

B.N.

*(Our view in SACTU was that)*  
 .... a set back if we - if the different classes among the Indians, Africans, Coloureds and whites were also distinguished (003) and assuming that we formed a class-less organisation, that too would be to the disadvantage of the workers. Rather than that *(the liberation movement should be non-class-based, that is, to defeat, to destroy apartheid, destroy racism, as a stepping stone to ultimately a classless society.)*

*(while that)*  
 Now the charter performed this balancing act - a clause in the charter as a whole - looked at as a whole, *(actually tilts towards the workers.)* - that is (Interruption .....)  
 I don't know if I've answered you. You see, it is through education and to distinguish the priorities, that the workers were able to - workers supported the formulation of the charter.

Now, the clauses in the charter, you find that, looked at as a whole, you find they really espouse, or rather the expressive of the immediate demands of the workers.

J.F. Let me take it to that point - that one clause we were talking about, and I'll ask for shorter answers, because I really want to get into the sixties. Were you aware of this clause of being controversial - did it even come up, the land should belong to all the people, black and white - that's the clause you're talking about?

B.N. No, no - the wealth of the country shall belong to the people.

J.F. The wealth of the country shall belong to the people.

B.N. That is where it refers to the nationalisation.

J.F. Right.

B.N. Of the ... *(In reviewing the demands that gave rise to the Fr Chtr was there any sentiment from workers to that effect that?)*

J.F. But was there any thought - that actually is quite strong because it indicates a socialist future, although it's not a socialist document and all that (027) but a nationalisation, and that's the one that gets all the businesses worried, but on the level of race, was there any worker who said: Now, wait a minute - this must say that *(the blacks must own the means of production, not black and white?)* - did anyone - did that come out at all?

B.N. No, not at all. You see, what we convinced the workers about, that the future lay in blacks and whites working together for a new democracy, *and* Now, *(that)* the exclusion of any particular race will mean that the struggle will continue.)

The battles between the races will continue. *(It's not a racial solution that'll bring about change, or any change.)*  
 - In fact, it's going to actually cause problems. The whites are going to fight. *(That we made clear. If, for instance, Indians are going to be oppressed and exploited as a minority, Indians are going to fight, and they're going to continue the battle, although a minority, so the exclusion of any particular race from a future, or from the solutions that we are proposing, that would actually mean a continuation of the struggle, so that much was made clear.)*

- J.F. O.K., and then can you just briefly, in a few sentences, just trace, to refresh my memory, the events that led you to '64, in fact, and ask some questions about the non-racial aspect of that?
- B.N. (Grunt!) Mmm.
- J.F. You, after the congress of the people, and just the clamp down and that kind of thing.
- B.N. Well, what actually happened, you see, through (.....) (045) and a succession of acts on the part of the Government, each - or all attempts to set a peaceful solution, so that even after the congress of the people, what happened was, far from actually joining hands with the oppressed and the Democratic forces in the country, the Nats actually clamped, so you found the screws, as it were, being tightened, and the Government becoming increasingly repressive of (.....) (050) so peaceful demonstrations, peaceful attempts at solutions were - culminated ultimately - rather, were thwarted by the Government through force, and repression began growing and it culminated in the State of Emergency in 1960 - declaration of the State of Emergency, and the arrests of, I think, close on to about 18 or 19,000 people throughout the country for various offences, mainly converts (convicts, congress) that (056) were behind bars, so then it led to the banning of the A.N.C., as being the major force.

Now, it was a peaceful, non violent organisation throughout, and here - then an attempt lasted - a bid was made by Nelson Mandela at the All-in African conference, inter-denominational ministers' conference, to stage a stoppage of work in '61 - that, too, was clamped on (down) (061)

*⑥ begins on page 3 first then to here.*

*⑥ E*

This led directly to the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe as being the only way out - that is through - to use force. Now, Umkhonto we Sizwe itself was non-racial. There are whites, Indians, Coloureds and Africans in the Umkhonto. Many whites were charged or had to flee the country after there was a clamp, so quite a number of us were arrested, and this - there were people right across the colour line who were locked and served long terms of imprisonment for Umkhonto activities, so this again, the Umkhonto was not dominated by anyone - (any one racial group,) and by virtue of the fact that the vast majority were Africans, the Africans played an increasingly important role in Umkhonto activities, so there were Indians, Africans, Coloureds and whites who locked (074)

*In the state's efforts to break MK in the early 60s,*

People were tortured and many of them lost their lives in prison '64; 66 of them lost their lives, tortured by the fascist police during interrogations, and torture methods (076) were used, so sacrifices were made all round, by all racial groups. → to p. 4

Now, this again, proves beyond all reasonable doubt - and from the contributions made by all racial groups, although they may be stigmatised as being communist and leftist and so on, but the important thing, looked at it from the point of view of race, or the race politics of this country - contributions were made by all racial groups.

Now the - on the question of race, the important event is you - this was the culmination of all the struggles, and in fact, you had the forerunner to the UDF in the Congress .....

- B.N. .... Alliance. The formation of the UDF on completely non racial lines, embracing as it does, all - or rather organisations across the para (colour) (088) line, is indicative of this progressive movement.
- J.F. O.K. - let me just - we've missed twenty years - just take it back - just the events that led to your arrest - can you tell me about that?
- B.N. Well, I took part in - I was a member of the Natal Regional Command of the Umkhonto we Sizwe. I took part in a number of sabotage activities myself, although one - the commanders, as it were, of Umkhonto - the - they were - were actually charged for 38 counts of sabotage, but ultimately found guilty of 18 of those counts. *(and was arrested in 1964.)*
- J.F. Where did they arrest you?
- B.N. In Durban.
- J.F. Was it at any place, or was it just from your home?
- B.N. Well, I was at home at the time, and I was arrested. There were 19 of us who were ultimately charged. *Accused number one was*
- J.F. In the same trial?
- B.N. In the same trial.
- J.F. Who was accused No. 1.?
- B.N. Ismail - *(Ibrahim)* Abraham Ismail - he was Accused No. 1. in that trial. There was *(Curnick)* Ndlovu, and I were sentenced to twenty years imprisonment. Others were sentenced - one was sentenced to sixteen - one to fifteen years. There were four or five of them sentenced to fourteen years. Some to twelve - then two of them to ten years, and only one - oh, four, to eight years.
- J.F. And Ismail - what did he?
- B.N. He got fifteen.
- J.F. And did you have any sense that *(Interruption.....)* Just a little bit on the personal side, did you have a sense that you would be arrested - was there any advanced warning - did it come as a shock, or did you just figure : This is this kind of work, and it's inevitable, or?
- B.N. Well, yes - in fact, there was a bit of inevitability, that we were convinced that, at some stage or the other, we'd be arrested, but also, to some extent, we felt that the people so arrested would be able to hold out, and not to collapse under the pressures that the police were putting on them in detention.
- Unfortunately, they were unable to withstand the tortures and, in fact, quite a number of our chaps were actually murdered in the '63/64 period, by the police in detention, and this, of course, was - it constituted a problem for us, in that the pledge not to divulge any important information was broken. *→ to p. 4*
- J.F. Broken by?

- B.N. By the detainee himself - that is under pressure - torture.
- J.F. <sup>Whom? 3</sup> 60 And (did you find that) the way things went out (there was any) (racial aspect) - did it ever surface (in terms of) feeling (which) that the (people would collapse under torture?) or at work - any people who gave evidence - was it blacks and whites - was there any racial aspect to it at all?
- B.N. (No, not at all.) Of course, (the question of race did not come in, but what did come to the fore was) that the prominence of a particular individual in Umkhonto, or as a member of the movement who collapsed and he gave evidence, for instance. The prominence, or (the position that he occupied) in - that was what was criticised (- that it was unbecoming of a person occupying a top position), for instance, (to become state witness in a case, as was the case of Piet Eyleveld) (139) and - (or) you take (Bruno Mtoro, who was a star witness, both in the Rivonia (140) trial and in our trials. (He was) a - (also a member of the Natal Regional Command, of Umkhonto.)
- J.F. Where is he today?
- B.N. He's actually - he worked for the railways security police (Laugh)
- J.F. So, at your trial did you find support on a non racial basis, or was it in-camera trial?
- B.N. Well, most of it was in-camera, but otherwise on - when one of the court was open, they attended in big numbers.
- J.F. Of all races?
- B.N. Mmmmm, and you had large numbers of whites attending in other trials as well, both from here and abroad, but mainly you had the white students, for instance, attending in fairly big numbers.
- J.F. 61 And from all <sup>Did</sup> your experiences at the hands of the <sup>white</sup> police, did that (in any way change your non racialism, or were there black police also involved?) - was that - was there any racial factor - just seems quite incredible to me that people didn't, exposed to that kind of experience, wouldn't take a racial aspect from it, unless, of course, there - then people always remind me that often people doing the tortures could be black as well ..... was there any racial aspect?
- B.N. Well, (you had a few blacks taking part in tortures <sup>(although the)</sup> and so on. You had Indians, Africans, Coloureds, for instance, taking part in torture, but they were few in number, but artists (159) in the torture methods were the whites, particularly the Afrikaaner (police) - more crude, and of course, you found in this - in the attitude towards blacks) in particular, (was a real hostile one, in that if they - the tortures, for instance, that took place <sup>and</sup> they were simply ruthless,) and - (but, of course, we looked upon them as part of the entire system,) and were (merely tools in the works.)
- (Now, you'll be surprised <sup>to learn</sup> that I have a number of Afrikaaner friends among the warders, for instance (Laugh) - over the years - (over twenty years <sup>spent</sup> in prison. Not that they were friends in the ordinary sense of the word, but over the years) ...

B.N.

.... were able to cultivate a relationship with the ordinary warder, who was also, (as part of the system, <sup>was</sup> blinded by racism) and so on, (through dialogue and discussion with them) over the years, (we played together - table tennis and card games and so on. They ate together with us. They actually came to prison, or to look after us, with those prejudices already ingrained in them, but over the years, we were able to shift them, and to show them - you see, they were given the impression that we're a whole lot of barbarians, but after a few years with us, or after a very short while with us, they changed their minds.

(Just to give you an example, Nelson Mandela) - I was in the section. There were about 23 of us in one particular section, together for twenty years, so Nelson, for instance - used to invite warders to his cell, and make tea and have biscuits with them) and so on - yes, (on a very friendly basis without any prejudice, and the warders partook of whatever he had to give them,) so - and (it's fantastic to see) what (the Afrikaaner) - that is, (when he begins to shed off his prejudices, he becomes really friendly) - (he can be really human,) and (I think, in a future South Africa, I would be able to relate more closely to the Afrikaaner than any other) group, I think, - of (white group.)

That is, (the Nats have actually prevented us from getting at the Afrikaaner, and so becoming close to them. For instance, the meeting <sup>of whites</sup> that Chief Lutuli addressed years ago in Pretoria, was smashed up by the right wing. Now, those - such meetings - (such get-togethers with the ordinary Afrikaaner folk, would break down prejudice in no time. I can imagine a situation where you get black and white children attending the same school, from junior primary up, (you'd get a different situation within a generation in this country,) so this is no wishful thinking.

As a matter of fact, the Nats are not really coming to grips with reality. We have, I think we have correctly assessed the position way back in the fifties - the whole projection of the freedom charter and so on - the policy as passed by the Congress Movement has been one of a broad, non-racial democratic South Africa as being the only solution to our problems, and this is expressive of what is going on today, and the very fact that you are having soccer/played across the colour line, or sports across the colour line and so on, is something that we fought for, and only now is being realised, and the very talk - I mean - of course cosmetic, in the sense that, in the moment you leave the soccer field you get back to your own racial cocoon, as it were. /being

The thing is there has to be a complete dismantling, so - to sum it, you see, is - what we find is that the ruling class is dithering, is, in fact, not prepared to go the whole hog. It's prepared to make cosmetic changes, remove this law and that law, without actually attacking the fundamentals, and this is the real cause, I think, of the clashes that are taking place, at (and) (22) the hiatus between the dominant and the oppr - the ruling class and the - of course, you have class factors, racial mixed with it and so on, but is also a factor, is you have class oppression, and this is where blackists (232) don't see it.

You have oppression of blacks as blacks, overriding the class contradictions, and this is what actually unites .....

This is  
very  
good  
stuff

a meeting  
for whites

B.N. .... the merchant, doctor, the lawyer and so on, behind a movement like the UDF, whereas any exclusivism, any workerist line (.....)\*(238) and so on, is going to play into the hands of the ruling class, in that they - you're going to actually - the ruling class is also interested in ..... (Tape off)

J.F. Yes.

B.N. *from p. 13*  
 (2)  
 (At the same time, we know that)  
 If the ruling class is also interested in winning the elite - the middle class elements from among the blacks, so if there is any exclusivist policy of worker purism, at this stage of the struggle, we'd be actually alienating this body of the intelligentsia - the middle class elements from among the blacks, (and driving them right into the hands of the ruling class,) so what we say is workers require allies, and if you look at it purely from a workers' point of view, workers require allies - the non working class allies in the intelligentsia - the middle class elements, even the bourgeois - bourgeois among the blacks - you take NAFCOC, although they identify closely with the ruling class because of the handouts they get from the small business development corporation - so are the Indians - you have that contradiction still, as part of the oppressed who'd - the working class requires them as allies, so therefore, (from a purely tactical point of view,) or from the workers own selfish interest, (to serve) his own selfish interest, or his <sup>(a workers)</sup> class interest, he requires those allies on his side, rather than on the side of the ruling class.)

(The idea is to strip the ruling class of all props that it has, if you look at it coldly.) This was the position that the workers were faced with in Nazi Germany, or during the patriotic battles. <sup>(take)</sup> The churches, for instance.) You cannot actually ignore the churches from any reckoning.

16- (The churches are a formidable force, having approximately sixteen million members. The vast majority are workers, peasants and so on,) in the membership of the church, (and therefore to exclude the church), which is such a force, (would be suicidal for the working class.)

*Dimitrov*  
 Now, if you, (as a parallel) - if you (take the patriotic movement that developed during the last world war, against Hitler and Mussolini, they were wide-ranging.) In fact, the churches were foremost in the - although the communists actually were responsible for creating the popular fronts - joining (286) Demetroff (?) for instance, played a very important role in the theory of popular fronts, and (the church has played a very important role in those <sup>popular</sup> fronts.)

(Monasteries, for instance, were used to store arms, and you find that (in Nicaragua today, where (the clergy actually sit in the Cabinet, for) You have a popular front government in power,) so for the working class at this stage, to suggest that they want to be exclusivists and espouse a pure workerist line, it would be just simply not addressing themselves to reality.)

(The ruling class actually wants allies, desperately so - hence the tri-cameral parliament and so on, - and they succeeded in getting only a small segment of that middle class.) In fact, <sup>(the)</sup> the vast majority see through them today) - that is, their own allies - those who propped, or voted for the .....

B.N. .... tri-cameral system are concerned at - in fact, they are being rejected and looked upon as being stooges and so on, so with the Bantustans, in that not even the middle class is supporting that.

J.F. O.K., let me take you back and ask - did your belief in non-racialism get changed in any way in prison - was it in any way weakened by seeing the system at work with whites, or was it in any way strengthened from discussions or did you (.....) (313) exactly the same - did you grow at all, in prison, on a level of understanding the struggle in South Africa?

B.N. Well, my belief in non racialism has actually been reinforced, over the years, and in fact, is strengthened by my experience in prison, and out of prison, and ...

J.F. How was it strengthened in prison?

B.N. Well, as I told you, that, notwithstanding the oppressive conditions in prison initially, but through our united strength and so on, we were able to force the authorities and to effect changes, but still, that's not the important factor - that doesn't answer your question actually.

Not (in our relations with the authority) - authority - (we still remain hostile. In fact, we had to fight, throughout the twenty years that I was in prison,) fight (to) actually (improve our conditions, but in our relationship, for instance, with the individual warder,) they - not that he, in any way strengthened my resolve in regard to non racialism, on the other hand, (our being able to relate to him, and to actually change his attitudes). (strengthened my resolve with regard to non-racialism.)

It may have been tentative, when he gets back into the cocoon, because you have a wider (341) South Africa, which is a wider prison, which he gets into - he will probably get back to his old ways, but the important thing is to have hammered home certain lessons to him.

((He comes there with preconcieved notions of our being barbarians and so on, and he left) - he leaves prison (having changed his mind altogether.) > @ends

J.F. What about, with all the groups of people who came through in those 20 years - did you get the crowd in the '70's that was B.C., and did you have discussions with them - did you get P.A.C. guys - all those groups of people that - did you have discussions about non racialism?

B.N. Oh, yes, we did. You see, there was strong prejudices - were naturally expressed by the younger, and (Interruption) (And LOTS of noise!)

Now the - we decided not to engage in polemics with the P.A.C. and the B.C.M., but concentrate on those things that would unite us, so the - we had a number of B.C. members and P.A.C. members who swung over and joined us. We used to have discussions with them - with individuals, not as a group - not the P.A.C. as an organisation, but with individuals, and in the course of time were able to win over people to our point of view.

B.N. Similarly with the B.C. You take Terror Lekota as one of the chaps, and there were others, from ...

J.F. And what?

B.N. There were others in the B.C. who joined our ranks - originally members of the B.C. There were a number of youngsters, for instance, who were completely lost (379) who did not know, even the philosophy of B.C., who were just simply led into believing that it was the end and be all of the struggle.

They, too, were won over by us, and hence the B.C. is not really a political force, if you look at AZAPO objectively, it's not a force - they noise on occasions. For instance, they lost credibility, especially during the Kennedy visit, when they were identified as being part of the state.

In fact, TV here - TV and the media gave them a booster out of all proportion to what AZAPO ..... but in the - they were, of course, leaderless in AZAPO, through held from - AZAPO and the P.A.C. held firm to their views, but they, too, shifted their position - that is official position in the course of time.

For instance, the P.A.C., from ultimately throwing the whites and the Indians out of the country, began to reconcile themselves and accepting the whites and Indians, providing that the whites and Indians accepted South Africa as a homeland.

J.F. Just for time I'll keep asking (412) ..... so when you came out of .....

end of side one.

J.F. .... that side - did you feel humble - did you feel like it hadn't gone as far as it should have - and in terms of the non-racial part of it - how did you feel ..?

B.N. Well, you know, the formation of the UDF - we were in prison at that time, in 1983, was a formidable event, and the forum was actually - followed (421) (Banging going on) thereafter. The Forum - the National Forum was set up after the UDF, but the formation of the UDF and its expansion since its formation from about four hundred organisations to over 640 organisations, was a factor that was really inspiring, and felt convinced that it was the most important event that took place in the '80's - all embracing and having the capacity to mobilise the people.

J.F. How about non-racialism per se - you were released - did you find there was more or less clarity about non racialism?

B.N. Well, you see, you had the - a number of forces - the National Forum, for instance, not being prepared to accept non racialism. This is in complete contradiction to the UDF's position. Then you had rumblings in the trade union ....



B.N.

.... movement, that there, too, there was no clarity, although there were announcements made against non racialism as espoused by congress and the UDF. They were not too clear, themselves. It is not a question of their having a clear cut lines. You had workerism, for instance, and so on, but not fully defined, but still, notwithstanding all those differences from those quarters, AZAPO - that is the B.C. deriding non racialism of the UDF, and workerism on the other hand, and the P.A.C., of course, has - is non existent as far as we know it here, and you have other critics, for instance, the new NUM, since its formation has also come out with its own programme, and of course, also attacks the non-racialism as espoused by the UDF. (New Unity Movement)

Now, all those forces together do not constitute a threat - we don't regard, even although the trade union movement and some of the feasibility unions, have come out against - or rather have been - at any rate the top has been pursuing a policy of workerism and so on, the rank and file workers, by virtue of their relationship to community organisations - you take in Uitenhage, or in Craddock, or in the Vaal Triangle, for instance, or in the East Rand - they belong to community organisations affiliated to the UDF, so those workers, while the top and the intelligentsia is pursuing a philosophy of workerism or in fact, is still formulating it, the rank and file, which are - who, in fact, associated with affiliates of the UDF, support the policy of non-racialism, so, in fact, we're - I've not been disturbed by it, you see. It has not - I don't think they'd be able to pose a threat even in the future, and has, over the years, from the '50's, I think, would prove to them that we - the correctness of our line. There can be no doubt about that.

J.F.

Again, because what I'm doing won't come out for two or three years in last words (465) I think a lot of these things are resolving themselves, specially B.C. and things but can I take a more general view. People often talk about the lessons of the '50's, and I think, in a negative way, that often is supposed to mean can't - isn't there a worry that the whole non racial progressive movement could be crushed now, as it was then - that the overt political nature of, or even the unions that support that point of view, or just the militants (militance) (471) of the organisations that support that point of view, lay themselves open for attack - do you worry - you're someone who could speak on that - you've seen the smashing of the organisations in the '50's and (.....) (473) of the '60's - do you ever worry that it could just happen again?

B.N.

Well, you see, as in all things, do doubt, as long as the ruling class - the - its state machinery is not destroyed, it is going to rear its head over and over again or, in fact, it's going to use force as the last resort to crush opposition. This has been the position with all countries, and tentatively, yes - tentatively the movement does suffer a setback. Now this was evident in the '50's through the '60's and even in the '70's, where you take, even in the '70's, the banning of the B.C. organisations and so on. The eighteen organisations that were banned, and now they did not have a firm, constructive philosophy. It was not deep rooted to really sustain itself, and hence you find ...

B.N. .... AZAPO harking back to the past, but you take the congress movement and - or you take the A.N.C., or you take the UDF on the other hand, as being a broad front, was able actually to galvanise this formidable force into a very broad front against the ruling class. It's true it's suffering - it is now receiving the hammer blows of the ruling class - bans, or rather detentions and trials and so on that are going on.

These are really tentative, as far as I see it, but if you draw a trend (trained) (494) line, as I told - I think it's Raymond (495) through - over the last two or three years, or five years, the - you have the zig-zags in the course of this - in our struggle with the ruling class.

No doubt the state machinery remains intact. It has not been toppled, or there isn't - you do not - there isn't a qualitative change as yet, so that the movement itself is ready to seize power. You do not have that position - a revolutionary position - situation, but still, qualitatively, the form of the struggle has changed. You find the community councils are actually being smashed - literally being smashed, and councillors fleeing or resigning now they're in shambles the whole - they were unable to sell the tri-cameral set up - the Bantustans, for instance, and so on, so in the circumstances if you drew a trend line, you had the zig-zags but the trend is upward, so while the movement does suffer its set backs, you do get a progressive shift, and the quality of the struggle - you take, for instance, today, the preparedness to actually lay down their lives for this thing is a new phenomenon sustained over the last year - from about August, September last year to this day, so the preparedness to actually lose their lives in the struggle, even facing the casspi rs and the hippos and so on of the state.

Now this must be worrying the state also, because all you have to do, as far as I see it, is - this is judging from the historical development of movements the world over - the next step would be to seize those very casspi rs, and then what?, you see - this - they can be a transformation - use those very guns that are today manned by the soldiers of the state, by the people themselves, and then you have a transformation, so what we - what I - there is - notwithstanding the repression, I think the character of the struggle is seen definitely and ..

J.F. But you're talking about those kind of pitched battles in the townships - you don't see change coming from the factory floor?

B.N. Well, you see, from the factory floor itself - now, you see, unless there's an across-the-board solution to our problems, any piecemeal solutions at the factory floor, or institutionalised changes - piecemeal changes, that is, (is not really going to answer the problem.) → to p. 11

Now, just to illustrate the point, you have SAMCOL - the SAMCO workers in that battle for recognition of the union, and to improve their conditions. Now, there's SAMCO - it's a multi-national, the head office is in London, refusing - the head office refusing to support the struggle of the workers, or even adhering to some of their commitments to the E.E.C. code or the British code for South African companies, and the ....

B.N.

.... South African Government not doing anything at all about it, so similarly the AECI recently dismissed over 600 workers in Newcastle over the question of recognition and improved wages. from p. 10 (537)

(7) Now there too, well after a battle, they were about dismissing those workers when they ultimately negotiated a settlement, which was not altogether satisfactory. The workers are back at work, so at any time, those concessions that the ruling class makes simply evaporate unless you have other protective measures there - unless you have a broader democracy to protect those hard-won rights of the workers, you're not - concessions and so on are merely tentative, so the factory floor as such, provides, of course, an important (.....) (548) for change, that is the workers themselves being in the vanguard of the struggle.

(and) (Now, this is the challenge that actually (the workers face,) That is : Do they - (and this was the problem that SACTU) had faced, or (the workers) had (faced in the '50's and '60's : Do they, in the face of repression say): Look, we have to preserve our hard-won rights, and not to engage the enemy until we are ready for it.)

(The question) <sup>(then)</sup> that (arises : When would you be ready? If you're not prepared to engage them on a) daily basis - on a day-to-day basis. Now the SAMCO workers have been forced to take part in extra-parliamentary forms of struggle - that is the boycott. We are calling on the community to support them and so on, after having failed to solve the problem through simply factory floor action, so the workers increasingly are being pushed into resorting to - rather, being forced into taking extra-parliamentary action, so similarly with high rentals, bread prices and so on, increased GST and increased cost of living and so on, which makes it impossible. to p. 12

You take unemployment, which is a major factor today, or the question that confronts the workers today : What is going to happen on the 25th. of this month, when the mineworkers come out on strike? Now what is expected is the police are going to move in to take action against the workers. You can expect violent - an outbreak of violence, unless that matter is resolved.

\*The challenge <sup>to</sup> the rest of the workers is : Are they going to come to the aid - to support - in support of the struggle of the mineworkers, because their struggle is a struggle of all workers.

Now, this is the challenge - do the workers say : Look, any support for the mineworkers at this stage is going to be suicidal in view of the massive unemployment etc. etc., or wholesale state repression.

Now, if you look at the township problems - the Eastern Cape, or in the Transvaal, for instance, there again it's not the factory - purely factory floor issue - there, through unemployment and the depressed conditions in the townships, and high rentals and so on, and the attacks on the community councils and so on, the struggle actually escalated until the state was forced to resort to the State of Emergency, and mass arrests and so on. Now this has affected, not ....

B.N. .... if you - you cannot - (the workers cannot extricate (589) themselves <sup>from</sup> in the community because they are part of it, so there again, the question arises - those very workers <sup>who are</sup> on the factory floor - do you actually tell them : Stop the struggle in the townships because we're not ready for it? This is a question that constantly confronts the workers.

7  
from p. 11

question ADD see (over)

J.F. What about the critique of the NIC or separate organisations for nations, that you can say you meet with whites, Africans, Indians and Coloureds on an executive level, but as NIC head or whatever, but when do the people actually meet non racially - I've heard that critique - that saying, you say it's non racialism because you sit with Raymond Sutner on the board or something, but that actual people in - who belong to the NIC never see the people who belong to the Release Mandela Committee, never work with the people in the (.....) (603) or whatever, so non racialism you're preserving ethnicity - how do you respond to that?

B.N. Well, you see, they're meeting more or less on a daily basis, people. Now, it's ...

J.F. Sorry - and then this is also the workers thing of, the only real non racialism is on the factory floor. You go home to your separate group area - you have your UDF area committee in your area, but the only non racialism is on the factory floor. I'm just interested in how you explain.

B.N. Yes. Now, it's not altogether true, you see. Even at the factory floor level, the workers have their prejudices, or if you talk about non racialism there - is - do the FOSATU chaps actually suggest that the moment the worker leaves the factory floor level, he maintains his non racial attitudes - no, far from it, because he, the white worker, for instance, goes back into his particular community, so you have, probably, a tentative non racial thing for eight hours a day, - a non racial situation on the factory floor, irrespective of the political consciousness of the worker, but this is mitigated by the fact that you are in a wider racial set up, so unless you ameliorate (622) - unless you (actually smash) that - (the wider prison) (624) (in) which the workers are engulfed, you are not going to actually have real non-racialism.)

question ADD + back

You see, the - it's tentative. You probably have non racialism for eight hours a day on the factory floor, but as long as this - they move into a wider racial set-up and - which is not - if not destroyed, you're going to be back at square one.

(E) UDF

Now, insofar as the UDF is concerned - UDF and - now, unlike any of the organisations which criticise us, we have mass rallies, which are completely non racial in character. We have regular meetings at, not only the leadership level, at all levels.

You take the regional councils, general councils and so on with UDF. Now the then activists - activists of various affiliates of the UDF actually meet regularly - in fact, at - from grassroots. You get the organisers, the leaders from the different areas meeting. Now, just to give you an example. You see, whereas, say last year, it was very difficult for us to enter into some of these African townships - say, a non African like myself, entering an African ....

B.N.

.... township like Kwamashu or Umlazi, you see. From the latter part of last year, from about December so on, I freely entered the township, addressed meetings and so on without any problems, which - and INKATHA - these were supposed to be INKATHA strongholds. INKATHA was actually losing support in most areas, and they're only - they think that they'll be able to retrieve it through the use of force.

Now, non-Africans addressed a series of meetings in those areas - that is - and they are relating more closely, you see, whereas you had suffered INKATHA prejudices and so on, as Zulu exclusives and - that was actually espoused by INKATHA. It's cracking fast because there too, INKATHA, because it's tribalistic in its attitude, finds that it has to come to terms with the wider reality that it's operating in as .....

J.F.

No, I'd better finish up because just I'm worried about (.....) (669) so let me just ask you just some final questions .....

END OF TAPE.