors; and so on. I make no comment on any of these allegations, except to say that I have heard them all from the mouths of visitors, and constantly echoed by many of our comrades here.

Many of such complaints are made by loyal and proven comrades who have served the movement well. If they are aggrieved - as many certainly are - if they are becoming totally disillusioned about the ANC, and often angry about it, they deserve to have their allegations heard and considered. Whether they are valid or not can only be established by free and open discussion. And in fact, in place of such open discussion, they are discussed widely everywhere except where "officialdom" is present, perhaps for fear of being labelled as "hostile". I hear this talk daily, everywhere. And so to greater or lesser extent do all enquiring visitors. I think we are dangerously deceiving ourselves if we imagine that our visitors will for ever remain silent about these things, out of loyalty to our organisation.

I think the simple fact is that the all-round decline and decay here has now become so evident, that it is only a matter of time before some disillusioned visitor, donor or defector from our ranks decides to "go public" with chapter and verse, and strip the unacceptable aspects of Mazimbu life of its veneer of rose-tinted paint. And when it happens - and it seems to me it will not be

delayed for long - we will have an international scandal on our hands, We can be certain that all our enemies at home and abroad will seize the opportunity to investigate, exaggerate and distort, until what today may seem like a natural outcome of many years of exile becomes a real epic disaster.

state ; One can predict the consequences of such revelations. It will be said that the ANC is incapable of running a transport pool of half a dozen cars, let alone a country! That the ANC cares little about the decline of its political, labour and moral standards, so long as it is able to coast along on a gravy-train of foreign aid. That we are replicating for ourselves all the bureaucratic and authoritarian practices we complain of in the apartheid that our democratic principles are for public consumption, not for home use; and that the NEC is presiding over a Brezhnev-style stagnation, with all its symptoms of corruption, power-brokering, and incipient crisis.

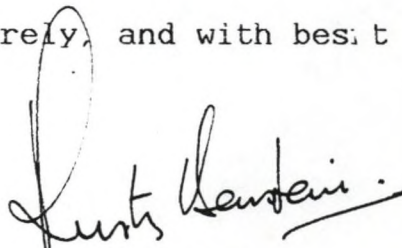
Alf, this may sound dramatically exaggerated or alarmist to you. Perhaps it is. But I do want to impress on you as strongly as I can that Mazimbu is a major disaster waiting to happen. It can NOT be prevented now by anything less than direct intervention by the NEC

. There are quite a number of first class comrades here anxious and itching to try and rectify the mess; but it has gone well beyond local control; it needs the full backing and authority of the NEC. It needs the presence of a part of the NEC here, on the spot, to enable a wide-ranging, uninhibited debate to take place, where the causes of the disease and the remedies for it can be worked out. THIS IS NOT A SITUATION WHICH CAN BE RECTIFIED BY A FLYING VISIT BY SOMEONE FROM H.Q. NOR CAN IT BE CURED BY THE REMOVAL OF A FEW FALL-GUYS AND THEIR REPLACEMENT BY SOME DEEMED MORE RESPONSIBLE OR EFFICIENT.

hands, hands In my view, the leadership has now to stop sitting on its hands and intervene urgently and decisively. If not, there is going to be an explosion in the near future. And if that happens, it will not only damage the good image of Mazimbu which exists in the outside world. It will destroy the whole credibility of the ANC in exile. It can lead to the withdrawal of donor aid, and a wide collapse of projects. And will have repercussions on the whole future of our movement and struggle in South Africa in the futuree.

I appeal to you as strongly as I am able, to ACT NOW.

Sincerely, and with best wishes,



Rusty Bernstein.

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